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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

BY

J. A. SPENCER, D. D.,

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY AUTHOR OF "EGYPT AND THE HOLY LAND," ETC., ETC., ETC.

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Book Eighth.

FROM THE

INAUGURATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

TO THE

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

1861—1863.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

1861.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION; ITS DETERMINATION.

President Lincoln—Journey towards the capital—Rumors of danger to the president—Passes through Baltimore by night — Inauguration — Inaugural Address — The cabinet — Sad and cheerless prospect before the new president —Abraham Lincoln as yet comparatively unknown — His policy and views — Fernando Wood and New York as a free city — Seeming hesitation on the part of the government — Confederate commissioners in Washington — Result — Delegates from peace convention in Virginia to the president — Fort Sumter ordered to be reinforced — Beauregard bombards it — Fort Sumter surrendered — Major Anderson's note to the war department — Rebel boasting — Feeling at the North — President's proclamation for 75,000 troops — Answers of governors to the call — Davis's proclamation inviting privateersmen — President orders blockade of ports in seceded states — Privateers to be treated as pirates — Address of Davis to Confederate Congress — Asks "to be let alone" —Position of affairs at this date.

Abraham Lincoln, the newly elected president of the United States, was called to his work at an eventful period of our history. The condition of public affairs, since his election, was such as to cause perplexity and apprehension in the bosom of every lover of his country; and we know that Mr. Lincoln had his full share of anxiety and doubt as to the impending dangers in his path.

Early in February, accompanied by his wife and son, he left his home in Springfield, Illinois, purposing to proceed slowly, and to arrive in Washington in due season for his inauguration. Up to this time he had maintained a quiet reserve with respect to his views or plans as to the momentous crisis in national affairs; but now, as he went on his way toward the capital of the Republic, he not only found it impossible to keep silence, but he yielded to the frequent calls of the people and public bodies, and made a number of addresses, all more or less bearing on public matters, and all marked by mingled simplicity and shrewdness. He passed through In-

1861.

dianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Albany, and reached New York on the 19th of February. His reception on the route was cordial and gratifying, and he showed himself ever willing to speak to the hundreds and thousands gathered together. On the 22d, Washington's birthday, he was in Philadelphia, and by request raised the national flag on Independence Hall. Here, too, he addressed the people; but, as elsewhere, he did not attempt to set forth any definite line of policy, further than that he meant to strive for peace and harmony to the extent of his power.*

Thus far, the journey of the president-elect had been free from unpleasantness or apprehensions of danger; but in Philadelphia he received information that it would be unsafe, even to the risk of his life, if he attempted to pass through Baltimore in the day time, or made any stay in that city. He determined, therefore, to follow the advice of General Scott and others; and so, after visiting the legislature of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, on the afternoon of the 22d he took a special train for Philadelphia, and travelling thence all night he passed through Baltimore, and reached Washington early on Saturday morning, the 23d of February. This sudden change of purpose excited surprise among the people generally, and, as it was an easy thing to do, many of those inimical to Mr. Lincoln indulged themselves in ill-natured remarks and sneering comments on the event.* It was affirmed that he ought to have braved every danger, and treated with contempt the threatenings and plots against his safety and his life. But, it is to be remembered, that in this he acted upon the advice of those who knew and felt the vast importance of his reaching the capital in safety, and entering upon the weighty duties of his high office.

1861.

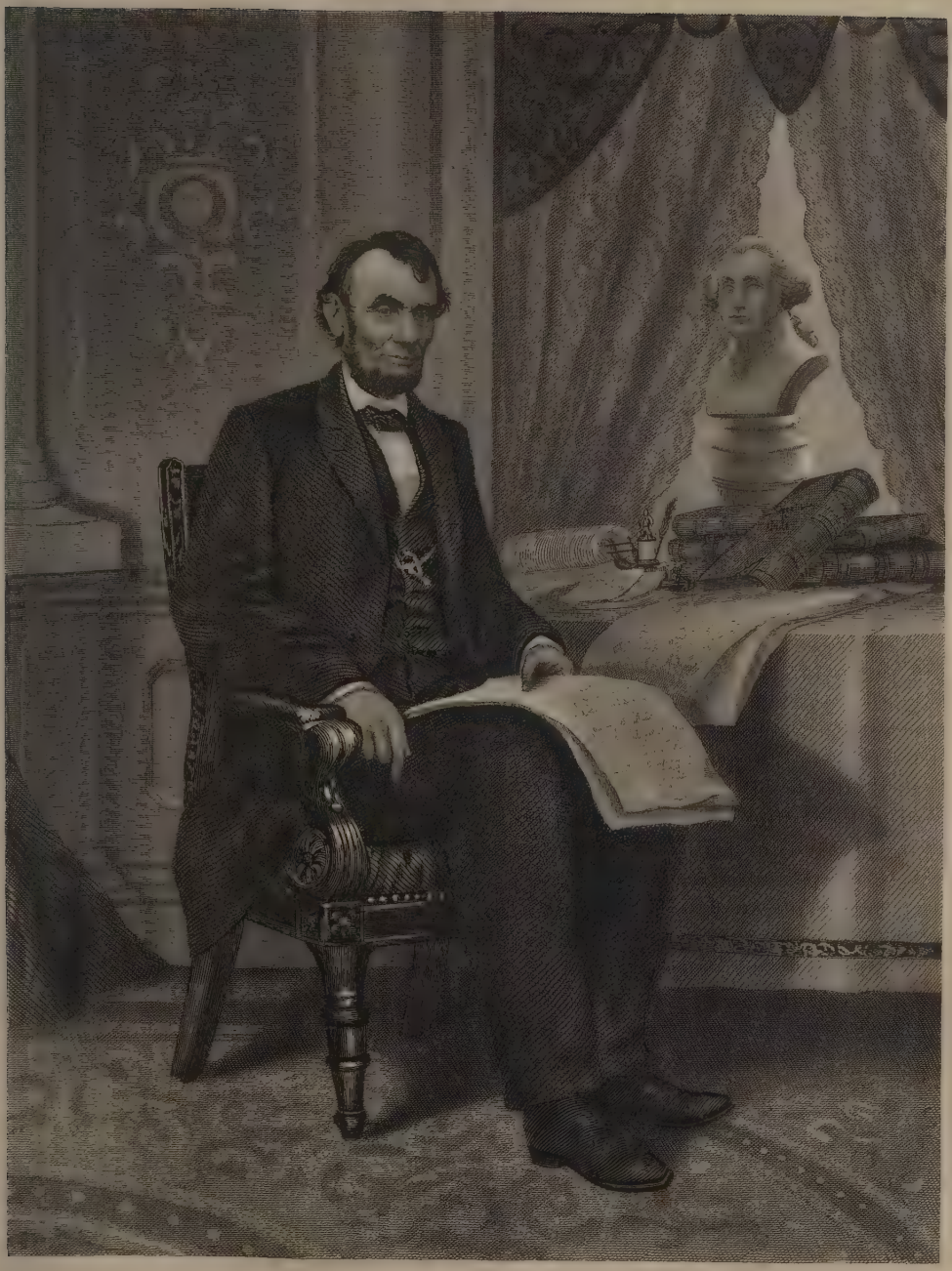
On the 4th of March, Abraham Lincoln went through the usual ceremonies of inauguration, and delivered his inaugural address in the presence of a crowd of deeply interested listeners.* The address was a carefully prepared paper, evidently the result of Mr. Lincoln's own study and reflection, and characterized by a tone of firmness and decision, as well as by an anxious desire to avoid the dire calamities into which secessionists were hurrying the country. It is too long to be given in full here; a few passages will serve to evince, in part at least, its spirit and purpose.

1861.

"I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules, and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will

* "The prudence of this step has since been abundantly demonstrated; but it wounded, at the time, the sensibilities of many friends, who would have much preferred to form an escort of 100,000 armed men to see him safely through Baltimore, than to have him pass through it clandestinely and like a hunted fugitive."—Greeley's "*American Conflict*," vol. i., p. 421.

* It was thought possible that some disturbance might be attempted on this occasion; but, if any were contemplated, it was put a stop to by the course pursued by General Scott; who had, by considerable exertion, got together about six hundred national troops, and was prepared to maintain order, even at the point of the bayonet.



A. Lincoln

be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional. . . . . A disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the union of these states is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. . . . . It follows from these views that no state, upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the states. . . . . I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union, that it *will* constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

He concluded his address in the following words: "If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties. In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot-grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

The oath of office was then administered to Mr. Lincoln by the aged Chief-justice Taney, and the new president entered upon the duties of his office. He selected for his cabinet the following gentlemen: William H. Seward, of New York, secretary of state; Salmon P.

Chase, of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, secretary of war; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, secretary of the navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, secretary of the interior; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, postmaster-general; and Edward Bates, of Missouri, attorney-general. The next day, March 5th, these appointments were confirmed in the Senate, assembled in extra session.* Considerable debate was had on the all-exciting topics of the day, but without any result of moment; and the Senate adjourned towards the close of the month.

Sad and cheerless, for the most part, was the prospect which Abraham Lincoln had before him as James Buchanan's successor. Seven states were already ranged under the flag of rebellion.† Several others on the borders between the free and slave states were almost wild with excitement, and strongly inclined to join the disunionists in their fratricidal attempts against the life of the nation. The whole country was in a state of unparalleled ferment, not knowing what a day might bring forth. At the North and West the people, as a whole, were quite unable to realize that the Republic was on the eve of war in its direst form, and were full of anxious solicitude as to the course which the new president would adopt in the existing crisis.‡

1861.

At the South, the secession, revolutionary element was overriding everything, and the minds of the majority were inflamed more and more with furious eagerness to rush into the contest. The forts and strongholds and public property of the United States were seized upon everywhere, in the seceded states, without scruple or hesitation. In the loyal states there was no preparation for war; there was, with few exceptions, no belief in the near approach of war. There were thousands pledged to oppose and embarrass the incoming administration in every possible way. There was little, if any, unanimity, or concord, or agreement, as to what the

* Among the principal diplomatic appointments were, Charles Francis Adams to England, William L. Dayton to France, and Cassius M. Clay to Russia. These gentlemen, with the others sent abroad in their country's service, were active and energetic in the discharge of their several duties.

† See note, vol. iii. p. 556.

‡ General Scott, in a note to Mr. Seward, March 2d, named four plans for Mr. Lincoln's consideration in the present emergency: "I. Throw off the old and assume a new designation—the Union party. Adopt the conciliatory measures proposed by Mr. Crittenden or the peace convention, and my life upon it we shall have no new case of secession; but on the contrary, an early return of many, if not all of the states which have already broken off from the Union. Without some equally benign measure, the remaining slave-holding states will probably join the Montgomery confederacy in less than sixty days; when this city, being included in a foreign country, would require a permanent garrison of at least thirty-five thousand troops to protect the government within it. II. Collect the duties on foreign goods outside the ports of which the government has lost the command, or close such ports by acts of Congress and blockade them. III. Conquer the seceded states by invading armies. No doubt this might be done in two or three years by a young and able general—a Wolf, a Dessaix, or a Hoche—with three hundred thousand disciplined men, estimating a third for garrisons and the loss of a greater number by skirmishes, sieges, battles and southern fevers. The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful, however perfect the moral discipline of the invader. The conquest completed at that enormous waste of human life to the North and Northwest—with at least $250,000,000 added thereto, and *cui bono?* Fifteen devastated provinces! not to be brought into harmony with their conquerors, but to be held for generations by heavy garrisons, at an expense quadruple the net duties and taxes which it would be possible to extort from them, followed by a protector or an emperor. IV. Say to the seceded states,—Wayward sisters, depart in peace!"

emergency really was, or how it was to be met.* War, it was felt, was a terrible alternative; war must be avoided, if it were possible; and even up to the very last moment, even when South Carolina stood ready to fire the first gun, and initiate the horrible struggle, there were those who would not, who could not believe, that war was the inevitable issue, and that by force only could the rightful supremacy of the Constitution be maintained. Truly, it was a gloomy picture to look upon, and it well might unnerve the stoutest heart to feel that the responsibility of decision and action rested now almost wholly upon one man.

Abraham Lincoln had never as yet been a prominent man in national affairs. He was, comparatively, little known throughout the country; and having been taken up by the republican party as their candidate, rather as a compromise than because he was the ablest man in their ranks, the people, after his election, were deeply interested in everything which tended to indicate what were his qualifications for the high office he was about to assume. They were naturally very desirous to know in how far he was fitted to take the helm of state at a time when was to be tested the ability of the Constitution and Union to weather the storm just ready to burst in every direction. Up to this date, when Mr. Lincoln became fully invested with the powers of the presidential office, his sentiments and views, so far as made known, pointed clearly to a policy of conciliation, and a desire to yield on all points where it was possible to yield, in order to preserve peace and the integrity of the Union. There were many who were not satisfied with this course. There were men who longed for the fiery energy and action of Andrew Jackson in the presidential chair; and who repeated the contemptuous sneers of southern demagogues and traitors, that the North could not be *kicked* into a war. On the other hand, sober and reflecting men, appreciating to some extent the greatness of the questions involved, were willing to see, in the utterances of Mr. Lincoln, clear evidences of spirit and determination to maintain the integrity and completeness of the Union, peaceably if possible, if not, by every other means legally in his power. And so, they were measurably content to wait patiently the issue of events, hoping and trusting, even amidst the excitement and ferment all around, that the honor and unity of our country would not suffer in Mr. Lincoln's hands.

1861.

For a month or so, after the inaugu-

* Mayor Wood, of New York, offers a curious illustration of the state of things at the beginning of this year. Under date of January 6th, 1861, he addressed a message to the Common Council, in which he speaks of "dissolution of the Union as inevitable," of "our aggrieved southern brethren of the slave states," of the "fanatical spirit of New England," etc. Although not quite ready to recommend extremes or present violent action, he nevertheless dared to use such language as the following at the close of the message: "When Disunion has become a fixed and certain fact, why may not New York disrupt the bonds which bind her to a menial and corrupt master—to a people and a party that have plundered her revenues, attempted to ruin her commerce, taken away the power of self-government, and destroyed the confederacy of which she was the proud Empire City? Amid the gloom which the present and prospective condition of things must cast over the country, New York, as a *Free City*, may shed the only light and hope of a future reconstruction of our once blessed confederacy."

ration, the new administration gave no clear or distinct indications of its line of policy. Secession, encouraged, no doubt, by what seemed hesitation or inefficiency on the part of government, was bold, active, haughty in its course and pretensions.* Not only, as we have before said, were forts, arsenals, dock-yards and public property taken possession of without scruple, but also a loan of $15,000,000 was authorized by the Confederate Congress, and other measures resolved upon in view of war, which might speedily be expected. Early in April, however, Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet decided upon the course to be pursued, and thenceforward, though tardily, bent all their energies to preserve the Union unbroken, and, if need be, to put down treason and rebellion by force of arms.

1861.

Acting upon their assumed position as an independent government, the so-called confederate authorities sent three gentlemen to Washington, for the purpose of arranging and settling all points of difference growing out of the acts of the seceded states. They reached the capital, March 5th, and soon after attempted to obtain recognition of what they thought to be their rank and obligations. The government acted with great forbearance, and allowed them to remain in Washington in pursuit of plans and objects striking at the very root of its power and majesty. Mr. Seward declined all official intercourse, and frankly but plainly told these rebel commissioners, that what had taken place, in various parts of the South, was only "a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purpose of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must be so exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness and aggrandizement of the American people." This was under date of March 15th. Several weeks elapsed before the gentlemen just alluded to inquired for the secretary of state's communication; and then, with some violence of language about "accepting the gage of battle thus thrown down to them," and an expression of pity for the "delusions" of the government, they gave up the attempt to force themselves into official relations at Washington.

1861.

The convention of Virginia being in session at this date, sent Messrs. Preston, Stuart and Randolph as delegates to call on President Lincoln, and to "ask him to communicate to this convention the policy which the Federal executive intends to pursue in regard to the confederate states." The president's reply, April 13th, reaffirmed his previously expressed determination "to hold, occupy, and possess the property

* Russell, in "*My Diary North and South*," p. 118, under date April 18th, 1861, at Charleston, gives a good deal of chit-chat, showing the feelings of the people he met, on the subject of the North and the association with northerners by the southern chivalry and cavaliers: "They affect the agricultural faith and the belief of a landed gentry. It is not only over the wine-glass that they ask for a Prince to reign over them; I have heard the wish repeatedly expressed within the last two days that we could spare them one of our young Princes, but never in jest, or in any frivolous manner."

and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts." While disclaiming any purpose of needless invasion, or infringement upon the rights of others, Mr. Lincoln distinctly gave these gentlemen to understand, that, if necessary, in consequence of conduct like that of the attack upon Fort Sumter, he would, "to the best of his ability, repel force by force." 1861.

The government having, to this extent at least, determined upon its course, orders were given, early in April, to send vessels and men for the purpose of reinforcing Fort Sumter,* and also to save, if possible, Fort Pickens at the entrance of the harbor of Pensacola, Florida. But the leaders in rebellion, knowing how important it was to them to "*strike a blow*," as some of them phrased it, and to gain a victory of some kind, resolved immediately to compel Major Anderson to surrender. On the 5th of April, Beauregard, who had deserted the flag of his country and taken service under the confederate authorities, stopped all supplies for the garrison heretofore received from the city. The government resolved to send provisions to Major Anderson and his men, and accordingly announced the fact to the governor of South Carolina, on the 8th of April; whereupon the rebels insisted upon the immediate reduction of the fort. Every preparation had been made for this contingency on their part. Numerous batteries had been constructed, and, apart from the question of starvation, there was no possible chance that Major Anderson and his handful of brave men could long withstand the assault. On the 11th, a brief correspondence ensued between Beauregard and Anderson. The latter agreed to evacuate the fort on the 15th, unless otherwise ordered by his government; but this was not what the hot bloods of the day wanted; and when the Harriet Lane arrived off the harbor with supplies, on the evening of the 10th, they pushed matters to an immediate extremity. All considerations of the awful character of what they were about to do, were thrown to the winds; and at half-past four, on Friday morning, April 12th, the first gun was fired upon Fort Sumter. The United States vessels, just outside, could give no help, owing partly to bad weather and to the batteries in all directions, but were compelled to wait the inevitable result, when the stars and stripes should be lowered. The cannonading was furious and incessant. Major Anderson and his men bravely withstood and replied to the onslaught, and the guns of the fort were served with all the vigor and spirit possible under the circumstances; but ere long, being without provisions and the fort partly in flames, surrender was the only thing left to them. They gave up the contest, so unequal and useless to continue, and having been allowed to embark on board the United States steamer Baltic, Major Anderson and his company reached New York on the 18th of April. Immediately official notice was sent to the war department, as follows:—"Off Sandy Hook, April 18th, 1861. Having 1861.

* See vol. iii. pp. 562, 3, for the position of affairs in regard to Fort Sumter up to this date.

defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames and its doors closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort, Sunday afternoon, the 14th inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting my flag with fifty guns.—Robert Anderson." *

Great and loudly expressed in South Carolina and elsewhere was the exultation over the bombardment and surrender of Fort Sumter. Governor Pickens, who had for some time professed himself ready to "strike the blow, let it lead to what it might, even if it led to blood and ruin," now dared to say, "Thank God! the day is come; thank God! the war is open, and we will conquer or perish." Mr. L. P. Walker, the rebel secretary of war, at Montgomery, Alabama, burst forth in words like these:—"No man can tell where the war this day commenced will end; but I will prophesy, that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let them try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself!"

Language cannot portray, in fitting manner, the painful anxiety with which the news of the bombardment of Sumter was looked for at the North, during Saturday and Sunday, the 13th and 14th of April. "The startling and apparently improbable statements received by the telegraph of the danger to the fort, which had been pronounced impregnable, and the security of the besiegers who seemed to bear a charmed life in the midst of fiery perils; the expectation of succor from the fleet dashed by the waves of the storm which prevented its action; the successive messages of disaster with the strange, almost incredible, announcement that the fort was in flames, ending with the final word of surrender, produced a strange feeling of perplexity in the minds of the people." * But now, the deadly stab having been made, there was no longer time for hesitation or mere words. Up to this point, threats, and bravado, and pillage of public property, and such like, had been endured; but now, when traitorous sons dared assail the flag of our country and its defenders, it was felt instinctively that the life of the nation was at stake. Action must be taken; **1861.**

* According to rebel accounts, not a life was lost during the whole progress of the siege and assault. It was also stated that none were killed in the fort by the enemy's fire. If these accounts are correct, of which there seems no good reason to doubt, the assault and defence of Fort Sumter were among the most noteworthy of their kind in the history of modern warfare. For the rebels had fourteen batteries in action, mounting forty-two heavy guns and mortars; 2,360 shot and 980 shells were thrown; and in the works were 3,000 men, and between 4,000 and 5,000 in reserve.

* Duyckink's "*War for the Union*," vol. i., p. 125.

immediate action must be had to assert and enforce the "supreme law of the land."

President Lincoln was prompt and decisive in this great emergency, and immediately issued a proclamation in the following words :—

"WHEREAS, the laws of the United States have been for some time past, and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law: now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several states of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed. The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the state authorities through the war department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say, that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with, property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse, and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within twenty days from this date.

"Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective chambers at 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the 4th day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this 15th day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Accompanying the proclamation were requisitions from the war department upon the governors of twenty-four states, the seven seceded states being omitted, and California, Oregon and Kansas being passed over as too distant. These were called upon to furnish their respective quotas of militia-men for three months' service.* The replies

* The largest apportionments were, to New York

of the governors indicated the general sentiment of the people on the momentous issues at stake. From the northern and western states the answers came promptly, and evinced the loyalty and determined spirit existing in the bosoms of those who loved and were determined to sustain the Union. The governors of Maryland and Delaware endeavored to hold a middle ground, and were not prepared to act very decidedly; but in the other border states, there was no attempt to disguise their sentiments and their determination not to aid the government in any way whatsoever. Governor Letcher, of Virginia, wrote:—"The militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the southern states, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object, in my judgment, not within the purview of the Constitution or the act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war; and having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited toward the South."* Governor Jackson, of Missouri, spoke even more strongly: "No doubt these men are intended to make war upon the seceded states. Your requisition, in my judgment is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the state of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade." Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, replied: "Your dispatch is received. In answer, I say, emphatically, Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister southern states." Governor Ellis, of North Carolina, expressed himself in no moderate terms: "I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Governor Rector, of Arkansas, was equally violent and peremptory: "In answer to your requisition for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the southern states, I have to say, that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury." Governor Harris, of Tennessee, replied: "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but 50,000, if necessary, for the defence of our rights or those of our southern brethern." *

1861.

Immediately following upon President Lincoln's proclamation, Jefferson Davis, at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 17th of April, professing himself convinced that the United States were about to invade "this confederacy with

13,280; to Pennsylvania, 12,500; to Ohio, 10,153; the least, to eleven of the less populated States, was 780.

* W. H. Russell, the London *Times'* correspondent, writing in his "Diary," Charleston, April 20th, 1861 (p. 123), says: "The secessionists are in great delight with Governor Letcher's proclamation, calling out troops and volunteers; and it is hinted that Washington will be attacked, and the nest of Black Republican vermin, which haunt the capital, be driven out."

* "The proclamation was received at Montgomery with derisive laughter; the newspapers were refreshed with the Lincolniana of styling sovereign states 'unlawful combinations' and warning a people standing on their own soil to return within twenty days to their 'homes;' and, in Virginia, the secessionists were highly delighted at the strength Mr. Lincoln had unwittingly or perversely contributed to their cause."—*"First Year of the War,"* p. 59.

an armed force, for the purpose of capturing its fortresses, and thereby subverting its independence, and subjecting the free people thereof to the dominion of a foreign power," issued a proclamation, marking out the deadly plan he had in view, and "inviting all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this government in resisting so wanton and wicked an oppression, to make applications for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States."

This insolent proposition was met by another proclamation from President Lincoln, April 19th, declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceded states, and subjecting the privateers in the rebel service to the laws for the prevention and punishment of piracy. Some ten days afterwards, Davis addressed the Confederate Congress, and affected to doubt whether the proclamation were authentic or not. He stigmatized Mr. Lincoln's course in no measured terms, and could not bring himself to believe that President Lincoln was prepared to "inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under commissions issued by an organized government." He also stated, that there were 19,000 men in the various places seized upon by the rebels, and 16,000 more on their way to Virginia, and that in view of the present exigencies 100,000 men were to be organized and held in readiness for instant action. It was in this address that Davis's desire "to be let alone" occurs, and we quote the passage—the last of all—as a memorable specimen of mingled assurance and audacity: "We feel that our cause is just and holy. We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor. In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the states with which we have lately confederated. *All we ask is to be let alone*—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence, and self-government." 1861.

Up to this point, the government had decided, in part at least, upon its course of action, and had begun to make some preparation for the inevitable issues at stake. How imperfect this preparation was, how inadequate the appreciation of what was before our country to do and to endure, how insufficient the sense entertained of what the rebels meant, and were able to accomplish, the rapid progress of events ere long demonstrated. We may reverently thank God, that, in this hour of bitter trial, neither government nor people were found wanting.

CHAPTER II.

1861.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS: UPRISING OF THE PEOPLE.

Position of Virginia at this date — Efforts and success of secessionists — Virginia lost to the Union — Harper's Ferry — Attack on by rebels, and burning of arsenal by order of the government — The Navy Yard at Gosport — Its value and importance — Great loss of property, etc., to the United States — Exultations of the rebels — Eagerness to attack Washington — Preparation on part of the government — Baltimore — Riot, and attack on the troops — The New York Seventh — Gen. Butler and Annapolis — His energetic course in Maryland — Conduct of Gov. Hicks — Gen. Cadwalader in Maryland — *Habeas corpus* suspension — Chief-justice Taney's course — Gen. Banks in command — His action — Gen. Dix succeeds — Immense gathering in New York — Speeches by Prof. Mitchel and others — Patriotism of our countrywomen — Affairs during month of May — Proclamation of the President calling for more troops — Activity of secessionists — Movement of troops into Virginia — Ellsworth's death at Alexandria — Rebels alarmed at attitude of the North — Davis and his schemes and efforts — His Address to Confederate Congress — Intended uses of it — Action of Confederate Congress — Davis goes to Richmond — His speech — Beauregard in Virginia — His insolent and abusive words — Efforts to prepare for advance of Union troops — Skirmishes, etc., — Lieut. Tompkins at Fairfax Court House — Rebels routed at Philippi and Romney — Harper's Ferry abandoned by rebels — Gen. Butler and Big Bethel — Failure of the expedition — Negroes *contraband of war* — Gen. Schenck at Vienna in Virginia — Forces on the Potomac at close of the month of June — Spirit and expectations of the people at the time — Closing scenes in the life of Senator Douglas.

The position of Virginia, as one of the largest and most important of the border states, rendered it especially desirable for the rebel conspirators to secure control over it, and to gain all the *prestige* arising out of connecting her destinies with those of the new confederation. This was by no means easy of accomplishment. Virginians, as a body, were proud of the Union, and anxious to preserve it. They had always frowned upon disunion and the political demagogues who had at various times broached so vile a heresy. Their true interests, as they well knew, consisted in keeping close the bonds which united them to the loyal states; and it is almost beyond doubt, that, could the people of Virginia have expressed their sentiments and wishes freely and deliberately, they would have cast their lot with the supporters of the Constitution and laws. But Davis, and his fellow laborers in a bad cause, were determined at all hazards to prevent any such result. By audacious falsehoods, by intimidation and blustering, by getting control over legislative action, they aimed at forcing the state into the ranks of secession; and unhappily they succeeded in accomplishing their ends.

1861.

The convention of Virginia had been elected by Union votes, and the legislature had taken care, in authorizing its consideration of this matter, to provide that no ordinance of secession should have any effect without being

ratified by the people. At the opening of the convention in Richmond, a majority of its members were decidedly opposed to the secession of their state; but the conspirators, stopping short at nothing, resorted to secret sessions, and to deriding the weaker members, bullying the timid, cajoling the wavering, and firing southern pride and passion in every possible way; so that, three days after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, they gained their purpose, and Virginia was lost.* Although the law required the vote of the people before secession could be ratified, there was no waiting, no scruple on the part of the rebels. "For mutual defence," as Mr. Mason, late Senator, wrote, May 16th, "immediately after the ordinance of secession passed, a treaty, or 'military league' was formed by the convention, in the name of the people of Virginia, with the Confederate States of the South, by which the latter were bound to march to the aid of our state, against the invasion of the Federal Government. And we have now in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, and at Norfolk, in face of the common foe, several thousand of the gallant sons of South Carolina, of Alabama, of Louisiana, Georgia, and Mississippi, who hastened to fulfil the covenant they made, and are ready and eager to lay down their lives, side by side, with our sons in defence of the soil of Virginia."

Everything was assumed as being complete. Members of the Confederate Congress were appointed; troops were sent into the state from further south; and when the 23d of May arrived, the voting was only to support a foregone conclusion; union men were not safe in casting their suffrages; of course, secession was carried, the actual vote being 128,884 for secession, to 32,134 against. Virginia, mad and foolish, joined the foes of law and order; and bitterly did she afterwards find occasion to repent of her action.*

As we have said above, there was no waiting, no delay in entering upon active measures of hostility. Within twenty-four hours after the convention had done its work, not only were the Custom House and Post Office at Richmond seized upon, but an attack on the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry was made. The possession of this latter was of prime importance to the rebels. Situated at the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac, some sixty miles above Washington, it constitutes the outer gate to the great valley of Virginia, and offers the readiest mode of approach from the east to Winchester and the inner region. In addition to the armory with its weapons of war, it contained a large number of

* The vote, at the last, was 88 to 55; a majority increased both by the means above spoken of, and by the provision noted on a previous page (see vol. iii. 560,) that Virginia, unless she joined the rebels, would be cut off entirely from a market for her slaves.

* "The second secessionary movement" as the rebels termed it, which was begun by Virginia, added three other states to the confederacy. Tennessee seceded May 6th, 1861; Arkansas, May 18th; North Carolina, May 21st. Thus, eleven states were arrayed in hostile attitude against the Constitution and laws. (See note, vol. iii. p. 556.) In regard to Tennessee, however, it may here be stated, that she was never carried into the position of rebellion by the will of the majority of her people. On the contrary, it was only by the audacity and unscrupulousness of disunionists, that the secession act was forced upon the people. Andrew Johnson was appointed military governor, March 4th, 1862, and in September, 1863, the rebel government was quashed entirely,

shops for the manufacture of arms. The arsenal was, at the time, in the charge of about forty riflemen, under command of Lieutenant Jones, who was instructed, in case of attack, not to surrender, but to destroy the works. Receiving information that bands of state militia were prepared to seize upon the arsenal, Lieut. Jones caused all the arms, some 15,000 in number, to be heaped up ready to be burned. When, on the night of the 18th of April, the invaders approached, the trains were fired, and in three minutes the buildings were in flames, and nearly every thing was destroyed. Lieut. Jones escaped with his men by the bridge leading into Maryland, and reached Carlisle barracks in Pennsylvania the next afternoon. For this good service he was duly thanked and promoted.

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Simultaneously with this attack on Harper's Ferry, the rebels took active measures to get possession of the Navy Yard at Norfolk. This large and very valuable depot, with its vast stores of provisions and materials for naval purposes, its shops and manufactures, was situated at Gosport, adjoining Portsmouth, on the Elizabeth River, opposite Norfolk. It covered an area of three-quarters of a mile in length and a quarter in breadth, and it had a dry-dock of granite, with ship-houses, naval hospital, etc. There were twelve vessels in the yard, but most of them were dismantled and in ordinary. The Merrimac, a first class frigate of forty guns, was the most important of all. Her machinery needed repair, and steps had been taken to put her in order as speedily as possible. On the 17th, she was ready to be moved, and yet Commodore McCauley refused to allow her departure. His excuse was, paltry enough too, that he relied on the honor and veracity of his junior officers, who, by the way, when they had got through at Norfolk, coolly resigned and went over to secession. Commodore Paulding was sent with the Pawnee, and some Massachusetts troops, on the 20th of April, to save what he could and destroy the remainder. When he arrived, he found that the powder magazine had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and that the ships were scuttled and sinking. Commodore Paulding had them set on fire, and destroying as much of the public property as was possible, he took the U. S. ship Cumberland in tow, and sailed down the river.* By a strange fatuity of the government, in not making proper provision in order to save public property from the hands of thieves and robbers, the confederates gained 2,000 pieces of heavy ordnance, 300 of the guns being of the Dahlgren pattern, and in stores, furniture, etc., property to the amount of $10,000,000.†

* Mr. Pollard, of Richmond, with various flourishes of rhetoric, terms what was done by order of the government, "acts of ruthless vandalism," and winds up his paragraph, giving an account of the matter, in these words: "In the midst of the brilliance of the scene (i. e., the conflagration of the ships, etc.) the Pawnee with the Cumberland in tow, stole like a guilty thing through the harbor, fleeing from the destruction they had been sent to accomplish."—"*First Year of the War*," pp. 65, 66.

† The Senate committee (April 18th, 1862) speaks of this whole matter with very great and deserved severity. The hope of good and true men at Norfolk, who greeted the arrival of the Pawnee with cheer on cheer, "was cruelly disappointed by the hasty attempt to destroy the yard; and the government afforded the loyal men at Norfolk—as indeed every where else at

It was a painful, mortifying event, and rendered all the more so by its crippling the government, strengthening the secessionists, prolonging the contest, and giving the enemy so abundant ground of rejoicing. It was bad enough to meet with losses such as those just named; but to have the guns stolen from us turned against us, in Virginia, North Carolina and the West, was particularly aggravating. Mr. W. H. Peters, a person appointed by the governor of Virginia to make an inventory of the property acquired by seizing upon what belonged to the government, illustrates clearly the position of affairs on this subject. He writes in this strain :—"I had proposed some remarks upon the vast importance to Virginia, and to the entire South, of the timely acquisition of this extensive naval depot, with its immense supplies of munitions of war, and to notice briefly the damaging effects of its loss to the government at Washington; but I deem it unnecessary, since the presence at almost every exposed point on the whole southern coast, and at numerous inland intrenched camps in the several states, of heavy pieces of ordnance, with their equipments and fixed ammunition, all supplied from this establishment, fully attests the one; while the unwillingness of the enemy to attempt demonstrations at any point, from which he is obviously deterred by the knowledge of its well-fortified condition, abundantly proves the other—especially when it is considered that both he and we are wholly indebted for our means of resistance to his loss and our acquisition of the Gosport Navy Yard." *

For some time past, the hot-bloods of the South had been crying out for an attack upon Washington. Its capture, they thought, would be no difficult matter, and its importance to them, as giving them a sort of credit in the eyes of the world, they valued very highly. Various and alarming reports came up from all quarters of the seceded states, and the newspapers, as well as the speechifying demagogues, urged an immediate advance upon the capital. "The capture of Washington city," said a Richmond paper, April 23d, "is perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland, if Virginia will only make the effort by her constituted authority; nor is there a single moment to lose. The entire population pant for the onset. There was never half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject that is now manifested to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there. From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington city at all and every human hazard. The filthy cage of unclean birds must and will assuredly be purified by fire. The people are determined upon it, and are clamorous for a leader to conduct them to the onslaught. That leader will assuredly rise, aye, and that right speedily." 1861.

Doubtless, from what is now known

that time—every possible reason for the conviction that the rebellion was the winning side, and that devotion to the government could end only in defeat, loss, and death."

* See *Richmond Enquirer*, February 4th, 1862.

of the defenceless condition of Washington at the time, it is quite possible that the rebels might have seized upon the city. Happily, they did not make the attempt, and the government was roused to provide for the emergency.

On the 18th of April, a body of troops, about 500 in number, arrived from Pennsylvania, unarmed, it is true, but ready to take their places at the post of danger. A few days brought troops from Massachusetts and New York, and in a few weeks, under the patriotic exertions and energy of the venerable General Scott, Washington was placed in a position which rendered it safe against rebel assault.

It was not, however, without toil and exposure to outrage and insult that this result was accomplished. Maryland, one of the slave states, and having among its population many ardent sympathizers with secession and its excesses, was so situated as to make it necessary to march the troops through her territory in order to reach the capital. Baltimore, through which the great line of railroad communication between the North and South passed, was a city of not too good reputation, where political questions and discords were concerned; and there were in this city not a few disorderly and unscrupulous characters, who were ready to commit outrage and violence to any extent, when urged on by passion and self-interest. This was made evident by the scandalous riot of the 19th of April, in Baltimore, the particulars of which we put on record, not so much because of any importance in the riot itself, as to show forth the detestable spirit existing at the time, and the calm, determined manner in which it was met by the loyal men of Massachusetts. On the 18th of April, the Sixth Massachusetts regiment passed through New York, where it was warmly greeted and cheered onward in its noble work in defence of the common capital of the Union. It reached Philadelphia the same day, and the next morning was forwarded to Baltimore. The cars reached the depot, on the northern side of the city, about ten o'clock, and the troops expected to pass without difficulty in the horse-cars to the station, where they were to embark for Washington. But a crowd was found awaiting them, which, like all crowds under excitement, needed but to be set in motion, in order to proceed to any extreme. Hootings, jeerings, abusive epithets were freely employed; but these were comparatively harmless, and the troops regarded them with silent contempt. In a little while, stones and other missiles were used, and the leaders of the mob exulted in witnessing the patience with which these too were received. Some of the cars were at last got through, but four companies yet remained in the rear cars. Soon it became known that the rails were blocked, and passage was no longer practicable. In the emergency, the Massachusetts men determined to proceed on foot and join their companions at the depot. They formed in close order, and started; when immediately the mob, with terrible threats and denunciations, began anew the assault with brickbats and stones. Not content with this, shots were fired at them from the streets and houses; whereupon the commanding

officer ordered his men to protect themselves and return the fire. Amid this shocking and outrageous attack, the troops fought their weary way for more than a mile, and finally rejoined their comrades. Three of the soldiers were killed and eight wounded; eleven of the Baltimorians were killed, and a large number wounded. Other troops from Pennsylvania, being without arms, after a furious assault upon them by the populace, were finally sent back in the cars to Philadelphia.

Law and order, for the time, seemed to be lost. Mayor Brown and police marshal Kane, were virtually helpless, as well as in sympathy with the rebels, and the city to all appearance was given over to mob law and unutterable disgrace. The gun shops of the city were plundered at night, and the city authorities, under an impression of its necessity, and also its helpfulness to the cause of secession, the same night issued an order for the destruction of the railroad bridges on the northern routes, as the only means of impeding the arrival of the Pennsylvania troops on their way, and preventing a repetition of the conflict of the day; and the order was promptly executed. The greatest excitement and apprehension prevailed throughout the city. The most violent secession sympathies were openly avowed, the flag of the Confederate States was seen in all directions, and the glorious Stars and Stripes were shamefully insulted. No more troops, this was their determination, should pass through their city.*

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On the afternoon of this same 19th of April, the gallant Seventh Regiment of New York, a regiment which stands high in popular favor in the Empire City, set out on its way to Washington. They were aware of what their countrymen from Massachusetts had just met with in Baltimore; but they faltered not; they were prepared to go through whatever was before them. The enthusiasm of the city, as they departed, was raised to its highest pitch, although no man knew how soon that noble band of soldiers would meet with deadly enemies in their path. On reaching Philadelphia, and finding it impossible to go by way of Baltimore, the seventh embarked in the steamer Boston, to find their way to Washington by water. At Annapolis, thirty miles south of Baltimore, they found General Butler with the Eighth Massachusetts regiment. He had, on the 20th of April, reached Perrysville, on the Susquehanna, when ascertaining that the bridges were burned and that there were no cars to proceed with, he seized the railroad ferry steamboat Maryland, and early the next morning arrived at Annapolis. The seventh joined the troops under Gen. Butler,

* "Baltimore was a secession volcano in full eruption; while the counties south of that city were overwhelmingly in sympathy with the slaveholders rebellion, and their few determined Unionists completely overawed and silenced. The counties near Baltimore, between that city and the Susquehanna, were actively co-operating with the rebellion, or terrified into dumb submission to its b hests. The great populous counties of Frederick, Washington, and Alleghany, composing Western Maryland—having few slaves—were preponderantly loyal; but they were overawed and paralyzed by the attitude of the rest of the state, and still more by the large force of rebel Virginians—said to be 5,000 strong—who had been suddenly pushed forward to Harper's Ferry, and threatened Western Maryland from that commanding position."—Greeley's "*American Conflict*," vol. i., p. 468.

and after enduring hardships of no light kind, from heat, exposure, want of food, and the like, took the cars at Annapolis Junction, and reached Washington on the 25th of April.

Anxious to secure peace while calling for aid, the president, by advice of Gen. Scott, favored the sending of troops by way of Annapolis, or around Baltimore, instead of forcing a way through that city. Gen. Butler was especially serviceable in this emergency. He not only took post at Annapolis, but he held it. He secured to the government the noble old frigate Constitution, "Old Ironsides," and saw it safely conveyed away from danger. He was prepared to enforce the rights of those called by the president to go to Washington and defend the capital from invasion. Governor Hicks protested against his landing, or remaining in Annapolis; but the general was firm and decided. The legislature of Maryland met at Frederick, on the 27th of April, and the governor endeavored to assume and claim for the state a *neutral* position, helping, as he wished, neither side, but in effect cutting off the capital from the loyal states. On the 5th of May, General Butler advanced a portion of his command to the Relay House, about nine miles from Baltimore, and on the 14th, he entered the city, took possession of Federal Hill, and issued a straightforward proclamation, insisting upon the observance of law and order, and expressing the determination of the government to sustain all good citizens in their rights and privileges.

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The way through Baltimore was again open from the North, and troops passed freely through the city. Union men were at liberty to express their sentiments without molestation, and to act in accordance therewith; and sedition, though not dead, was held in abeyance at least.* Governor Hicks, on the 14th of May, on the last day of the meeting of the legislature, issued a call for four regiments to serve for three months in Maryland or for the defence of Washington.† The saving of Maryland from the evil designs of those who would have hurried her into secession, was due, in measure, to the active and judicious movements of Gen. B. F. Butler,—a name, by the way, which acquired some considerable notoriety in the course of the great rebellion.

Having been ordered to Fortress

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* For some instructive details in regard to the movements on the part of the police authorities in Baltimore and also of the legislature of Maryland, see McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 392–393.

† The Hon. Reverdy Johnson, one of the high-toned patriots of Maryland, in a speech at Frederick, May 7th, thus expressed himself: "What is there in the modern history of South Carolina which should recommend her teachings to Maryland? What is there in the intellects of the Rhetts, the Yanceys, the Cobbs, *et id genus omne*, to make them our leaders? They did all they could to achieve the election of Mr. Lincoln, and hailed its accomplishment with undissembled delight. They thought they saw in it the realization of their long-cherished hopes—the precipitation of the cotton states into a revolution; and then fancied exemption from the worst of the perils—and they now seek to effect it—in the intervention of the other slave states between them and the danger. Short-sighted men! they never anticipated the calamities already upon them, and the greater certain to follow. Besides relying on the fact just stated, they also counted securely on a large influential support in the free states. Little did they know the true patriotic heart of the land. . . . Where, in the past, the South could count its friends by thousands and hundreds of thousands, not one is now to be found. The cry is, the government must be sustained; the flag must be vindicated. Heaven forbid that the duty of that vindication should be forgotten by Maryland!"

Monroe, on the 22d of May, Gen. Butler resigned the charge of matters at Baltimore into the hands of Gen. Cadwalader. This officer acted with that prudence and conciliatory spirit deemed so important at the time; yet he was not lacking in firmness on an important question which came up for decision a few days after Gen. Butler left. This was the suspension of *habeas corpus*, or the prevalence of martial law. The president, taking the ground of necessity, had authorized Gen. Scott, April 27th, to suspend the writ above named any where between Philadelphia and Washington, which was extended, July 2d, to any where between New York and Washington. A wealthy Marylander, John Merryman, was arrested by military authority, on 25th of May, charged with treasonable practices, etc. Merryman applied to Chief-justice Taney for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to test the legality of the arrest. It was granted at once, and efforts made to enforce it against Gen. Cadwalader; but to no purpose. Taney then delivered his opinion adverse to the president's action, condemning him and it in no measured terms. Other authorities, quite equal to the chief-justice in weight of character and legal acumen, sustained the course which Mr. Lincoln had felt himself compelled to pursue, such as Prof. Parsons, Horace Binney, Attorney-general Bates, etc.; and the people generally acquiesced in the result, as inseparable from a state of war and insurrection.*

General Banks, on the 10th of June, succeeded Gen. Cadwalader in command. On the 27th, he ordered the arrest of police marshal Kane, and broke up the Board of Police in Baltimore, on the ground of complicity and agreement with traitors. The two proclamations, which Gen. Banks issued, show clearly the basis and the necessity of his action in behalf of law and order. By these vigorous means Maryland was saved from the evil purposes of secession and rebellion, and retained her rightful place in the Union. Gen. Banks being called to supersede Patterson on the Potomac, Gen. Dix took his place in Maryland, at the close of the month of July.

The noble and manly spirit of the people, which was aroused by the outbreak of the rebellion, was manifested in all parts of the loyal states, but more especially in the large cities. A vast and imposing assemblage gathered at Union Square, New York, on the 20th of April, the glorious flag of our country waving in all directions, and the equestrian statue of Washington being in the midst. All party distinctions were ignored; they stood there as citizens of one common country. The meeting was addressed by prominent speakers from various regions. Gen. Dix, Colonel Baker, Professor Mitchel, and others (some thirty in all), poured forth eloquent words, adapted to the fearful exigency, and appealing to every heart to stand by and uphold the Constitution and laws of the United States. We cannot pretend to give even a summary of their words; one short extract must suffice from Prof. Mitchel's speech, whose language, though not noted at

* For the legal opinions referred to, see McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 155–162.

the time, was almost prophetic: "The rebels and the traitors in the South, we must set aside; they are not our friends. When they come to their senses we will receive them with open arms; but till that time, while they are trailing our glorious banner in the dust, when they scorn it, condemn it, curse it, and trample it under foot, then I must smite. In God's name I will smite, and as long as I have strength I will do it. O, listen to me, listen to me! I know these men; I know their courage; I have been among them; I have been with them; I have been reared with them; they have courage; and do not you pretend to think they have not. I tell you what it is, it is no child's play you are entering upon. They will fight, and with a determination and a power which is irresistible. Make up your mind to it. Let every man put his life in his hand and say, 'There is the altar of my country; there I will sacrifice my life.' I for one will lay my life down. It is not mine any longer. Lead me to the conflict. Place me where I can do my duty. There I am ready to go, I care not where it leads me."

But it was not in words merely, that the loyalty of the nation was manifested. Money as well as men were most liberally furnished. The subscriptions of individuals, corporations, banking institutions, towns, cities, and the legislatures of the northern and western states, freely offered for the purchase of arms, the raising and equipment of troops, and the support of the government, in a fortnight after the day of the attack upon Sumter, reached a sum estimated at over thirty millions of dollars. The appropriations of the states of Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, reached the sum of three millions each, and others were quite as liberal in proportion to their wealth, if they did not in some instances exceed them. Connecticut contributed two millions, and Illinois the same; Indiana, Maine, New Jersey, Vermont, a million each; and the corporation of the city of New York an equal sum, which was speedily more than doubled by the subscriptions of the citizens. Cincinnati kept pace with New York, and the great West generally throughout its borders was as prodigal of its resources as the wealthy East. Patriotic women also took their share in the good work, and especially in providing articles of every kind for the wants of the soldiers, such as hospital stores, haversacks, delicacies for the sick, and the like. Many an one, too, though bred in luxury, gave her services in the good cause, quietly and unostentatiously, but none the less acceptably; and were the full record ever to be made up, it would show such acts of personal devotion on the part of our countrywomen as have never been surpassed.*

The month of May found the country actively engaged in preparations for the conflict of arms. Forces were mustering into service; officers were busy at recruiting stations; companies were forming; men were enlisting in favorite regiments; private contributions, as well as legislative loans

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* On this subject may be consulted to advantage "The Tribute Book, a Record of the Munificence, Self-sacrifice, and Patriotism of the American people during the war for the Union." By Frank B. Goodrich, New York, 1865, pp. 572.

or grants, were freely supplied; and early in May, there were at least 100,000 men in active preparation for the field. The promptitude and enthusiasm of the people were ably seconded by the governors of the states, and it was a truly noble and inspiriting spectacle to behold the heartiness and unselfishness of those who had resolved that the Union should never perish through their neglect or lack of devotion to its best interests.*

On the 3d of May, the president issued a proclamation, calling for troops, to serve for three years, unless sooner discharged. Forty-two thousand volunteers were thus called for, while the regular army was directed to be increased by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and one of artillery, making an aggregate of nearly 23,000 officers and men. Eighteen thousand seamen were, at the same time, ordered to be enlisted for the naval service of the United States. Having stated that these requisitions and acts would be submitted to Congress, as soon it assembled, the president said :—"In the meantime, I earnestly invoke the co-operation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and with those, of happiness and prosperity throughout our country."

It was not, however, in the loyal states alone that active and energetic measures were pursued. The southern leaders, who had long before marked out their course of proceedings, pushed forward operations in every direction. The work of public spoliation, which was begun at Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans, was also vigorously carried on in other regions of the country. Within a few days of the fall of Sumter, the steam transport Star of the West, loaded with provisions, sent for the relief of the United States troops in Texas, was treacherously seized at Indianola by a body of insurgents, under Colonel Van Dorn; the arsenals at Liberty in Missouri, Fayetteville in North Carolina, and Napoleon in Arkansas, with stores of arms and ammunition, were plundered by the rebels; Fort Smith, in Arkansas, was taken possession of by Colonel Solon Borland, the leader of a volunteer band of secessionists. In consequence of the various acts of robbery and violence in Virginia and North Carolina, defeating the exercise of the proper powers of the federal government, President Lincoln, on the 27th of April, by proclamation, extended the blockade of the southern coast to those states.*

As Washington was now considered

* The activity, zeal, and courage of the governors of the loyal states, deserve especial mention. Not only in the older states, but in the great West, these qualities were nobly exemplified. In Indiana, for instance, Governor Morton called for the troops apportioned to that state by the president's proclamation. In less than eight days, more than 12,000 men, three times the number asked for, tendered their services in behalf of their country.

* On the 20th of May, the United States marshals, by order of the government, seized upon all the dispatches and communications in the leading telegraph offices in the North. This was done in order to discover secret confederate allies and sympathizers in the loyal states, and thus to defeat their plans and purposes.

to be safe from any rebel attack, it was but natural that some active steps should be called for, in order to put an end to the insolent pretensions of secessionists and violators of the law. Arlington Heights might be, and probably would be, taken possession of by the rebels, if time were allowed them; and then, what roused the blood of many a patriotic citizen and soldier, there, just across the river, in full sight from the capital, the secession flag was displayed, as if in mockery of the majesty and dignity of that government which the father of his country gave his whole life to uphold. It was therefore resolved to make a forward movement into Virginia. This was accomplished on the night of the 23d of May, under the direction of Gen. Mansfield. The force which crossed the Potomac consisted of some 13,000 in all, and immediate possession was taken of Arlington Heights and of Alexandria. At this latter place, Colonel Ellsworth, with his noted New York Fire Zouaves, arrived by water, very early in the morning of the 24th of May. His first impulse was to destroy the railroad communication, and to seize upon the telegraph office, both of them measures of importance; but, as he was on his way to the office of the telegraph, he espied flying from the Marshall House, a second class hotel, a confederate flag. Although accompanied by only three or four persons, Ellsworth, with more enthusiasm than discretion, rushed into the house, mounted to the roof, cut down the flag, and having wrapped it round his body was coming down the stairs. The proprietor of the house, a man by the name of Jackson, met him, and seeing what had been done, fired into his bosom. Ellsworth fell dead, and Jackson immediately after was killed by one of the zouaves in company. The funeral ceremonies in connection with Ellsworth's death were impressive and largely attended, both in Washington and New York. On the other hand, the southern press lauded Jackson's act as a noble deed, and worthy of perpetual memory.* At the North, Ellsworth was looked upon as having been *assassinated;* at the South, Jackson was called a *hero* and a *martyr*. However the incident may be viewed, it certainly indicated at the time, that there was likely to be a terrible earnestness on both sides; that the contest was a real one which was now inaugurated; that the day of words had passed; and that the hour for deeds had arrived.

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The determination of the government to use such force as was at its command, in order to suppress the rebellion, caused no little alarm to the secession leaders; and notwithstanding much boasting on their part as to their superior prowess, it was felt that the North was now fully roused, and settled in its conviction in regard to the duty owed to our native land in this hour of trial. All the hopes and expectations based on the alliance and aid looked for from northern sources were futile and valueless,†

* See Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. i., pp. 195 to 202, for a full account of Ellsworth's death and the circumstances attending it. For the "fire-eating" statement, overflowing with furious words, see Pollard's "*First Year of the War*," vol. i., pp. 72–76, and the "*Charleston Mercury*," of that date.

† Franklin Pierce, formerly president of the United

and if the rebel states were to fight at all, they found that they must rely on their own resources in the present emergency. Jefferson Davis, the astute politician and fit leader in a bad cause, was well aware of all this; and consequently, every effort was made to nerve the deluded people, who had been drawn into secession and rebellion, to enter with all their might into the contest. At Harper's Ferry, Manassas, Hampton, and Richmond, the rebels were strongly posted, and it was the plan of the leaders to make Virginia, as far as possible, the battle-ground on which to test the cause they had adopted, against the force of arms wielded by Union hands. Davis and his co-workers knew that, on every account, it was important as well as desirable for them and their so-called government to be in Virginia; and accordingly, they made arrangements to this effect as speedily as possible.

At the close of April, (see vol. iii. p. 562,) the Confederate Congress met at Montgomery, Alabama, and Davis, in his address, made an elaborate apol-

1861. ogy for southern secession. It was prepared with undoubted ability and skill; but, like all papers of the kind, emanating from that source, it was based upon the necessary sophism of sovereign state rights and the secession of any state at pleasure, the Union being a mere rope of sand. The apology was intended for effect abroad quite as much as at home; and subsequent events showed that Davis had made his calculations to good purpose. On the 6th of May, the Montgomery Congress formally declared war on the United States, as a foreign power. An enlistment act was passed; an issue of $50,000,000 treasury notes was authorized; debtors were forbidden to pay their northern creditors, etc. By request, Davis appointed a fast day, and on the 21st of May, the congress adjourned, to meet July 20th, in Richmond, Virginia, which was henceforth to be the capital of the Confederate States of America. Immediately Davis left Montgomery, and, on arriving at Richmond, on the 28th, was received with due honor and attention. Some of his words may be quoted here, as manifesting the spirit which actuated the head of the rebel organization. Speaking of the loyal population in the free states, he said: "They have allowed an ignorant usurper to trample upon all the prerogatives of citizenship, and to exercise powers never delegated to him; and it has been reserved to your own state, so lately one of the original thirteen, but now, thank God, fully separated from them, to become the theatre of a great central camp, from which will pour forth thousands of brave hearts to roll back the tide of this despotism. Apart from that gratification we may well feel at being separated from such a connection, is the pride that upon *you* devolves the task

States, wrote to Jefferson Davis, January 6th, 1860, encouraging him and others in their fell designs, in language such as this: "Without discussing the question of right, of abstract power to secede, I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without blood; and if through the madness of northern abolitionism that dire calamity must come, the fighting will not be along Mason's and Dixon's line merely. *It will be within our own borders, in our own streets*, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred. Those who defy law and sacred constitutional obligations, will, if ever we reach the arbitrament of arms, find occupation enough at home."

of maintaining and defending our new government."

Beauregard reached Richmond a few days afterwards, to take command in Virginia. Before leaving Charleston, he gave expression to the disappointment and spite entertained at the South towards Gen. Scott, because the brave old hero held to his loyalty without wavering.* On the 5th of June, Beauregard issued a proclamation, which, for its ridiculous bluster and foul-mouthed insinuations, was not surpassed by any of the southern rebels, military or otherwise. "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal, and constitutional restraints, has thrown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage, too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war-cry is, '*Beauty and Booty!*' All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest." With this, and more such like stuff, Beauregard entered upon his work in Virginia. Troops from every quarter were gathered together, and generals and other officers of various grades, who had forsworn themselves by deserting the flag of the United States, were busily engaged in fortifying various points, and in bringing the troops into as high a state of discipline and efficiency as was in their power.

The rebels saw no opportunity now of assaulting Washington, or carrying the war, as they had been led to hope, into the loyal states. Their main efforts were now directed to the sustaining and holding the positions already occupied, and to the repulsing the advances of the Union troops. Numerous skirmishes and collisions, of no great moment, occurred at several points in Virginia; and the gunboats began to prove their value at Sewall's Point, Acquia Creek, Matthias Point, etc. On the 1st of June, Lieutenant Tompkins with a company of cavalry, **1861.** made a bold dash into Fairfax Court-House, and defeated a detachment of the enemy whom he found there. Two days later, a camp of some 1,500 secessionists at Philippi, Barbour Co., in Western Virginia, was assaulted by Union troops under Colonels Kelly and Dumont. A heavy storm interfered with their operations; Col. Kelly was dangerously wounded; but the rebels were routed and ran away, leaving everything behind. A spirited advance of an Indiana regiment, under Colonel Wallace, was made on the 11th

* See Beauregard's letter to Gen. Martin, May 27th, 1861: "Whatever happens at first, we are certain to have triumph at last, even if we had for arms only pitchforks and flint-lock muskets; for every bushand hay-stack will become an ambush, and every barn a fortress. The history of nations proves that a gallant and free people, fighting for their independence and firesides, are invincible against even disciplined mercenaries at a few dollars per month. What, then, must be the result when its enemies are little more than an armed rabble, gathered together hastily on a false pretence and for an unholy purpose, with an octogenarian at its head? None but the demented can doubt the issue."

of June, in a rapid march across Hampshire County; a body of secessionists at Romney was dispersed and compelled to retreat. On the 9th of June, Gen. Patterson at Chambersburg, Penn., advanced towards Harper's Ferry with a considerable force; the result of which movement was, that on the 14th, the rebels abandoned that position, after having burned the railroad bridge over the Potomac, destroyed all the property they could, and torn up the track of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for about twelve miles from the Ferry.

Gen. Butler, having in command, at Fortress Monroe, about 6,000 men, learned that the enemy had fortified themselves strongly at Big Bethel, some twelve miles from the fortress.* A secret expedition was thereupon prepared to drive them out. Late on the night of the 19th of June, boats conveyed troops, under Col. Duryea, across Hampton Creek, to take the advance. These reached Little Bethel, a few miles from Big Bethel, about four o'clock in the morning, and made prisoners of a picket guard of the enemy. Every thing promised success; but unhappily, the main body, consisting of two regiments, in the darkness of the night mistook each other for enemies, and fired both musketry and cannon, killing two and wounding nineteen. The rebels received warning of the approaching expedition and profited by it; so that, when towards noon the assault was made by the Union troops, it proved unsuccessful, and the order was given to retreat. Major Winthrop and Lieut. Greble were killed, together with quite a large number of the troops, and the expedition turned out to be a failure.

On the 17th of June, Gen. Schenck, by order of Gen. McDowell, went on a reconnoitring expedition with the 1st Ohio regiment. The troops left Alexandria in the cars on the Leesburg Railroad, and soon after reached the little village of Vienna. **1861.** Here a masked battery was opened upon them with fearful destructiveness; and although the Ohio men stood their ground bravely, they were at last compelled to retire. Their loss was five killed, six wounded and seven missing; the enemy, it was reported, suffered no loss whatever. At the same date, June 16th, Gen. Thomas crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, Maryland, but was ordered to recross on the 18th, which gave the rebels a fresh chance for destruction at Harper's Ferry. General Patterson, in command, crossed at Williamsport on July 2d; and it was estimated that at the close of the month of June, there were on and near the Potomac a hundred thousand troops, more or less ready for active service. The rebel force, as nearly as could be ascertained, was supposed to be, though it was not, equal to ours in number.

With such and such like evidences

* The facilities afforded to the rebels by slave labor in erecting fortifications, etc., brought up a novel and rather difficult question. At Hampton, when the whites fled, the negroes came into camp near Fortress Monroe. What was to be done with them? Gen. Butler could not think it right to send them back to their masters to work against the Union and its cause; so, with great cleverness, he pronounced them *contraband of war*. When a certain lawyer, named Mallory, sent for three fugitives, the above was the answer he received; with the privilege, however, of coming in, and on taking the oath of allegiance, receiving back his slaves. The government sustained the action of Gen. Butler, whose letter to Gen. Scott, May 27th, is worth reading even at this day.

of the uprising and spirit of the people, there was good ground to hope that they would manfully sustain the Union and the integrity of the nation. Few, very few probably, appreciated at all fully, the vastness and fearfulness of the struggle now at hand; and it was not till many months had rolled by, that the loyal supporters of the government understood the greatness of the work imposed upon them, and the many and peculiar trials and hardships yet to be undergone by those who were determined to sustain the Constitution and laws of our country.

In concluding the present chapter, we may fitly make mention of the closing scenes of Senator Douglas's life and career. This distinguished statesman, though defeated in the presidential election, and though, as a democrat, far too obsequious to the South and its politicians, was nevertheless too good a patriot and too sincere a lover of the Union, not to give all his support to the new administration in its effort to put down secession and rebellion. Having left Washington, after the adjournment of Congress, he was frequently called on, on his way home, to address the people. On the 1st of May, at Chicago, he spoke freely and at large. A sentence or two will give evidence of the spirit of the man: "That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those states what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity. The return we receive is war, armies marched upon our capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. . . . The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised; war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war—*only patriots or traitors.*"

On the 10th of May, being too unwell to leave his room, he dictated his last letter, reiterating his often expressed sentiments; in this letter he said: "My previous relations to them (Mr. Lincoln and his party) remain unchanged; but I trust the time will never come when I shall not be willing to make any needful sacrifice of personal feeling and party policy for the honor and integrity of my country. I know of no mode by which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the Flag, the Constitution, and the Union, under all circumstances, and under every administration (regardless of party politics), against all assailants, at home and abroad."

Uttering such sentiments as these Stephen Arnold Douglas died, on the 3d of June, 1861, in the 49th year of his age. All political animosity ceased on his death, and the country generally mourned his loss in the existing crisis in its affairs.

CHAPTER III.

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POSITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE BORDER STATES.

Kentucky wishes to be neutral — Gov. Magoffin's proclamation — Neutrality impossible — Magoffin's letter to the president — Reply — Legislature in session — Grant's course — Efforts of rebels — Anderson in command — Contests in Kentucky — Condition of Missouri — Governor Jackson — F. P. Blair — Capt. (General) Lyon's zeal — Breaks up Camp Jackson — General Harney's doings — Lyon in command — Gov. Jackson calls out 50,000 militia — Lyon at Jefferson City and Booneville — Western Virginia — Population, character, etc.—Secession denounced — Meeting at Clarksburg — Convention at Wheeling — Its action — Address of Governor Pierrepont — Meeting of the legislature — General McClellan's activity — Attacks rebels at Beverly, Laurel Hill, Rich Mountain — Surrender of Pegram — Death of Garnett — Eastern Tennessee — Feeling of the people — Position of this part of the state — Convention at Knoxville — Vote of Tennessee on secession — Convention at Greenville — Declaration of Grievances — Sufferings of the people in East Tennessee — Andrew Johnson — The appeal to the sword — Relative position of the loyal and seceding states in respect to population, claims of law and order, habits and education of the people, means of defence and offence, preparedness for war, importance of cotton to the world, foreign sympathy and aid, etc.

TURNING our attention to the Southwest, we find matters of interest and importance transpiring in Kentucky and Missouri. We have spoken on a previous page (see p. 23) of Virginia and Tennessee, and the means resorted to by secessionists, not only to crush out Union sentiments, but to force those states into joining Davis and company. In Kentucky and Missouri similar efforts were made, and it was from no want of exertion on the part of the rebels that these states were saved from being dragged into the vortex of disunion. Kentucky, by advice of the governor and secession sympathizers, was asked to take the ground of *neutrality* between the loyal and insurrectionary states; a ground which, from the nature of the case, could never be maintained. Gov. Magoffin placed the "State Guard," under Gen. S. B. Buckner's command. This person recruited all he could and dispatched them as soon as possible to join the rebel army; and when he had corrupted as many Kentuckians as he was able to reach, he followed them into the camp of treason, ready to imbrue his hands in the blood of those who loved and meant to uphold the Union. The government, on its part, was not prepared to give up its rights; and the Union men in Kentucky sought the aid of loyal troops to keep down secession plans and movements in their state. The legislature met, April 28th, and Gov. Magoffin, asserting that the Union was dissolved, called on the members of the legislature to summon a convention of the people, that process by which disunionists and traitors had

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heretofore effected so much mischief. The legislature declined any such measure, and refused to sanction the governor's views, as set forth in his proclamation, May 20th. In this document, he speaks of "standing aloof from an unnatural, horrid and lamentable strife," of "resisting and preventing encroachment on the soil, rights, honor and sovereignty of Kentucky," and goes on to declare: "I hereby notify and warn all other states, separated or united, especially the United and Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon Kentucky soil, or occupation of any post or place therein for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative and executive authorities. I especially forbid all citizens of Kentucky, whether incorporated in the State Guard or otherwise, making any hostile demonstrations against any of the aforesaid sovereignties, to be obedient to the orders of lawful authorities, to remain quietly and peaceably at home, when off military duty, and refrain from all words and acts likely to provoke a collision, and so otherwise conduct themselves that the deplorable calamity of invasion may be averted; but meanwhile to make prompt and efficient preparation to assume the paramount and supreme law of self-defence, and strictly of self-defence alone."

As might have been foreseen, the attempted neutrality of Kentucky could not be maintained for any length of time. Volunteers entered the Union service, and others took positions in the confederate armies.* The authorities of Tennessee interfered with the operations of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and prevented traffic over it for general purposes of commerce, especially for provisions and supplies. This roused the Union men to greater efforts, and a small encampment of Federal troops under General Nelson was formed in Garrard county. This was denounced by Governor Magoffin as a violation of the neutrality of the state, and he sent by the hands of two "commissioners" a letter to President Lincoln, demanding the withdrawal of the troops. This was under date, of August 19th; a few days afterwards the president, in pretty sharp terms, declined of course to have anything to do with the Kentucky governor's commissioners, and refused to order the Union troops to leave the state. Jefferson Davis also was addressed and asked to do the same thing with the rebel troops; but Davis replied, that he was sorry to say that he was compelled by necessity to seize upon points of moment to prevent their being taken possession of by the Union forces. Previous to this, Tennessee troops had invaded Kentucky, and carried off six cannons and 1,000 stand of arms.

The legislature met, September 2d; it was very decidedly Union in its composition, and not at all disposed to favor Magoffin's views; on the contrary, the legislature resolved, Sept. 9th, that the

* "Men, munitions, and supplies were openly, and almost daily, dispatched to the mustering rebel hosts in the South and South-east; while for months, nothing was done by Kentucky for the cause of the Union. The first regiment of Kentuckians raised for the Union armies was encamped on the free side of the river, in deference to urgent representations from professed Unionists and to Kentucky's proclaimed neutrality."—Greeley's "*American Conflict*," vol. i., p. 493.

invading secession forces should be expelled by calling out all the troops of the state, that aid be asked from the United States, and that Gen. R. Anderson be requested to enter upon his command immediately. Hickman and Chalk Bluffs had been seized upon and fortified by the confederates. General Grant, alive to the importance of prompt action, marched a force from Cairo, Sept. 6th, and took possession of Paducah, where he found everything prepared for rebel arrival instead of for him and his men. He issued a proclamation, simple and straightforward in its terms, stating that his business was to deal with armed rebellion, and nothing else would be interfered with. Columbus was occupied by the rebel General (Bishop) Polk, Sept. 7th. Zollicoffer, in the eastern part of the state, had some days before seized upon Cumberland Gap, on the same plea of military necessity, and he further said he meant to hold it for the rebels.

Gen. Anderson assumed command of the district allotted him, on Sept. 20th. Union volunteers were called for to drive out the invaders and support the cause of our common country. Zollicoffer advanced to Barboursville, and captured a Union camp. A month later, October 21st, he marched upon Camp Wild Cat, where Gen. Schoepf, in command of the forces, repulsed him with severe loss. A rebel force at Piketown, in eastern Kentucky, was gathered under Col. Williams. Gen. Nelson marched to disperse it, Nov. 8th, but Williams succeeded in getting off, and retreated to Pound Gap. Gen. Anderson, finding his health unequal to the task of public service, resigned, and General W. T. Sherman, in October, took command. From henceforth Kentucky showed herself to be, and remained, heart and soul in the Union.

In regard to Missouri, it deserves to be noted, that her position and influence with reference both to the older states and the vast territory of the United States beyond her limits, were of prime importance to the cause of the Union. Elements of discord, it is true, existed in her midst, and there were not a few secession agitators in the state; but, on the other hand, there were noble and active loyal men in Missouri, able and ready to meet and counteract the plans of the governor and all his helpers. Governor Jackson tried to persuade the state to cast in her destiny with those who had seceded. He advocated an armed neutrality; got the police of St. Louis entirely under his control; and expected to be able to help disunion in this way, and sooner or later to get Missouri into the secession ranks. But, under the clear sighted intelligence and action of Col. F. P. Blair, in St. Louis, a volunteer military guard, largely composed of Germans, was raised, which became the nucleus of a national army on the soil of that city. Captain (afterwards General) N. Lyon was also an efficient helper in the good cause. He was in command at the arsenal in St. Louis, and during the absence of General Harney, was in charge of the entire department. He had served under Gen. Scott in Mexico, and was a fine specimen of a loyal, brave, and energetic soldier. Acting under instruc- 1861.

tions from Washington, Captain Lyon delivered, on the 25th of April, a large quantity of arms, some 20,000 or more, to Captain Stokes of Chicago, who had been sent with a requisition from the secretary of war to convey these arms to Springfield, Illinois. The transfer was not effected without considerable danger from the excited crowd of secessionists in St. Louis; but, by zeal and courage combined, the arms were saved from falling into the hands of those who did not scruple to steal United States property, as in Virginia, North Carolina, and other states.

Being entrusted with further powers by the president, to enrol 10,000 loyal men if needed for the maintenance of the authority of the United States in St. Louis and Missouri generally, Captain Lyon proceeded to vigorous measures. He resolved, with Colonel Blair's help, to break up Camp Jackson, as it was called, where the State Guard were gathered, waiting their opportunity to give help to secession and rebellion. Early on the morning of May 10th, with some 6,000 men and artillery, Lyon appeared, wholly unexpectedly, at the camp. He demanded its immediate surrender, as being made up of elements hostile to the government and in open communication with the southern confederacy. General Frost, who was in command of the state troops, had no alternative. Lyon was resolute and peremptory. Everything was surrendered; 20 cannon, 1,200 new rifles, a large amount of ammunition, etc. On the return to St. Louis with the prisoners, the troops were mobbed and grossly insulted by the enraged secessionists; shots were fired; and the soldiers returning the fire at last, killed and wounded some forty to fifty persons. Great excitement was produced, and threats of vengeance made; but it was evident, that the United States commander was in earnest and not to be trifled with. Capt. Lyon's course was highly approved at Washington, and he was at once raised to the rank of brigadier-general of the first brigade of Missouri Volunteers.

General Harney returned from the east on the 12th of May, and resumed command in Missouri. He issued two proclamations, giving the governor and legislature to understand that he would maintain the authority of the United States against all secessionary movements. A week or so later, however, Gen. Harney entered into a sort of truce or compact with Gen. Sterling Price, who had been placed by Governor Jackson in command of all the state militia. The professed object of this arrangement was to restore peace and good order, and to put a stop to military movements of various kinds in the state. "We do, therefore, mutually enjoin upon the people of the state to attend to their civil business, of whatever sort it may be; and it is to be hoped that the unquiet elements which have threatened so seriously to disturb the public peace, may soon subside, and be remembered only to be deplored." But, as notwithstanding this so-called truce, Union men in Missouri were hunted down and maltreated, and as it was evident the compact was, as it was meant to be, by secessionists, of service

and protection to treason only, General Harney's course was promptly repudiated at Washington, and General Lyon, on the 1st of June, was placed in command of the department. This active and energetic officer, at an interview with Governor Jackson and General Price, on the 11th, positively refused to agree to any measures other than those which he had thus far steadily been carrying out. He put no faith in the professions of the governor and his sympathizers, and he would not listen for a moment to any proposal which looked towards giving up the vantage ground already held by the government. He further demanded the disarming of the state militia and the rejection of the obnoxious militia bill, and insisted upon the full and unrestricted right of the government to take any steps it deemed necessary, in order to protect Union men and repress insurrection.

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Governor Jackson, thinking these terms to be "degrading," as he phrased it, issued a proclamation, calling for 50,000 state militia to repel federal invasion, and to protect life, liberty and property in Missouri. He acknowledged that the state was still one of the United States, and to a certain extent bound to obey the government; but he closed in the following words, which show plainly the *animus* at the bottom:—"It is my duty to advise you that *your first allegiance is due to your own state*, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the *unconstitutional* edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this state. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. *Rise, then, and drive out ignominiously the invaders*, who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes."

Gen. Lyon, in carrying out his instructions from headquarters, not only issued a proclamation, denouncing the action of the governor as setting at defiance the authorities of the United States and consummating his treasonable purposes, but he also resolved to arrest the rebel authorities and break up their military preparations. He moved at once on Jefferson City, which was reached on the 15th of June; but he found that Jackson had retreated some forty miles above, to Booneville, cutting off the telegraph and destroying the railroad bridges on the route. Gen. Lyon followed him, and two days afterwards defeated and dispersed the hostile forces. At the same time, in a proclamation the next day, he avowed the most liberal and conciliatory policy towards all quiet and orderly persons in Missouri.

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It is interesting, in this connection, to take note of the position of affairs in Western Virginia and Eastern Tennessee. Virginia, as previously related, (see p. 22) had, through its unscrupulous governor and legislature, been carried into the arms of secession. But there was, notwithstanding, a large portion of the people who abhorred the course which had been forced upon the

state, and who resolved to resist to the utmost the designs of the rebels, and to stand by the Union in its integrity. Especially was this the case in Western Virginia. In the counties west of the Blue Ridge there were some 10,000 slaves, while in those on the east the number reached to nearly half a million. The white population was decidedly more numerous in the western part of the state than elsewhere, and rapid advances were being made in the development of its agricultural and industrial resources, in comparison with the stagnation in the counties more favored in many respects on the seaboard. That extensive western region, bounded by the Alleghany Mountains and the Ohio River, and bordering on the north upon Pennsylvania, had little indeed in common with the slave-holding, slave-trading interests and southern sympathies of the eastern division. Thus socially and industrially, as well as geographically, situated, they felt the pressure of taxation to be very unequal as compared with the more favored slave-holders, and they were not prepared to give themselves up to joining the secessionists in their mad and wicked purposes against the very life of the Republic.

Acting on their convictions, these patriotic Virginians denounced the proceedings of Governor Letcher and the secession leaders. A meeting was held at Clarksburg, in Harrison county, on the 22d of April, and the initial step was taken to separate Western Virginia from any part or lot in the evil counsels prevailing throughout the rest of the state. Delegates were chosen from the various counties west of the Alleghanies, and a convention was held at Wheeling, May 13th, to consider and determine upon the action requisite in the existing crisis. Resolutions were passed, condemning the ordinance of secession, as "unconstitutional, null and void," and declaring the annexation to the southern confederacy "a plain and palpable violation of the constitution of the state, and utterly subversive of the rights and liberties of the good people thereof." Provision was also made for a convention of representatives of the people, to be held at Wheeling, June 11th, in case the ordinance of secession should be ratified, as was proposed, on the 23d of May, (see p. 23).

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On the day appointed the convention assembled. Forty counties (five to the east of the Alleghanies) were represented, and the delegates entered upon their work, first taking an oath to support the Constitution and laws of the United States. It was maintained, that the government at Richmond, having violated the constitution of the state, its authority was thereby annulled, and that the offices of all who adhered to the usurping convention and executive were, *ipso facto*, vacant. After a few days' discussion, this view was found to prevail, and a declaration, setting forth the motives of the decision, and an ordinance for the reorganization of the state government, were passed by a nearly unanimous vote. The declaration was forcible and clear in its statements as to the necessity of energetic action. The ordinance, reorganizing the state government, provided for the

appointment, by the convention, of a governor, lieutenant-governor, council, and legislature, composed of the delegates to the general assembly chosen in May, and the senators entitled under existing laws to seats in the next general assembly, who should qualify themselves by taking a prescribed oath, pledging their support to the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof as the the supreme law of the land, anything in the ordinances of the Richmond convention to the contrary notwithstanding, and to uphold and defend the government ordained by the convention at Wheeling. F. H. Pierrepont was chosen governor, and inaugurated the next day, June 20th.

In the governor's inaugural address he took occasion to speak very plainly of the conduct of the secessionists, and also of the imperative need of the course which had been adopted by the loyal inhabitants. "We have been driven into the position we occupy to-day, by the usurpers at the South, who have inaugurated this war upon the soil of Virginia, and have made it the great Crimea of this contest. We, representing the loyal citizens of Virginia, have been bound to assume the position we have assumed to-day, for the protection of ourselves, our wives, our children and our property. We, I repeat, have been driven to assume this position; and now we are but recurring to the great fundamental principle of our fathers, that to the loyal people of a state belongs the law-making power of that state. The loyal people are entitled to the government and governmental authority of the state. And, fellow-citizens, it is the assumption of that authority upon which we are now about to enter."

The legislature met on the 22d of July; the new government was recognized by the president; two senators, Messrs. J. S. Carlisle and W. T. Willey, were chosen to take the place of the seceders, Mason and Hunter (which they did on the 13th of July); and various enactments were made suitable to the present condition of things.*

Previous to this, General McClellan, having resigned his connection with the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad in order to serve in the army, had been ordered by the president, to take charge of military operations west of the Alleghanies; consequently, the defence of Western Virginia was promptly looked after. On the 26th of May, immediately subsequent to the vote on the secession ordinance, General McClellan issued a stirring proclamation from Cincinnati, Ohio, setting forth his intentions, and urging the people of Virginia to join the Union standard.† Forces

* Governor Letcher, on the 14th of June, issued a proclamation to the people of North Western Virginia. Among other things, he besought them to join him and the secession party, in such phrase as this:—"By all the sacred ties of consanguinity, by the intermixtures of the blood of East and West, by common paternity, by friendships hallowed by a thousand cherished recollections and memories of the past, by the relics of the great men of other days, come to Virginia's banner, and drive the invader from your soil." But John Letcher's appeals were in vain; the people rallied under the old flag and defended it on every occasion.

† One passage from this proclamation may here be quoted, as bearing on a subject of great perplexity to the government:—"Your houses, your families, and property are safe under our protection. All your rights shall be religiously protected. Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to

were pushed forward, and in conjunction with Virginia troops entered upon active operations against the rebels. Colonel Kelly's movement upon Grafton and Philippi we have already noticed (see p. 34), as also that of Colonel Wallace across Hampshire County.

Gen. McClellan ascertaining that the enemy had taken post at Laurel Hill, near Beverly, so as to command the road to the southern part of the state and secure supplies, determined to drive them out, and if possible capture the enemy's forces. His plan was to occupy the attention of the rebels under Gen. Garnett (formerly a United States officer), by seeming to make a direct attack, while a strong force was marching round to his rear, in order to gain possession of the road above spoken of. On the 7th of July, Gen. Morris, taking about 4,000 men, moved from Philippi to Bealington in front, Gen. McClellan having previously, with the main body, consisting of 10,000 men, advanced from Clarksburg, by way of Buckhannon, from the west, so as to attack the enemy's left at Rich Mountain. This was on the 1st of July. Skirmishing ensued for several days in various directions and with varied success.

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On the 11th of July, General McClellan, making his way toward Beverly, was encamped with his forces a short distance to the west of Rich Mountain, in front of the rebel entrenchments on the road. So well was the enemy's position defended by art and natural advantages, that a direct attack was considered impracticable without the certainty of great loss. Colonel Rosecrans, with about 3,000 men, was then sent across the hills southeasterly to attack the enemy's rear, while McClellan was to attack the front, so soon as he heard from Rosecrans. Colonel Pegram, the rebel commander, did not, however, wait for the assault, but moved off in the night, hoping to join his forces to those of Garnett. On finding his rear entirely exposed by this retreat of Pegram, Gen. Garnett evacuated his camp, intending to reach Beverly in advance of McClellan, and to withdraw by the road to Southern Virginia. This was soon found to be impossible, and escape was sought in another direction. Col. Pegram surrendered with his entire force, on the 12th of July; and Gen. Garnett, striving to cross the mountains into the valley of Virginia, was hotly pursued, on the 13th, by the Union troops under Captain Benham. At Carrick's Ford, on the Cheat River, the enemy attempted to make a stand; but Gen. Garnett was killed, and his forces were routed completely, only a small proportion out of several thousands making their escape.* "Our success," says General

believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly: not only will we abstain from all interference, but *we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part.*"

* Pollard, in his "*First Year of the War*," p. 84, estimates Garnett's force at less than 5,000 infantry, with four companies of cavalry, and Pegram's at about 1,600 men. McClellan is stated to have had with him a force of 20,000. Some Union writers make Garnett's force to have been nearly 10,000, and Pegram's about 2,000, while McClellan's is set down at 10,000. We give the numbers, on what appears to be the best authority, without vouching for their accuracy.

McClellan in his dispatch, July 14th, "is complete, and secession is killed in this country."

On the 19th of July, McClellan issued an address to his soldiers, full of glowing and encouraging words, inciting to future victory. On the 22d, however, (the day after the Bull Run disaster), he was summoned by the president to command the Army of the Potomac, and the army of occupation in Western Virginia was assigned to Gen. Rosecrans. By the activity of McClellan the Cheat Mountain Gaps, which formed the key to Western Virginia, were entrenched and held by a strong force of loyal troops.

In regard to Eastern Tennessee, it was not unnatural or unreasonable to find there a spirit and determination similar to those prevailing among loyal Virginians. The inhabitants were mostly agricultural, and less dependent upon slave labor than those in the western portion of the state, and they were ardently attached to the Union and its privileges. In both Virginia and Tennessee there was a hostile, dominant power, and both were betrayed by the arts and treachery of those who held the supremacy in local affairs. The situation, however, of Eastern Tennessee was less advantageous for the maintenance of the liberties of the people than that of her northern neighbor. Each had a bold, unscrupulous governor and legislature, ready and willing to act the traitor, and force the state into the embraces of secession. The one had its Letcher, a man thoroughly versed in political arts and appliances; the other had its Harris, equally reckless and far more tyrannical. In both states there was indeed a show of submitting the question of secession to a popular vote, but in both instances a treaty was formed with the rebel government, and the military resources of the state were placed at the command of Jefferson Davis before the vote was taken. Of course coercion and terrorism prevailed alike, with a deeper shade of malignity, however, in Tennessee, in proportion to the nearness of that state to the seat of the rebel government. Eastern Virginia, though deriving part of her wealth from the raising and selling slaves to the cotton planters, was yet dependent upon the skill and labor obtained from the North for developing her capacities of improvement; while Western Tennessee was not simply related to the South in manners and culture, but might be considered an integral part of the South itself. It was, consequently, a much harder task for the mountaineers of the Cumberland to contend with the wealthy slave proprietors on the Mississippi, than for a vigorous rural population bordering on Pennsylvania to hold their own against the dwellers on the James and the Rappahannock. If the chances in both cases had been equal within their borders, the contiguity of the more southern state to the desperadoes of Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, to say nothing of the refugee enemies of the Union in Kentucky, would have turned the scale against the efforts of the patriots of East Tennessee.

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The loyal citizens of this region, unwilling to give up their birthright with-

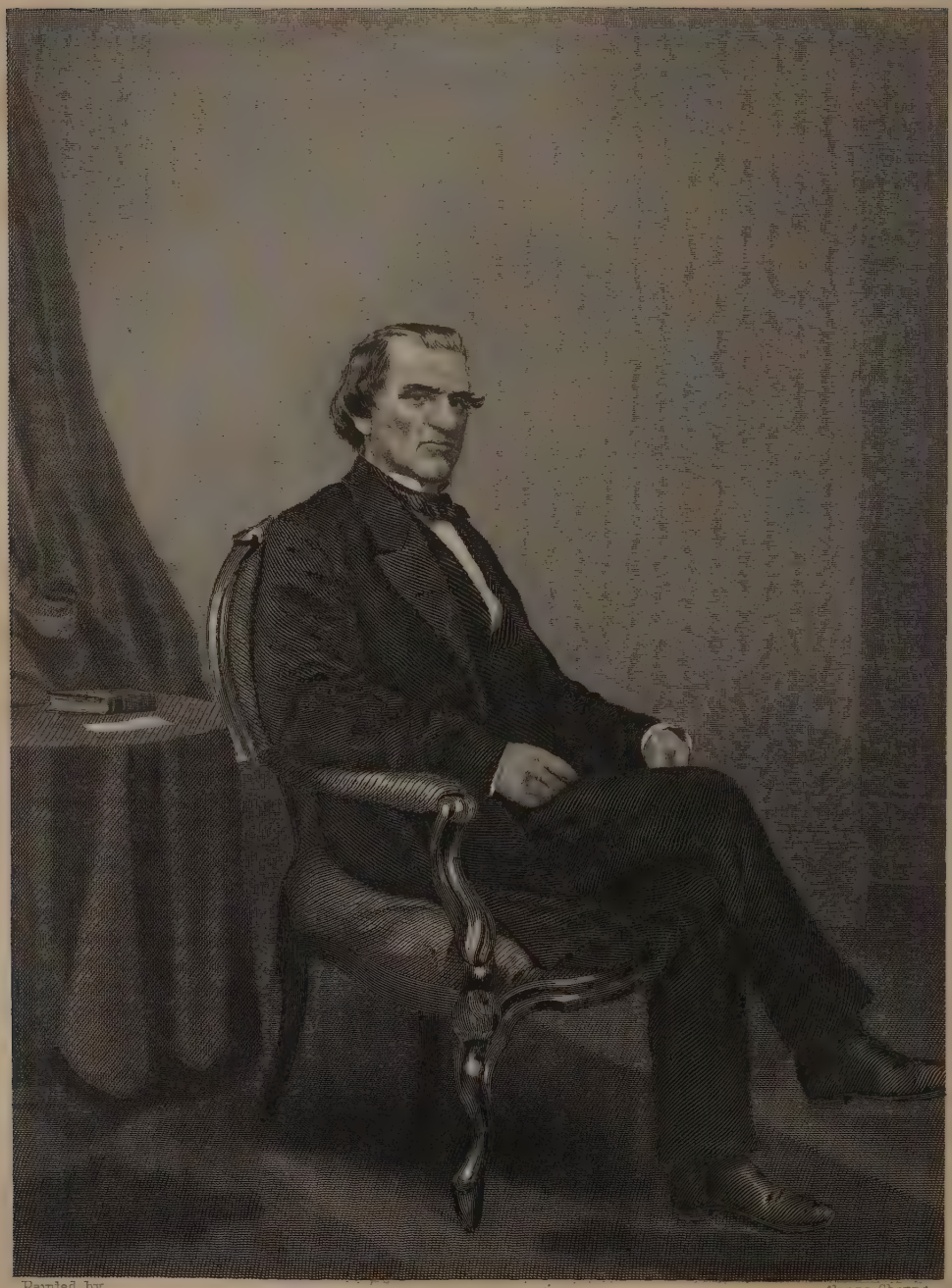
out an effort to preserve it, met in convention at Knoxville, May 30th. More than a thousand representatives assembled to take counsel in regard to the present crisis. The Hon. Thomas Nelson was chosen president, and addresses were made by Gen. Arnold and Senator Johnson. The proceedings were marked by earnest, intelligent, outspoken patriotism. Secession was denounced, and the people throughout the state were besought to resist it and vote it down on the day appointed, June 8th.

The people of the eastern counties responded nobly to the appeal of the convention. In twenty-nine counties the vote reached 32,923 against secession, while in its favor were cast 14,780, but these were made up fully one-half by the rebel troops voting without any right whatever. The vote of the entire state, as proclaimed by Gov. Harris, stood 104,019 for separation; 47,238 against. The entire vote in February had been, for no convention, 70,000, against, 50,000, and but three secessionists had been elected in the state. Yet, in only four months, Tennessee apparently underwent so marvellous a change; fit illustration of what political demagogues and schemers can and will do to accomplish their wicked ends.

The convention was again called together at Greenville, June 17th. A declaration of grievances was adopted, in which was a full recital of the course pursued by rebels and traitors. In no part of the state but East Tennessee, it was set forth, was the recent election free, and no where else was the Union allowed to be spoken of and advocated. Loyal men were overawed by the tyranny of the military power, and the still greater tyranny of a corrupt and subsidized press. In Memphis, for instance, out of more than 5,000 votes, only five freemen, at the risk of their lives, cast in Union votes. Numerous other statements were made, showing how little of fairness or honesty had been practised by the leaders in disunion and rebellion.

But there was now almost no opportunity for redress, or, as was contemplated, for separate action. The state was in the vortex of secession, and nothing could rescue it but the strong interposition of the United States government. So far from upholding the independence of their mountain region, the loyal men of Eastern Tennessee, after an ineffectual struggle, were hunted, imprisoned, and driven into exile. Thousands crossed the mountains by stealth to serve in the ranks of the Union army, that they might return to their homes under the flag of the Republic, and rescue their families and friends from the intolerable tyranny which oppressed them. The brave and much enduring men of this region were compelled to bide their time;* yet it was not wholly in silence; for Eastern Tennessee had men who were able and willing to raise their voices, as well as their arms, in her defence. Besides

* When Gen. Schoepf repulsed the rebels at Camp Wild Cat (see p. 39) the East Tennesseeans expected him to come to their aid. Deceived by the rebel reports of their great force at Bowling Green, Schoepf, after advancing two or three days in the direction of Cumberland Gap, retreated towards the Ohio, strewing the road with wrecked wagons, dead horses, etc., and leaving East Tennessee to her fate, much to the disappointment of those who loved the cause of loyalty and devotion to the common interests of our country.



Painted by Alonzo Chappe

Andrew Johnson

Lithographed from a Photograph on Stone

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Brownlow, Nelson and others, Andrew Johnson stood prominently forward. The high position attained by this last, in consequence of the assassination of President Lincoln, in 1865, will justify a brief notice here of his life and career.

Andrew Johnson was born at Raleigh, N. C., in 1808. While very young he lost his father, and was deprived of all advantages of education. He was apprenticed to a tailor, and served out his full term, seven years. In 1826, he removed to Greenville, Tennessee, where he served in several local offices. Having, by the severest labor and determination, improved himself in every possible way, reading and studying at night, he was advanced still further in popular favor. In 1841, he went into the state senate; two years later, he entered Congress; was elected governor of Tennessee in 1853, and again in 1855; and in 1857, was chosen United States Senator for the long term, six years. In politics, Johnson ranked among the old Jacksonian democracy; and when the rebellion broke out, he took his stand firmly on the side of law and order.

Evidently, the sword was now fully drawn. The question at issue was to be settled, not by words, not by appeals on either hand, not by menaces or threatenings, not at all, in fact, but by the stern, fearful, last arbitrament, that of blood. They who loved their country, and its honor and integrity, had no alternative; they had but to accept the issue thrust upon them, or see the Union rent in pieces, and national prosperity swallowed up in the abyss. The leaders in the southern conspiracy had prepared themselves for this issue by many years' laborious efforts; they had forced it upon the loyal supporters of the Constitution and laws of the United States; they had driven up to the point of fury and hatred the larger portion of the people of the South, and had compelled them to face the inevitable result. And now it was to be tested, whether this great Republic was worthy of its name and place in the family of nations, or whether it was to be broken in pieces, and become a subject for scorn and contempt among the enemies of freedom throughout the world.

Such being the issue, and such, as all men now saw, being the only mode of settlement, it may be well here to note briefly the relative position of the parties concerned in this memorable conflict, and to seek to form a clear conception of the prospects of those who had ranged themselves on the side of law and order, and on the side of disunion and revolution.

As regards population, according to the census of 1860 (see vol. iii., p. 553), the free states and territories contained nineteen millions, the slave states something over twelve millions. In addition to all the free states, which were for the Union, of course, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri were ranked in the same connection; the population of the loyal over the seceding states was, consequently, rather more than two to one. In the arts of industry, in commerce, trade, manufactures, shipping, etc., the free states were largely superior. In these respects, and

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in the universally recognized claim which all established governments have upon the fealty of their people, there can be no doubt that the loyal states stood, not only before the world, but in fact, in the position best calculated to command sympathy and enforce the requirements of the supreme law of the land. But, while all this was true, and no less important than true, it must be borne in mind, that the so-called "Confederacy" had several very decided advantages over the Union and its defenders.

The people of the South, principally owing to the fact of their being slaveholders, were not only bred up in aristocratic notions of superiority, and in contemptuous disregard for labor and its adjuncts, but were trained from boyhood in the use of fire-arms, and in various kinds of exercises fitting them for military life and its excitements. In the war of 1812, and in that with Mexico, the South furnished nearly twice as many soldiers as the North. So long as the system of slavery prevailed, and the class of laborers was such as rendered it degrading, in their eyes, for a white man to work, the masters were of course at liberty to devote themselves to the fascinating employments of hunting, racing, contests of skill, and the like; and "the chivalry" of the South was rarely deficient in zeal and spirit where its peculiar qualifications had room for display. At the North, on the other hand, the great mass of the population were engaged in the peaceful avocations of life, and had no time, even if they had the inclination, to devote attention to those particular things in which southern men excelled. The citizen soldiers were excellent in their way, but they were bred in time of peace, and never expected to be employed otherwise than in the customary displays in time of peace.

To this must be added the fact of the vastly superior position of the "Confederacy" for self-defence, for direct communication with each and all its parts, and for facility of intercourse by means of railroads and telegraphs. The secessionists had long been preparing for the contest; they understood thoroughly the topography of the country; they had made their calculations with great shrewdness and ability; and, counting largely upon the sympathy and co-operation of many in the North as well as in the old world, they were ready to enter with all their heart and soul into the war for disunion and separation from those whom they professed to, and probably did, hate and despise. The North was wholly *un*-prepared for war; the government had everything, almost, to learn; armies had to be created, in fact; and the vast distances between various points of attack, where to pierce the confederacy and break down its military power, increased immensely the difficulties in the way of Mr. Lincoln and his advisers. And further, believing, as the rebels did, that "cotton was king," they were so persuaded of its importance to the world, especially to England and France, that they expected the great powers of Europe to break up directly any blockade which might be attempted to be put in force by the

United States. It is true that this result did not take place, as they confidently looked for; but it is equally true, that the South obtained a great amount of sympathy and help from abroad, and the government was very seriously hampered and injured by the doings of the partisans for disunion on the other side of the Atlantic.

We need not, however, enlarge further on this topic at this time. On subsequent pages we shall have occasion to speak more fully of several points, which require careful examination in order rightly to comprehend the state of affairs in this great struggle for national existence.*

* See Greeley's "*American Conflict*," vol. i., pp. 498–516, in which is a carefully prepared estimate of "the relative strength of the opposing parties about to grapple in mortal combat." The reader will find these pages worth consulting and examining.

CHAPTER IV.

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CONGRESS IN SESSION; BULL RUN DISASTER.

Thirty-seventh Congress, extra session — President Lincoln's message — Extracts from — General object of message — Concluding words — Reports from the secretaries as to the army, navy, and treasury — Spirit of Congress — Special points of interest — Debate on the army bill — Resolution of the House and Senate after Bull Run defeat — Bill for confiscating the property of the rebels — Enacting clause approving the president's acts, proclamations, etc. — Adjournment of Congress — Confederate Congress — Davis's message — Its bitter tone — Various measures adopted — "On to Richmond!" — Impatience of the people — Gen. Patterson and his course — Gen. McDowell in command of Army of the Potomac — Force under his command — March of the Grand Army from Washington — Tyler at Blackburn's Ford — Change of plan — Vexatious and fatal delays — Extracts from McDowell's report, describing the battle of Bull Run — Jefferson Davis on the field — Numbers of the troops engaged on both sides — Losses at Bull Run according to the Union and rebel accounts — Beauregard's and Johnson's reasons for not pursuing the routed army — Rebel outrages — Effect of the disaster at Bull Run — Depression and discouragement — Criticism on the battle — Mr. Greeley's statements — Bitter but salutary lesson for the future.

ON the 4th of July, 1861, in compliance with the president's proclamation (see p. 19), the Thirty-seventh Congress met in Washington for its first session. Senators from twenty-five states were present, soon after the opening; in the House 159 representatives answered to their names; and Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker, on the second ballot. In both the Senate and the House there was a large, working majority of republicans. The next day, Mr. Lincoln sent in his first message to Congress. It was a document looked for with no ordinary interest in every part of the country, and was eagerly read and commented upon. In it the president discussed, at some length, the questions requiring speedy attention and action, and on account of which this extra session of the national legislature was called. A

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review of matters connected with the outbreak of the rebellion, and a brief statement of the policy of the new administration, were given in clear precise terms.* Inasmuch, however, as the secessionists were determined to force upon the country the issue, "immediate dissolution or blood," he stated distinctly what, in his judgment, Congress ought to do. "It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the government, for the work, at least 400,000 men and $400,000,000. That number of men is about one tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where, apparently, *all* are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money-value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of $600,000,000 *now*, is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was *then*, than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive *now*, to *preserve* our liberties, as each had *then* to *establish* them. A right result, at this time, will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant; and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the executive to give it practical shape and efficiency."

The latter part of the message was devoted to arguing again the question of secession and rebellion, and the president, in characteristic terms, denounced the folly and wickedness of those who, for thirty years, had been drugging the public mind with the sophism, "that any state of the Union may, *consistently* with the National Constitution, and therefore *lawfully* and *peaceably*, withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union or of any other state." "The states," as he justly said, "have their *status* IN the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest, or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the states, and, in fact, it created them as states. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them states such as they are. Not one of them ever had a state constitution independent of the

* In view of the objections made by Chief-justice Taney and others (see p. 29) on the subject of suspending *habeas corpus*, Mr. Lincoln briefly argued the legality of his course on the ground of pressing necessity: "The provision of the Constitution that 'the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it,' is equivalent to a provision—is a provision—that such privilege may be suspended when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety *does* require it. . . . . The Constitution itself is silent as to which, or who, is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that, in every case, the danger should run its course, until Congress could be called together; the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion."

Union. . . . . What is now combatted, is the position that secession is *consistent* with the Constitution—is *lawful* and *peaceful*. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased, with money, the countries out of which several of these states were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave, and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions), to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding states, in common with the rest. Is it just, either that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining states pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave, and pay no part of this herself? Again, if one state may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain. . . . . The principle (of secession) is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure. If all the states, save one, should assert the power to *drive* that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon state rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called 'driving the one out,' should be called 'the seceding of the others from that one,' it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do; unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do."

In concluding his message, Mr. Lincoln, aware of the prospect before him at so eventful a crisis, used words of solemn earnestness: "In full view of his great responsibility, the executive has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views, and your action, may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens, who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration to them under the Constitution and the laws. And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts."

The accompanying reports, from the secretaries in the several departments, gave full and accurate information as to the position of affairs, and the demands which were to be made upon the country in the emergency then existing. The entire army force was thus computed: regulars and volunteers for three months and the war, 235,000; regiments of volunteers

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accepted and not yet in service, 50,000; new regiments of the regular army, 25,000; making a total of 310,000. Deducting the 80,000 three months volunteers, 230,000 would be left for the effective national army for the war, and the speedy crushing out of the rebellion.

Secretary Welles, of the navy, reported, that, on the 4th of March, there were 69 vessels of all classes, in the navy, mounting 1,346 guns. The vessels in commission were mostly on foreign stations, with about 7,500 men, exclusive of officers and marines. The home squadron consisted of 12 vessels, carrying 187 guns, and about 2,000 men; added to this, was the demoralization among navy officers (259 resigned or were dismissed the service between March 4th and July 4th), although to their honor be it recorded, the crews, like brave and loyal men, stood by the flag of the Union, and were not to be seduced into betraying or deserting it. Necessity compelling immediate action, the navy department had, previous to the meeting of Congress, secured transport steamers, and given out contracts to build 23 gunboats, each of about 500 tons burden, as well as larger vessels. Eight sloops of war were put in forwardness at the navy yards, and seamen were being actively recruited. The effective force, at this date (July 4th), consisted of the squadron on the Atlantic coast, under the command of Flag-Officer S. H. Stringham, consisting of 22 vessels, 296 guns, and 3,300 men—and the squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, under the command of Flag-Officer William Mervine, consisting of 21 vessels, 282 guns, and 3,500 men.*

The secretary of the treasury, Mr. Chase, in view of the vast increase of expenditures consequent upon the crisis into which the country had fallen, estimated the coming year's outlay at $300,000,000. To meet this expenditure, custom duties, direct taxes and loans were recommended; and the secretary set forth at large that, in his judgment, the people would sustain the government in its call for funds to crush the rebellion. Startling as was the prospect of passing from the ordinary outlay of $60,000,000 a year to five times that amount, the government found by experience, that the loyal supporters of the Constitution and laws were fully equal to the demands then, or at any time, to be made upon them.†

Congress addressed itself to its duties with energy and determination. It was a fixed fact, that the Union must be maintained, and the legislature, by its votes, proved what was the spirit of the people on this subject. The army was increased by authorizing the enlistment of 500,000 volunteers; the navy received its proportional increase; a

* To assist the secretary in the labors of the department, the president was directed to appoint an assistant secretary of the navy. This office was conferred upon Lieutenant G. V. Fox, a gentleman of great practical experience and sagacity, and at the time chief clerk in the navy department. His promotion was hailed with pleasure as a promise of increased vigor in the service. See Dr. Boynton's "*History of the Navy during the Rebellion*," vol. i., chap. III., pp. 56–69.

† About a month after the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Chase issued a circular, appealing to the citizens of the United States for subscriptions to the two hundred and fifty million loan. The appeal was promptly met, and the secretary's circular did good service in setting forth the ability and resources of the country for so critical a condition of affairs as the present.

loan of $250,000,000 and $50,000,000 issue of treasury notes were authorized; import duties were increased; taxes were laid, collectable at a future day; etc. Here and there, there were men like Vallandingham of Ohio, B. Wood of New York, Burnett of Kentucky, and such like, who made every sort of opposition to the means proposed in order to sustain the government; but they were a small, and on the whole, insignificant minority, and Congress went on vigorously with its work, despite their efforts to the contrary.

Without attempting to go into details, we may notice a few of the prominent points of interest at this extra session. On the 9th of July, Mr. Lovejoy of Illinois, offered the following re-

1861. solution, which was adopted by the House: "*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this House, it is no part of the duty of the soldiers of the United States to capture and return fugitive slaves." This bore more or less directly upon the views set forth in Gen. McClellan's proclamation in May, (see p. 43, note), on the subject of slavery and insurrection of the slaves, and what he and the army would do in such a state of affairs. On the 10th of July, Mr. Clark of New Hampshire, moved the expulsion from the Senate, on the ground of their being engaged in a conspiracy against the Union, of Messrs. Mason and Hunter from Virginia, Clingman and Bragg from North Carolina, Chesunt from South Carolina, Nicholson from Tennessee, Sebastian and Mitchell from Arkansas, Hemphill and Wigfall from Texas; which was accordingly done.

The army bill was very ably and warmly debated in the Senate, on the 18th of July, and it is interesting to note the sentiments and views expressed by eminent men in Congress, just before the humiliating repulse at Bull Run, and when, on the loyal side, there was a general and confident expectation that the rebellion would speedily be subdued. Mr. Sherman of Ohio, avowed that, in his view, there was no intention of subjugating any state, or interfering with slavery. Mr. Dixon of Connecticut, declared emphatically, that if the question was, either let the government or slavery be destroyed, then of course slavery must perish. Mr. Browning of Illinois, uttered words of similar import: "If the South force upon us the issue, whether the government shall go down to maintain the institutions of slavery, or whether slavery shall be obliterated to sustain the Constitution and the government, for which our fathers fought and bled, and the principles that were concentrated in their blood,—I say, sir, when the issue comes, if they force it upon us, that one or the other is to be overthrown, then I am for the government and against slavery, and my voice and my vote shall be for sweeping the last vestige of barbarism from the face of the continent." Other senators, who took part in the debate, while they held that slavery did not produce the rebellion, and deprecated sentiments like those just noticed, were still ready and willing to give heart and hand to the putting down disunion and rebellion.

In the House, Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, on the 19th of July, offered a

resolution declaring, that the present war was forced upon the country by southern disunionists, and that Congress, disclaiming all intention of interfering with the rights, or institutions of the states, and all purpose of conquest, would prosecute the war to defend the Constitution and preserve the Union. The resolution was laid over till Monday, the 22d, and then passed almost unanimously. The same resolution was adopted by the Senate, July 24th, on motion of Andrew Johnson. It may be set down to the credit of the national legislature, that, notwithstanding the gloomy and disheartening condition of affairs, on this memorable Monday, the members went on steadily with their work; and the House, unanimously:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance of the Constitution, the preservation of the Union, and the enforcement of the laws, are sacred trusts which must be executed; that no disaster shall discourage us from the most ample performance of this high duty; and that we pledge to the country and to the world the employment of every resource, national and individual, for the suppression, overthrow, and punishment of rebels in arms." Three days later, the Senate adopted a resolution to the same effect, which lacked only one vote (Breckenridge of Kentucky) to render it unanimous.

On the 24th of July, the Senate considered a bill to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes by persons engaged in rebellion, to which Mr. Trumbull moved an amendment: by this, slaves, if employed by their masters to aid in rebellion, were thenceforward free, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. It was opposed by some senators as irritating and alarming; but it passed by a large vote. In the House, this bill was earnestly debated. It was opposed by the venerable Mr. Crittenden and others, as unconstitutional and dangerous; but it was strenuously and forcibly advocated by various members, as needful in the present state of affairs, and as perfectly within the province of the legislature to determine upon. The bill was finally agreed to by a vote of 60 to 48. 1861.

On the last day of the session, on motion of Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, a clause was added to the bill increasing the pay of soldiers, by which it was enacted, "That all the acts, proclamations and orders of the president of the United States, after the 4th of March, 1861, respecting the army and navy of the United States, and calling out or relating to the militia or volunteers from the states, are hereby approved, and in all respects legalized and made valid, to the same intent, and with the same effect, as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority and direction of the Congress of the United States." The bill was agreed to by the House, and Congress adjourned on the 6th of August, after a session of only thirty-three days.*

* Just at the close of the session a joint resolution of the two houses was unanimously adopted, asking the president to call upon the people to supplicate God's mercy and forbearance towards our country. The president acted upon the recommendation of Congress, and on the 12th of August issued a very earnest proclamation, appointing September 26th as a national fast-day. The people observed the day in every part of the loyal states.

The Confederate Congress (see p. 43) met for the first time in Richmond, July 20th, the day before the battle of Bull Run. The message of Davis was of the usual length, but characterized by an acrimonious, irritable spirit against President Lincoln, and what he had said in his message to Congress, July 4th. Davis's language indicated quite clearly, though undesignedly, that he as well as his co-workers in rebellion were not at all pleased at the energy and determination manifested by our government and people; and whether he intended to deceive the people of the South, or make capital abroad, he stopped at nothing in order to accomplish his purpose. A passage or two may be quoted as illustrating the chief rebel's views and statements. "The rapid progress of events, for the last few weeks, has fully sufficed to lift the veil behind which the true policy and purpose of the government of the United States had been previously concealed. Their odious features now stand fully revealed. The message of their president, and the action of their Congress during the present month, confess their intention of the *subjugation* of these states by a war, by which it is impossible to attain the proposed result, while its dire calamities, not to be avoided by us, will fall with double severity on themselves. . . . . These enormous preparations in men and money, for the conduct of the war, on a scale more grand than any which the new world ever witnessed, is a distinct avowal, in the eyes of civilized man, that the United States are engaged in a conflict with a great and powerful nation. They are at last compelled to abandon the pretence of being engaged in dispersing rioters and suppressing insurrections, and are driven to the acknowledgment that the ancient Union has been dissolved. They recognize the separate existence of these Confederate states, by an interdictive embargo and blockade of all commerce between them and the United States, not only by sea, but by land; not only in ships, but in cars; not only with those who bear arms, but with the entire population of the Confederate states. Finally, they have repudiated the foolish conceit that the inhabitants of this confederacy are still citizens of the United States; for they are waging an indiscriminate war upon them all, with savage ferocity, unknown in modern civilization." **1861.**

Davis announced his purpose and plan of retaliation on account of the privateersmen captured by the United States, and on trial for piracy. With congratulations at having escaped all connection with the loyal states, he called for increase of the army, lauded the devotion of the people of the South, and wound up with a glorification of the "calm and sublime devotion" displayed on all hands.

Various measures were adopted by the rebel congress, principally looking to financial difficulties, which already began to press heavily upon the secessionists, and were among the most perplexing to manage in the existing state of affairs. Beside the "produce loan," treasury notes were authorized to the extent of $100,000,000; a war tax was imposed; etc. The army was reported

at 210,000 men in the field. Davis was authorized to increase this number by 400,000 more, and also to add to the so-called navy. An act respecting alien enemies was passed, ordering them to depart out of the confederacy, and another sequestrating their property, intended as retaliatory for the confiscation act of Congress (see p. 54). After a short session, the Confederate Congress adjourned, September 2d, to meet again in November.

At this period of the contest, when the impression largely prevailed in the North, that the rebellion could be crushed by rapid, decided action, the cry became quite prevalent, "On to Richmond!" People, unacquainted with the science of war and its manifold details, were incapable of fathoming why it was, that, with so large a force as that now in the field, nothing apparently was being done, no victory of moment was gained, the rebels were not at once put down, etc. In their lack of acquaintance with this subject, they cast aside all considerations of the time and drilling needed to make good and efficient soldiers out of new recruits, and the complicated, weighty difficulties connected with furnishing military stores and supplies, at proper times and places, for an army of 50,000 to 100,000 men. The pressure was urgent, and the troops were expected to make a brilliant campaign of three or six months, and speedily reduce the rebels to submission. Military men, having a clearer conception of what was to be done, and the material in hand to work with, were rather doubtful as to the expediency of attempting a great battle just at this time; but the people, impatient and in general unreasoning, were calling for action, the soldiers wished for action; action seemed one of the easiest things in the world; the enemy was undervalued; and a battle must be fought, on such a scale and in such wise, as to prove the superiority of our forces, and the insignificance of the rebel hosts.

As stated on a previous page (see p. 35), General Patterson, at the beginning of July, crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, with a force of about 20,000 men. The rebels retired on his appearance; and on the 15th of July, he moved forward to Bunker Hill, nine miles from Winchester, and occupied it without resistance. On the 17th, instead of advancing on the direct road, he turned to the left and marched to Charlestown, twelve miles eastward and near the Potomac; thus, as it turned out, leaving the road open for Johnston, the rebel general at Winchester, to carry his entire force to Manassas, and do his share in the defeat of our army at Bull Run. The reasons for this course are not at all clear, and the testimony on this subject elicited by the committee on the conduct of the war, is very damaging to the character of General Patterson. Although urged by General Scott to do something efficient, he remained at Charlestown under an idea that he was checking Johnston's advance; in reality, it was to no purpose, and on the 22d, he fell back to Harper's Ferry, where, on the 25th of July, General Banks took his place. 1861.

General McDowell was in command

of the department of North-eastern Virginia, an able and excellent officer, to whom was committed the charge of making an assault upon the enemy, who were strongly entrenched, under Beauregard, at Manassas. His force consisted of about forty-five regiments of volunteers, chiefly from New York and the eastern states, with several from the West, a large portion of the whole being called out, under the requisition of the president, for three months only. The remainder were three years' volunteers; but, having come into the field later, they had enjoyed but slightly the advantages of military drill and discipline. With them were mixed a few of the regular infantry, some companies of United States cavalry, and several light batteries of the United States artillery. The general staff and field officers included a number of the most meritorious officers of the regular army; the company officers, being mostly taken from civil life, were of course less experienced, and much less able to discharge the duties imposed upon them.

The Grand Army, as it was called, began its march from Washington, on the 16th of July. Gen. Tyler's column took the advance, and spent the night at Vienna, a few miles from Fairfax Court House. General Hunter marched with the central column, on the direct road; and Gen. Miles advanced on the extreme left. General McDowell, who was with the centre, arrived at noon, the next day, at Fairfax Court House, the enemy retiring and evidently avoiding a conflict.* On the 18th, Gen. Tyler, having passed through Centreville, found the rebels strongly posted at Blackburn's Ford on Bull Run, where, under Gen. Longstreet, they resisted the further advance of our troops. The conflict was mainly with artillery, and was well sustained; it proved clearly that the rebel army had taken position between Centreville and Manassas Junction, and intended to remain there. The loss on the Union side was between 80 and 90; the rebel loss was reported at somewhat less.*

Gen. McDowell was convinced, on examination, that the strength and position of the rebels rendered it unadvisable, without a diversion, to risk the main attack directly in front, or to make the attempt to gain Manasses by an approach from the east. Above Stone Bridge, however, the ground appeared more practicable. The stream, Bull Run, might readily be forded, and though there were no good roads leading from the camps in that direction, the country afforded no serious obstacle

* Our troops were guilty of some excesses here, such as breaking into empty houses, pillaging, and committing other offensive acts; but this disgraceful conduct was immediately repressed and steps were taken to prevent any recurrence of similar outbreaks. Gen. McDowell's stringent order on this subject manifests the spirit and determination of the commanding officers of our army. Compare with this the vile insinuations and falsehoods of Beauregard's proclamation, quoted on p. 34.

* Beauregard, who, as he says, was "opportunely informed," *i. e.*, by the numerous spies and traitors in and about Washington, of McDowell's purpose to advance upon Manassas, claims it as a stroke of policy that his men retreated and thereby deceived McDowell as to his ulterior designs at Bull Run. Major Barnard, chief-engineer of the Army of the Potomac, has criticised this costly reconnaissance by Gen. Tyler in severe terms, and pronounces that the affair had a bad effect upon the *morale* of our raw forces. Swinton terms it "silly ambition" on the part of Tyler to do as he did. —'*Army of the Potomac*," p. 47.

to the movement of troops. It was accordingly resolved, by a flank movement, to turn the enemy's position on their left with a sufficient force, which should co-operate with a direct attack on their position at Stone Bridge, and thus open the turnpike road from Centreville, and cut off the railroad communication of Manassas with the army of Johnston in and about Winchester. McDowell intended to make the attack on Saturday, July 20th, but was hin-

1861. dered by delays in receiving proper supplies, which did not reach him till Friday night, at Centreville, about seven miles to the north-east of Manassas. Rations were distributed and issued; and in order as far as possible to avoid marching in the heat before the fight, orders were given to move at half-past two o'clock, on Sunday morning, the 21st, expecting to open the battle at all points at six, A.M. Delays occurred, owing to the inexperience of the officers and men, so that it was some three hours later, in one of the hot July mornings in Virginia, that the troops crossed at Sudley Spring, and soon after were engaged in battle.*

Full details are beyond our limits; and we must content ourselves with an extract or two from Gen. McDowell's report, which will suffice to render the general course of procedure and the result sufficiently clear to our readers. As events turned out, McDowell termed it "a great misfortune" that delays occurred, as noted above. The wood road from the Warrenton Turnpike was longer than was expected, and the upper ford was not reached as speedily as was desired. General Tyler, in front of Stone Bridge, commenced with his artillery, at half-past six, A.M., but the enemy made no reply, rendering it doubtful as to his plans. Other brigades moved forward, and Tyler was directed to advance, as large bodies of the enemy were passing in front of him to attack the division which had crossed over under Burnside.

"The ground between the stream and the road leading from Sudley Spring south, and over which Burnside's brigade marched, was for about a mile from the ford thickly wooded, whilst on the right of the road for about the same distance, the country was divided between fields and woods. About a mile from the road the country on both sides of the road is open, and for nearly a mile further large rolling fields extend down to the Warrenton turnpike, which crosses what became the field of battle, through the valley of a small watercourse, a tributary of Bull Run." The enemy opened fire upon our troops, who stood the shock well, and on being reinforced drove the enemy out of the wood and across the road up the slopes on the other side.

"While this was going on, Heintzelman's division was moving down the field to the stream, and up the road beyond. Beyond the Warrenton road,

* Gen. McDowell, speaking of his reasons for fighting when he did, declared that he could not push on faster, nor could he delay. The best part of his troops were three months volunteers, whose term of service was just expiring. They refused to stay an hour beyond their time. McDowell and the secretary of war pleaded with them (volunteers from Pennsylvania and New York), but in vain. They insisted on their discharge that Saturday night. It was granted of course; "and the next morning, when the army moved forward into battle, *these troops moved to the rear, to the sound of the enemy's cannon.*"

and to the left of the road, down which our troops had marched from Sudley Spring, is a hill with a farm-house on it. Behind this hill the enemy had, early in the day, some of his most annoying batteries planted. Across the road from this hill was another hill, or rather elevated ridge, or table of land. The hottest part of the contest was for the possession of this hill with a house on it. . . . . Rickett's battery, which did such effective service and played so brilliant a part in this contest, was, together with Griffin's battery, on the side of the hill, and became the object of the special attention of the enemy, who succeeded—our officers mistaking one of his regiments for one of our own, and allowing it to approach without firing upon it—in disabling the battery, and then attempting to take it. Three times was he repulsed by different corps in succession, and driven back, and the guns taken by hand, the horses being killed, and pulled away.*

"The enemy was evidently disheartened and broken. But we had been fighting since half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and it was after three o'clock in the afternoon. The men had been up since two o'clock in the morning, and had made what, to those unused to such things, seemed a long march before coming into action, and were without food. They had done much severe fighting. Some of the regiments which had been driven from the hill in the first two attempts of the enemy to keep possession of it had become shaken, were unsteady, and had many men out of the ranks.

"It was at this time that the enemy's reinforcements came to his aid from the railroad train, understood to have just arrived from the valley with the residue of Johnston's army.* They threw themselves in the woods on our right and towards the rear of our right, and opened a fire of musketry on our men, which caused them to break and retire down the hillside. This soon degenerated into disorder, for which there was no remedy. Every effort was made to rally them, even beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, but in vain. The retreat soon became a rout, and this soon degenerated still further into a panic. Finding this state of affairs was beyond the efforts of all those who had assisted so faithfully during the long and hard day's work in gaining almost the object of our wishes, and that nothing remained on the field but to recognize what we could no longer prevent, I gave the necessary orders to protect their withdrawal, begging the men to form in line, and offer the appearance at least of organization. They returned by the fords to the Warrenton road, protected, by my order, by Col. Porter's force of regulars. Once on

* The rebel general, T. J. Jackson, was of especial service at this period of the battle. Coming up with his brigade of fresh troops, and displaying great steadiness, one enthusiastic South Carolina officer shouted, "Look, there is Jackson standing *like a stone-wall!*" This epithet was considered a happy one, and was very generally attached afterwards to Jackson's name.—See Cooke's "*Life of Jackson*," pp. 68, 77.

* Beauregard, in his elaborate report, made some considerable time later, states that the balance of Johnston's force arrived under Kirby Smith, about three P.M., having left Manassas by railroad at noon. It was just at this critical moment that 4,000 fresh troops came to their help, and the rebels were enabled to gain the day.

the road, and the different corps coming together in small parties, many without officers, they became intermingled, and all organization was lost.

"By sundown," as General McDowell states, in conclusion, "most of our men had gotten behind Centreville Ridge, and it became a question whether we should or not endeavor to make a stand there. The condition of our artillery and its ammunition, and the want of food for our men, who had generally abandoned or thrown away all that had been issued the day before, and the utter disorganization and consequent demoralization of the mass of the army, seemed to all who were near enough to be consulted—division and brigade commanders and staff—to admit of no alternative but to fall back. On sending the officers of the staff to the different camps, they found, as they reported to me, that our decision had been anticipated by the troops, most of those who had come in from the front being already on the road to the rear, the panic with which they came in still continuing and hurrying them along. At about ten o'clock, the rear guard (Blenker's brigade), moved, covering the retreat, which was effected during the night and next morning."

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Jefferson Davis left Richmond by railroad on this eventful Sunday morning, and reached the field of battle about 4 P.M., when the contest was virtually decided. He telegraphed the welcome news to the Confederate Congress that same night, stating, truly enough, that it had been "a hard fought field," but, with needless mendacity, asserting, that the Union army was beaten by a force less than half their own number.* Davis was in favor of immediate pursuit and a dash at the capital, which course indeed was the natural one to be adopted in order to reap the fruits of victory; but it was evident that the rebels were in no condition to avail themselves of their opportunity.†

Beauregard, though boasting of his great success, gives as his excuse for not following up and destroying the enemy, that his men were worn down by a long fight in a July day, and were hungry and thirsty; also, that the next day it rained steadily, and he had no cavalry. Johnston accorded with this view of the subject, and said, in addition, that the certainty that General Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington with his army of 30,000 men sooner than they could, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the capital. From all which, it may safely be inferred that the ability, not the will, was wanting, and that the rebels acted judiciously in not making a futile attack upon Washington.

The losses at Bull Run were, according to General McDowell's report, 481

* Beauregard's army numbered not less than 30,000, and was fully equal in numbers to that under command of General McDowell, and yet Davis undertook to say, as above, "our force was 15,000; that of the enemy estimated at 35,000." See Beauregard's Report, and Pollard's "*First Year of the War*," p. 101.

† See "*Stonewall Jackson; a Military Biography*," (New York, 1866) by John Esten Cooke, a profound admirer of the man who had attained so singular a *sobriquet*. According to Mr. Cooke, Jackson, as he sat on his horse looking at the retreating Union troops, exclaimed, "Give me ten thousand men, and I will be in Washington to-night!"

killed, 1,011 wounded, 1,216 missing. Beauregard reported the rebel loss at 269 killed, 1,533 wounded, in all 1,852. Johnston made the number of killed 378, but agreed with Beauregard in the general result. No notice was taken of some two or three hundred prisoners made by our army in the early part of the battle and sent to Washington. Beauregard claimed as prisoners not less than 1,600 Union soldiers, and estimated our loss at 4,500. Probably the nearest approximation to the exact truth now possible is, rebel loss over 2,000; Union loss over 3,000. Beauregard also claimed as the spoils of the day, 28 pieces of artillery, about 5,000 muskets, nearly 500,000 cartridges, a garrison flag, and 10 colors captured in the field or in the pursuit; and besides these, 64 artillery horses with their harness, 26 wagons and much camp equipage, clothing, and other property left behind.

Our limits do not admit of dwelling upon particular instances of valor and spirit on the part of the great majority of our officers and men, or of noticing the lack of these soldierly qualities and instincts, which were expected, as a matter of course, from all our troops. Neither are we able now to spare time in narrating well authenticated cases of barbarity, cruelty and outrage towards the dying and the dead, after the battle was over. The conduct of the rebels on this occasion was marked by ungovernable, blind fury, and was disgraceful in the last degree to themselves and our common humanity.*

* See Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. i., pp. 402–416; Senator Wade's Report to the Senate, in behalf of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War; April 30th, 1862.

The effect of the disaster at Bull Run was astounding. The news at first from the field of battle, as made known by reports and telegraphic communications, had been cheering, and promising certain and great victory. The next news told of utter rout and disgrace; and Monday and Tuesday, the 22d and 23d of July, saw the streets of the capital thronged with panic stricken crowds of those who had literally fled when no man pursued. In the great cities, **1861.** and throughout the country, as the wildly exaggerated telegrams made known the overthrow of our army, the people were in a maze, and could with difficulty credit the unwelcome reports of disgraceful defeat. High-spirited and self-confident, never supposing defeat possible, men at the North ran into an opposite extreme, and for the moment looked upon what the rebels had done at Bull Run as a virtual guarantee of their final success.* But the depression and discouragement, wonderful as they seemed, were only temporary. Bitter as was the lesson of that memorable week at the close of July, it was a salutary lesson. It showed loyal men what was before them; that it was no holiday undertaking of a few weeks or months to put down rebellion or treason, organized as they were on a scale

* Military critics (such as Major Barnard and others) are agreed, that General McDowell's plan of the battle was well laid and would have resulted in a decisive victory, had it not been for delays, above noted, on Friday and Saturday, and the escaping of Johnston's four or five thousand men from Patterson's watching, thereby causing a panic among a portion of the Union army just at the critical moment.

of magnitude and power undreamt of heretofore; and that, if the Union was to be sustained, it must be by united, steady, unflinching energy and devotion in its behalf. The resolution and spirit of Congress we have already noted (see p. 54). The people of the loyal states likewise speedily nerved themselves to avenge the losses at Bull Run, and to hold up the hands of the government at any cost, in crushing the mad and desperate attempt to destroy the life and integrity of the nation.

We shall see, as we proceed in our narrative, how thoroughly the noble, manly qualities of our countrymen were roused up into efficient action in this their hour of trial.

CHAPTER V.

1861.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND POLICY — PRIVATEERING — TRENT AFFAIR.

Position of foreign nations — Course of England and France, how affecting the United States — Importance of foreign relations — Secession efforts abroad — Feeling towards the United States in Great Britain and France — Hostility to the Union — British government hastens to acknowledge belligerent character of Southern Confederacy — Queen's proclamation — How looked on in America — Neutrality enjoined — Ill success of the rebel agents abroad — Louis Napoleon's course — Diplomatic notes and courtesies — Friendly spirit of Russia — Articles of Congress of Paris (1856) on privateering — Offer of the United States on the subject — Proviso of Earl Russell — Privateering carried on — The Savannah taken — Trial of the privateersmen; are they pirates or not? — Davis's threats and acts — Government abandon the prosecution — Privateering only moderately successful — The Petrel and the St. Lawrence — The Jeff. Davis and her end — The negro Tillman's heroism — Public feeling at this date — Mason and Slidell new agents to go to Europe — Reach Havana — Sail in the Trent, English mail packet — Capt. Wilkes in San Jacinto stops the Trent and captures Mason and Slidell and their secretaries — Public applause — Attitude of the government — Excitement in England — Rebel commissioners demanded — War apparently imminent — Mr. Seward's argument and decision — Mason and Slidell given up — Chagrin and disappointment of the rebels and their friends at home and abroad — Pungent remarks of the London *Times*.

The position of foreign nations and the probable course to be pursued by them in regard to the United States, was a matter of very grave importance at the outbreak of the rebellion. England and France, especially, were so situated as to render their line of action of the utmost moment, whether for good or evil, to the Great Republic. If, acting out the noble, manly part, which becomes sincere friends and well wishers of our country, they should so direct their policy, and should assume such ground, as that the weight of their influence would be given to the support of the Union and the crushing out the rebellion, the case would be rendered more easy of settlement by means of the United States power on the land, where alone the rebels had succeeded in organizing any effective resistance against the authority

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of the government. If, on the other hand, the great maritime nations, like England and France, should see fit, more or less openly to encourage the so-called confederacy in its ambitious designs, and in addition to recognizing its belligerent character, should aid in furnishing it not only with supplies of various sorts but also with the means of preying upon the commerce of the United States, they certainly had the power so to do, while holding a professedly friendly attitude to the government which they were virtually helping to undermine and destroy. And, in such an event, the rebellion would be all the more likely to protract its existence, if not finally to succeed in accomplishing its ends.

Of course, the government of the United States felt an unusually deep interest in the views which might find predominance among foreign nations, who were watching with profound concern the incipiency of our great national struggle; and was well aware how much depended upon the course which they might think best to adopt. It was consequently seen at once to be of the highest importance, that our country should be represented at foreign courts by the ablest and most energetic men which could be obtained. Happily, Messrs. Adams, Dayton, Clay, Motley, Marsh, and others were selected, and by their labors at their several posts, they soon gave evidence of the wisdom which had led to their appointment. Our country had abundant reason to be satisfied that her interests were committed to the hands of some of her noblest sons.

The leaders in the seceded states were also profoundly interested in the condition of affairs abroad, and the manner in which their present attempt at a breaking up of the Union might be looked upon by the great powers of Europe. If England and France should favor their cause, directly, or at least indirectly, it would greatly facilitate matters, and would almost ensure success to the rebellion; but if they should refuse entirely any countenance to this proposed rending in pieces of the Union, and should look upon the outbreak as an insurrection, which the lawful government of the land was able to and would in due time suppress, then, the hopes and expectations of the confederates would be sadly curtailed of their fair proportions, and their chances of final success very considerably diminished.

Fully alive to the importance and necessity of securing foreign sympathy and aid, the astute leaders in secession and revolution had given very careful attention to the subject from the beginning. Agents, admirably adapted to the work in hand, such as Yancey,* Rost, Mann, and Butler King, had been sent abroad to leaven the public opinion, to excite prejudice against the government, to gain the ear of politicians and men in power, to misrepresent the origin and aim of the rebellion, to enlarge upon the advantages they had to offer, in a commercial point of view, to foreign nations, and such like; and it must be confessed, that, by persistent, unscrupulous statements, by activity and zeal worthy of

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* See McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," p. 27.

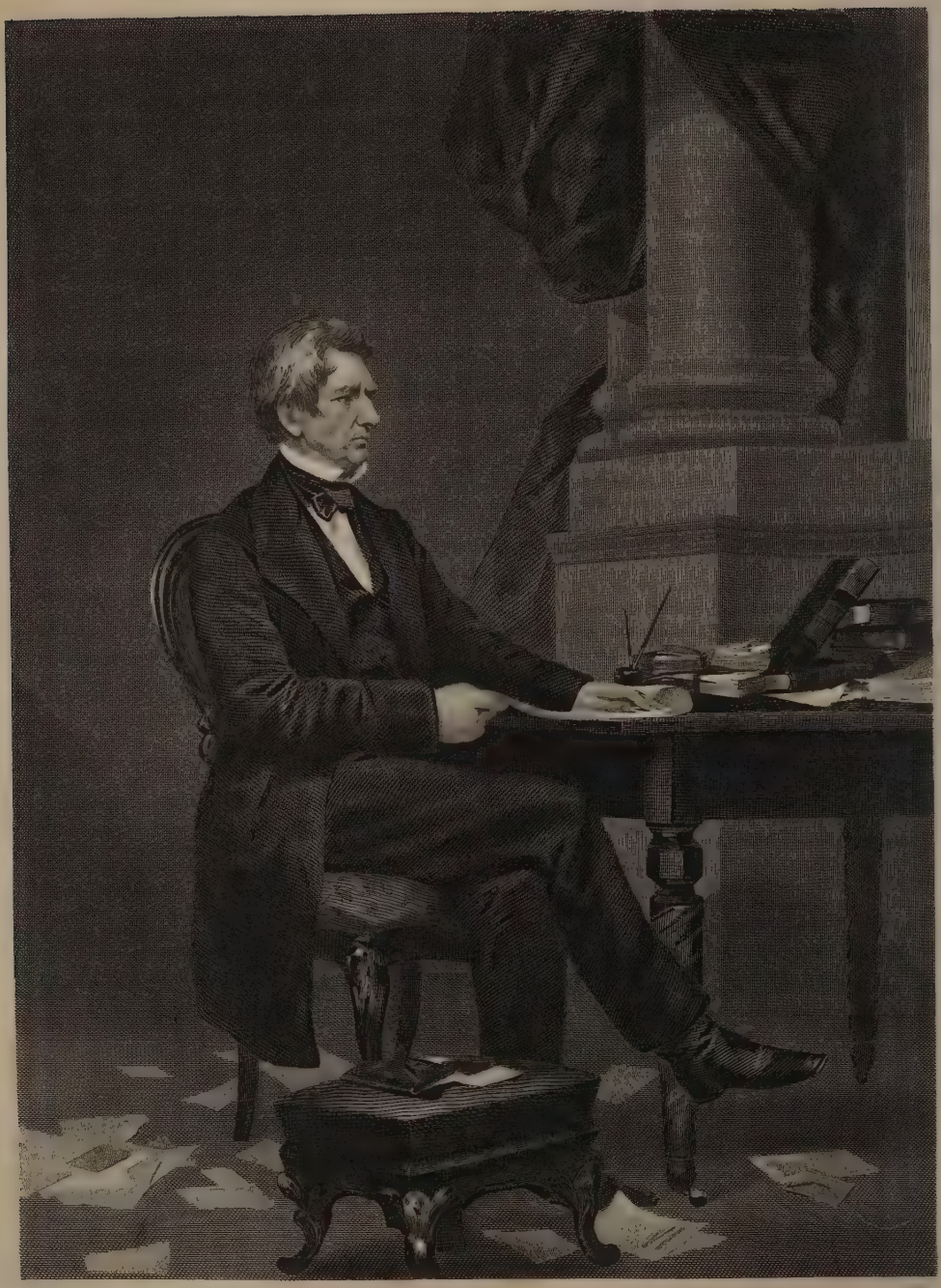
a better cause, and by using the power of the press, a considerable portion of which was hostile to the Union, they had been able to produce a decided impression upon the public mind, and to excite hopes of the speedy intervention of European powers in American affairs.

But governments move slowly, as becomes the gravity of their position, and in modern times at least, they require to be well assured that the people will sustain them, before they take any step of great importance. England, for various reasons, had no special regard or affection for the United States. England was rather annoyed and displeased that so powerful a rival should have taken the position in wealth and rank which our country holds after so brief a period of national life. England was and is, from the nature of the case, not in love with republican institutions, and was and is willing to see them broken up and perish. Yet not all of England, by any means. There were ardent philanthropists and able statesmen, who were as capable as they were willing to cast aside foolish prejudices and jealousies, and to do their share towards enlightening others, towards battling for the right, and towards extending their sympathy and good will to the United States. And these could not be ignored; they made their voices heard; and with the help of several influential journals, they proved that the present fratricidal attempt of the secessionists was as wicked as it was unprecedented in the history of mankind. The English government, therefore, whatever its inclinations may have been, hesitated to venture upon a step which, if wrongly taken, would be direful indeed in its consequences *

France, also, under the despotism of Louis Napoleon, was not altogether pleased at being called upon to witness our rapid strides in national wealth and power. France, too, was more or less jealous of the United States, and was quite willing to stand by, and see the Union broken up, and its power and pride humbled; but there were friends of America in France, friends who did good service by their pens as well as in other ways, in behalf of our country's honor and good name; and more than this, France was ruled by a man who, however unscrupulous as a politician, was far too sagacious to commit himself hastily to an undertaking whose success was by no means assured; he had had too large experience in the uncertainty of political scheming to give aid to experiments which, so far as he could see, were as likely to be failures as anything else. Consequently, France was not willing, or prepared, to go to the lengths which the secessionists wished or expected; and France, like England, preferred to wait awhile, and see what the future might bring forth.

Doubtless, we think, the general disposition in Europe was, to consider secession and disintegration of the Union

* Mr. C. M. Clay, at the time *en route* for his embassy at St. Petersburg, wrote a spirited letter to the London *Times*, May 17th, setting forth the views and determination of Union men on the subject of rebellion and treason. Mr. Motley, also, our minister to Austria, published in the same journal, a week later, a calm, clear, convincing statement as to "The Causes of the American Civil War." Mr. John Stuart Mill, the well known and able advocate of freedom, published, some months later, an article in Fraser's Magazine on "The Contest in America." He was also seconded by men of the stamp of Richard Cobden, John Bright, etc.



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as necessary results of progress in our case. The people had heard so frequently of this view of the subject from advocates of state sovereignty, as well as haters of American constitutional government and liberty, that, at first, and for a long time, they were ready to acquiesce in disunion, and rather to rejoice in view of its beneficial results to themselves. To counteract this unfriendly feeling and hostile judgment of affairs, if it should exhibit itself in diplomacy, and prevent, if possible, its adoption and incorporation in the public policy of leading European nations, was the arduous work before the secretary of state at Washington. Mr. Seward devoted himself to the task with indefatigable zeal and earnestness; and his successful efforts in behalf of his country deserve and have received the highest praise.

The British government, influenced by mixed motives probably, acted in a manner that could hardly be called friendly. With unusual haste, within less than a month after the news had arrived of Fort Sumter's bombardment, and before the arrival of our minister, Mr. C. F. Adams, Her Majesty's advisers, Lord John Russell at the head, had determined that "the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent." The queen's proclamation, agreed upon in Privy Council, was issued on the 13th of May, the day of Mr. Adams's arrival at Liverpool, and before he had any opportunity of speech or action on the subject.

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After the usual preamble and statement of a determination to be entirely neutral between the secessionists and the United States government, the queen said: "And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our loving subjects to observe a strict neutrality in and during the aforesaid hostilities, and to abstain from violating or contravening either the laws and statutes of the realm in this behalf, or the law of nations in relation thereto, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril." The provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, 59 George III., having been recited, the proclamation was concluded in the following terms: "And we do hereby declare, that all our subjects and persons entitled to our protection, who may misconduct themselves in the premises, will do it at their peril, and of their own wrong, and that they will, in nowise, obtain any protection from us against any liabilities or penal consequences, but will, on the contrary, incur our displeasure by such misconduct."

This action of the British government, while it accorded entirely with the plans and purposes of Louis Napoleon, was felt in the United States to be very unhandsome, to say the least, and to indicate a hostile spirit, which it was not easy to forget or forgive. The necessity of any such action could hardly be pretended, seeing that the "confederacy" had thus far done nothing but make loud and arrogant assumptions, and had not a single port of entry at its command, free from blockade; the real effect was, and was meant to be, to open the door for the rebels to get privateers, and prey upon Ameri-

can commerce. As it turned out, England furnished largely the means by which the rebellion was able to lengthen its existence, and to do immense injury to our commerce.

On the 1st of June, a royal order was issued, interdicting the armed vessels and privateers of both parties from carrying prizes made by them to ports, harbors, roadsteads or waters of the United Kingdom or any of Her Majesty's colonies or possessions abroad. At the same time it was announced, that the government wished and meant to observe the strictest neutrality in the contest; the further question of direct recognition was postponed, neither England nor France caring just then to engage in a war with the United States, which would certainly have resulted from recognition of the "Confederacy."

The rebel agents, Messrs. Yancey, Rost, and Mann, at the beginning of May, urged Lord John Russell to recognize their so-called government at once, and presented various reasons of policy and interest to England therefor, especially that of free trade, without the offensive tariffs of the North. But the British prime minister could not be persuaded to go further than the proclamation of entire neutrality. To their remarkable perversions of the truth on the subject of the war, charging Mr. Lincoln with fighting in order to keep the slaves in slavery, and with a purpose by and by of exciting a slave insurrection, Lord John Russell rather quietly answered, August 24th, that the British government did not pretend to enter into the merits of the question "between the United States and their adversaries in North America;" but that, regarding the contest as constituting a civil war, the policy of neutrality would be strictly adhered to. "Her Majesty cannot undertake to determine, by anticipation, what may be the issue of the contest, nor can she acknowledge the independence of the nine states which are now combined against the President and Congress of the United States, until the fortune of arms, or the more peaceful mode of negotiation shall have more clearly determined the respective positions of the two belligerents." Thus far, the rebels had accomplished but a small part of their purpose, and they were deeply chagrined at their want of success. 1861.

France having, by agreement, adopted the same line of policy with England, a decree was published in the *Moniteur*, June 11th, proclaiming that "His Majesty, the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the state of peace which now exists between France and the United States of America, has resolved to maintain a strict neutrality in the struggle between the government of the Union and the states which propose to form a separate confederation." In addition, it was stated, that the same restrictions were in force which had been imposed by the British government as to fitting out privateers, violations of neutrality, etc.* Intercourse with the French govern-

* Spain and Portugal also issued royal decrees, prohibiting all their subjects from taking service on either side, the entrance of privateers or armed ships with their prizes into any of their ports, the acceptance by their subjects of letters of marque, the fitting out

ment was very friendly, and in the main satisfactory. Mr. Dayton, our minister, was received with cordiality, and M. Thouvenel, the foreign minister, expressed himself with especial frankness and good feeling. In allusion to some opinions uttered by Mr. Dayton's predecessor, Mr. Seward wrote very decidedly:—"The United States waited patiently while their authority was defied in turbulent assemblies and in seditious preparations, willing to hope that mediation, offered on all sides, would conciliate and induce the disaffected parties to return to a better mind. But the case is now altogether changed. The insurgents have instituted revolution with open, flagrant, deadly war, to compel the United States to acquiesce in the dismemberment of the Union. . . . . Tell M. Thouvenel, with the highest consideration and good feeling, that the thought of a dissolution of this Union, peaceably or by force, has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen in Europe."

It is interesting, and for a time was surprising to our people, to note the outspoken, hearty sympathy of Russia in our affairs. We thought we had a right to expect offices of friendship from England and France, but had hardly counted on any special regard from Russia. In both cases we were disappointed; the former adopted a course as detrimental to our interests as was possible, short of open war; the latter gave us every assurance of good will and earnest desire for our prosperity and national honor. A passage or two from Prince Gortchacow's dispatch to the Russian minister, July 10th, 1861, may be quoted as illustrating the Emperor's regard:—"For more than eighty years that it has existed, the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress, to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founder, by institutions which have been able to reconcile union with liberty. This union has been fruitful. It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history. . . . . Give them (the government and others) the assurance that, in every event the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present."

We need not enlarge upon the efforts of our ministers abroad, as well to disabuse the public mind of ignorant prepossessions and incorrect views, as to express clearly the position and determination of the government. They were as successful as could be expected under the circumstances, and their zeal and ability were highly approved at home. One point, however, deserves notice in this connection. Certain articles were agreed upon at Paris, in 1856, by the principal powers of Europe. The understanding between the contracting parties, Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey, was:—1st, that privateering is abolished; 2d, that the

of vessels with a hostile purpose in their harbors, and generally enjoining complete neutrality.

neutral flag covers enemy's goods, except contraband of war; 3d, that neutral goods, with the same exception, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag; 4th, that blockades, to be binding, must be effective. The United States, Mr. Pierce then being president, did not accede to the propositions, desiring to have added a provision exempting the private property of belligerents from seizure on the high seas. On Mr. Lincoln becoming president, and in view of the importance of the matter at the present juncture, Mr. Seward opened the subject again, and offered to accept the original articles without the desired addition just named. England and France favored the settlement of the subject; but it was kept in abeyance some two months, when, with great coolness, these governments declared, that whatever they might now do must be *prospective*, and not invalidate anything already done. That is, having recognized the belligerent position of the rebels, they were not going to do anything which might possibly interfere with the business of privateering, which Jefferson Davis was already engaged in. Mr. Seward, in calm but unmistakeable tone, put a quietus upon the whole matter, and gave foreign powers to understand, that he both knew and was prepared to maintain the rights and dignity of the United States.

1861. 1861.

Privateering, in the existing condition of affairs, was of course a matter of great moment to the rebels, as it afforded them the opportunity of doing immense mischief to our commerce. Davis, as we have seen (p. 21), called for persons to do this kind of work; and in a few months a large amount of property was destroyed.* At the beginning of June, the Savannah, a schooner of 54 tons, was fitted out as a privateer, having a single 18-pound pivot gun and a crew of 22 men. She managed to slip out of the harbor of Charleston, and started on a cruise after merchant vessels trafficking between Northern ports and Cuba. The next morning, she fell in with the brig Joseph, of Rockland, Maine, which was immediately taken possession of; in the afternoon, she fell in with the United States brig Perry, Lieutenant E. G. Parrott commanding. All attempts at escape proved useless, and about eight P.M. she was captured. Lieut. Parrott reported his success to Flag-Officer Stringham in the Minnesota, which was then blockading Charleston harbor. The Savannah was sent with a prize crew to New York, and her officers and crew were taken by the Minnesota to Hampton Roads, whence they were brought in the Harriet Lane to New York, and there placed in keeping of the United States marshal in close confinement in the city prison.† A bill of indictment for robbery on the high seas was promptly found by the grand jury, and on the 23d of July, the prisoners, thirteen in number, were arraigned for trial, which was set down for the October term.

1861.

As Jefferson Davis had threatened, early in July, and had taken steps to

* The report of seizures of vessels, made by the the rebels, at the close of 1861, was:—off the different ports, 13; in port, 30; steamers captured on the Mississippi, 15; total, 58.

† Under date of July 6th 1861, Davis wrote a

carry into effect, certain severe measures of retaliation, in case the privateers recently captured were convicted and condemned as pirates, according to the declaration in Mr. Lincoln's proclamation (see p. 21), when the trial came on it was found to involve grave questions of law, as well as expediency. The trial lasted a week and the jury disagreed. Learned jurists discussed the subject at large; it was even thought necessary to take notice of the matter in parliament; and finally, under all the embarrassments of the question, and the certainty that numbers of our officers and men in the rebels' hands would be put to death in case the piratical privateersmen were hung, the government abandoned the prosecution, and thenceforward treated them simply as prisoners of war.*

The vessels fitted out by the rebels as privateers were chiefly the coasting and gulf steamers lying in the southern harbors, which the blockade had rendered useless for their usual purpose; several revenue-cutters, the property of the United States, which had been seized in the ports; a number of schooners and pilot-boats—a motley fleet, not exceeding some fifty in all, in the early months of the war. At first their movements from New Orleans, Charleston and other ports, were exceedingly annoying to the merchant service in the Gulf of Mexico and adjacent waters; but, as our government, with a speed unparalleled and astonishing, created a navy, so as to render the blockade efficient, the privateers were soon deprived of places of refuge, and found many obstacles thrown in their way in the West India Islands. With a few exceptions, as the Sumter, Nashville, etc., the privateers were unable to execute the terrible threats of destruction, on the result of which they counted so largely at the outbreak of the rebellion. Prizes were indeed made, marine insurance rose to a high point, and it was feared that the Aspinwall steamers, with the gold products of California, would fall into the hands of the privateers; but the results were not at all equal to the expectations and hopes of the confederates.

1861.

Among the vessels seized by the rebels in the southern ports, was the revenue-cutter Aiken, which was taken possession of in Charleston harbor. Surnamed the Petrel, and fitted out as a privateer, she ran the blockade, and immediately, July 28th, fell in with what appeared to be a lumbering merchantman, trying hard to make its escape. This was the United States frigate St. Lawrence, then on a cruise

letter and sent it by a special messenger to Washington. It was addressed to President Lincoln, and stated in plain terms that if the privateersmen were hung, he should hang in return an equal number of officers and men, prisoners at the time in his hands. On the 9th of November, after a man named Smith had been found guilty of piracy, by the jury in Philadelphia, the rebel war department sent an order to Richmond, to select by lot an officer of the highest rank, to be dealt with as Smith might be by the United States authorities, and also thirteen others to be held in place of the privateersmen then under trial in New York. The order was of course obeyed, and several of our unfortunate officers were treated as felons of the lowest class, until finally the government abandoned the ground it at first had taken.

* "*Are the Southern Privateersmen Pirates?*" A letter to the Hon. Ira Harris; by C. P. Daly, Judge of the Common Pleas, New York. This is a pamphlet of thirteen pages, under date of December 21st, 1861, and may be consulted to advantage, to show the ground taken by those who desired to see the privateersmen regarded as prisoners of war and not as pirates.

along the Atlantic coast in quest of piratical craft of the enemy. To disguise her real character, her port-holes were closed and her men kept carefully out of sight. The commander of the Petrel, misled by the deception, bore down upon the innocent-looking vessel, eager to secure the prize. Presently a couple of shots from the Petrel were fired across the bows of the St. Lawrence, followed by a discharge of canister striking the rigging. The frigate directly after threw up her ports, and opened fire upon the Petrel. The destruction was instantaneous. A shell struck the galley, entered the hold, and exploded, tearing the vessel fearfully, and bringing her to a sinking condition. Part of the crew threw themselves overboard, or sought refuge in the life-boat, holding up a flag of surrender. The boats of the St. Lawrence were immediately lowered; and the survivors were rescued and brought on board of the frigate. Four of the privateer's crew thus perished with the sinking vessel, and thirty-six were captured and carried into Philadelphia.

The Jeff. Davis, early in June, appeared on the north-eastern coast, and running in as near as the Nantucket shoals, made on her cruise, prizes estimated at some $225,000. She was formerly the slaver Echo, a full-rigged brig, with a crew of 260 men and six guns, and in general appearance not likely to alarm a vessel at first sight. On the 4th of July, when about one hundred and fifty miles from Sandy Hook, she captured the schooner J. G. Waring, on a voyage from New York to Montevideo. The captain, mates, and two seamen were taken out and five of the Davis's crew put on board. The colored steward, W. Tillman, was left on the Waring, and the schooner's course was directed towards Charleston. Tillman, terrified at the prospect of being sold into slavery, in case he were taken into port, resolved upon desperate measures. Watching his opportunity, and with the aid of one of the seamen, he killed the prize captain and mates, secured the other two men, and made directly for New York. After a devious voyage from within fifty miles of Charleston, and guessing their way northwardly, they reached Sandy Hook on the 21st of July, and were safely piloted into the harbor. Tillman was awarded salvage for his resolute conduct in saving the vessel.

On the 6th of July, the Jeff. Davis captured the schooner Enchantress, on her way to Cuba. Several men, with the colored cook, were put in charge of the vessel to go to Charleston, where the cook was expected to bring a good price. Not long after, they met the Albatross of the U. S. Navy, and attempting to deceive her, the negro jumped overboard, and gave information which led to the vessel being retaken, and the freedom of the cook preserved. Some weeks later, Sunday morning, August 18th, the Jeff. Davis was wrecked, in attempting to cross the bar at the entrance to the port of St. Augustine, Florida. Her heavy guns were thrown overboard in the effort to relieve her and save the supplies which she had captured. The crew, however, escaped, and were congratulated on their dashing success amongst the Yankees.

It is not necessary to enter into details of the operations attempted by the rebels in regard to privateering. For reasons above given, added to the energetic action of our government compelling neutrality, as far as possible, on the part of foreign nations, the rebels met with only partial success. The cruises of some of the privateers, like the Sumter, Nashville, and others, were remarkable, and will be noted on a subsequent page. The actual loss to our merchants from the depredations of privateers was undoubtedly great, and more or less severely felt; but the chief evil result was deeper and more lasting than the destruction of property alone could produce. The course pursued by the English government, professing the strictest neutrality, and being on terms of amity with our country, was such, nevertheless, as to bring conviction to our people, that that government was not unwilling to permit, under the thinnest disguise, vessels to be built in English shipyards, and fitted out to a large extent in England, to serve in rebel hands as privateers, and prey upon the commerce of the United States. The loyal people of our country entertained strong feelings of resentment against England for what had taken place, and, at a later date, questions of grave importance came up for settlement.

Although it is a little in advance of other parts of our narrative, we may here, most conveniently, give the record of an affair which, at the time, made great noise, and seemed likely to involve a serious collision with Great Britain. On a previous page (see p. 66), we have noted that the rebel commissioners had met with indifferent success abroad. As it was evident that the hopes of the new "confederacy" were based largely upon foreign recognition and assistance, the leaders in revolution knew that every effort must be made to secure these at the earliest moment. Consequently, as the present agents in Europe had virtually failed, **1861.** a fresh attempt was set on foot, under the sanction of the rebel Congress, and the prime mover in the whole matter, Jefferson Davis. Two persons, J. M. Mason and John Slidell, both in former days members of the United States Senate, and well known to be ardent, thorough-going secessionists and haters of the Union, were selected for the new and difficult work to be performed, and were charged with the imposing commission of ambassadors from the "Confederate States of America" to England and France. The arrogance and presumption of Mason, on the one hand, and the bold, unscrupulous character of Slidell, on the other, gave to their appointment, and the mission they had undertaken, more than usual importance. The government resolved, if possible, to intercept them, and prevent their reaching Europe. A strict watch was ordered, and several vessels detailed to keep a sharp look out for the new agents in revolution. Mason and Slidell, however, with their secretaries and a number of others, took the small steamer Theodora, and about midnight, October 11th, escaped the blockade at Charleston, and made their way safely to Nassau, New Providence. Thence, the Theodora carried the party to Cuba, where they waited for the regular West

India steamer in order to proceed to England. None of the vessels sent out by government were fortunate enough to meet with the persons of whom they were in search; it was reserved for a ship returning from the coast of Africa to accomplish the capture of these dangerous rebels.

Captain Charles Wilkes, of the San Jacinto, a first class screw steamer, mounting 13 guns, having learned at Cienfuegos, in Cuba, that the Theodora had run the blockade and reached Havana, resolved at once to secure the rebel "ambassadors" so soon as they set out for Europe. He reached Havana, October 31st, and found these gentlemen enjoying the hospitality of the British consul and other sympathizing friends, and waiting for the English steamer Trent, which was to leave November 7th, for St. Thomas, and tranship her passengers there for Southhampton. Acting on his own convictions of the legality of his contemplated act, Captain Wilkes made all needful preparation, and left port on the 2d of November, to keep strict watch for the Trent, and carry out his design of making prisoners of the men who were engaged in treasonable practices against the government. The San Jacinto took up a position in the old Bahama channel, some 250 miles from Havana, and about nine miles from the light-house, Paredon del Grande, the nearest point of Cuba at the time. At noon, November 8th, the Trent made her appearance; two shots were fired across her bows; and she was speedily brought to by the San Jacinto. Lieut. Fairfax was sent on board, with a proper force in waiting; he conducted himself as an officer and a gentleman through a very unpleasant scene, mingled with expressions of decided hostility on the part of the officers and others on the English vessel; and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their secretaries, Messrs. Eustis and Macfarland, were taken on board the American steamer. The families of Mr. Slidell and Mr. Eustis preferring to remain on the Trent, that vessel proceeded on her voyage. Captain Wilkes ran into Hampton Roads, on the 15th of November, and **1861.** reported immediately his doings to the authorities at Washington. The next day, he sailed for New York, and thence by order to Boston, where his prisoners were safely lodged in Fort Warren, November 24th.

Captain Wilkes prepared an elaborate dispatch, setting forth the grounds on which he justified the seizure of "the *embodiment* of dispatches," as he shrewdly termed Mason and Slidell; he also stated, that he would have made a prize of the vessel, had it not been for an unwillingness to inconvenience the passengers on the Trent, who were certainly innocent of any offence. "I concluded," said the gallant captain, in bringing his dispatch to a close, "to sacrifice the interests of my officers and crew in the prize, and suffered the steamer to proceed, after the necessary detention to effect the transfer of these commissioners, considering I had obtained the important end I had in view, and which affected the interests of our country and interrupted the action of that of the confederates. . . . . I may

add that, having assumed the responsibility, I am willing to abide the result."

Captain Wilkes was highly lauded by the press and the people generally, was fêted by various public bodies, received the special thanks of Secretary Welles of the navy department, and a vote of thanks from Congress. Various legal authorities supported his action, and the country at large was assured of not only the legality, but the positive merit of his conduct on this occasion. It was observable, however, that the president, in his message, early in December, said nothing about the subject, and Mr. Seward, secretary of state, equally kept himself free from committment, until the news from England should manifest the spirit in which that government was disposed to view the matter. The wisdom of the secretary's course was soon after abundantly verified. He wrote to Mr. Adams, stating the facts as narrated, and also that Captain Wilkes had acted without instructions in what he had done; and expressed the hope "that the British government would consider the subject in a friendly temper," being assured of the willingness and best disposition of the United States so to consider it.

As was to be expected, the affair produced no little excitement in England, and the rebels and their friends endeavored to make the most of it.* The law officers of the crown pronounced Capt. Wilkes' act unjustifiable, and the English government determined to demand peremptorily the restoration of Mason and Slidell to British protection. Earl Russell sent a special messenger to Lord Lyons, Her Majesty's minister at Washington, with a dispatch, dated Nov. 30th, denouncing what had been done as "an act of violence, which was an affront to the British flag, and a violation of international law;" declaring that "the British government could not allow such an affront to the national honor to pass without full reparation." Lord Russell insisted on the giving up of Mason and Slidell and their secretaries, with "a suitable apology for the aggression which had been committed." War preparations were begun at once, the fleet in American waters was ordered to be largely increased, and in every way the spirit of the English government and people was aroused, in apparent expectation that war with the United States was the only alternative.

Mr. Seward, who had been courteously addressed by the ministers of France, Russia and Austria, deprecating the sustaining the action of Capt. Wilkes, communicated with Lord Lyons in the latter part of December. He went over the whole matter, correcting Earl Russell's dispatch as to the facts, and discussing at large the principles and views which governed the United States in the course the president had determined to pursue. The final result at which Mr. Seward

* The English press fairly overflowed with abusive denunciation of Captain Wilkes, Secretary Seward, and the "Yankees" generally and in particular. For a more full account of the seizure of the rebel commissioners, and the style and manner of abuse indulged in on the other side of the water, see Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. ii., pp. 124–150. Mr. Russell also in his "*Diary*," p. 573, *infra*, gives a lively account of the current opinions and talk of the day on this subject.

arrived was, that as Captain Wilkes had proceeded on his own convictions of duty without instructions from the government, as he had not brought the Trent in as a prize and to be judged of by the proper court, and as what was claimed by England was precisely what the United States had always been contending for, the rebel ambassadors would be placed at once at the disposal of the British minister. This was done at the close of the month, and the great and formidable difficulty arising out of the Trent affair was settled without resort to hostilities between England and the United States.

The disappointment to the rebels was extreme. They had exulted in the prospective advantages sure to come to them in case war were to break out between the two countries.* "This outrage," says Pollard, "when it was learned in the South, was welcome news, as it was thought certain that the British government would resent the insult, and as the boastful and exultant tone in the North, over the capture of the commissioners, appeared to make it equally certain that the government at Washington would not surrender its booty. War between England and the North was thought to be imminent. Providence was declared to be in our favor; the incident of the Trent was looked upon almost as a special dispensation, and it was said, in fond imagination, that on its deck, and in the trough of the weltering Atlantic, the key of the blockade had at last been lost. These prospects were disappointed by the weakness of the government at Washington, in surrendering the commissioners and returning them to the British flag. The surrender was an exhibition of meanness and cowardice unparalleled in the political history of the civilized world, but strongly characteristic of the policy and mind of the North."* This same writer indulges in various other paragraphs on this subject, berating Secretary Seward for his "unexampled shamelessness," his "contemptible affectation of alacrity," etc.; but we need not quote further. There can be no doubt that the course pursued by the government grievously disappointed our country's enemies at home and abroad.

The language of the London *Times* (January 11, 1862), as illustrating to some extent the prevailing tone of feeling in England in regard to these rebel commissioners, may fitly be given in closing the present chapter:—"We do sincerely hope that our countrymen will not give these fellows anything in the shape of an ovation. The civility that is due to a foe in distress is all that they can claim. We have returned them good for evil, and, sooth to say, we should be exceedingly sorry that they should ever be in a situation to choose what return they will make for the good we have now done them. They are here for their own interest, in order, if possible, to drag us into their own quarrel, and, but for the unpleasant contingencies of a prison, rather disappointed, perhaps, that their detention has not provoked a new war. When they stepped on board the Trent they did not trouble themselves with the thought of the mischief they might be doing an unoffending neutral; and if now, by any less perilous devices, they could entangle us in the war, no doubt they would be only too happy. We trust there is no chance of their doing this, for impartial as the British public is in the matter, it certainly has no

* "The bubble has burst. The rage of the friends of compromise, and of the South, who saw in a war with Great Britain the complete success of the confederacy, is deep and burning, if not loud; but they all say they never expected anything better from the cowardly and braggart statesmen who now rule in Washington."—Russell's "*My Diary North and South*," p. 593.

* "*First Year of the War*," p. 208.

prejudice in favor of slavery, which, if anything, these gentlemen represent. What they and their secretaries are to do here passes our conjecture. They are personally nothing to us. They must not suppose, because we have gone to the verge of a great war to rescue them, that therefore they are precious in our eyes. We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes; and had that been the object of the rescue, the swarthy Pompey and Cæsar would have had just the same right to triumphal arches and municipal addresses as Messrs. Mason and Slidell. So, please, British public, let's have none of these things. Let the commissioners come up quietly to town and have their say with anybody who may have time to listen to them. For our part, we cannot see how anything they have to tell can turn the scale of British duty and deliberation. There have been so many cases of people and nations establishing an actual independence, and compelling the recognition of the world, that all we have to do is what we have done before, up to the very last year. This is now a simple matter of precedent. Our statesmen and lawyers know quite as much on the subject as Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and are in no need of their information or advice."*

CHAPTER VI.

1861.

NAVAL AND MILITARY OPERATIONS DURING LATTER HALF OF THE YEAR.

The Navy — Expedition to Hatteras Inlet under Stringham and Butler — Its importance — Reduction of the forts — Valuable results of the victory gained — Repression here of blockade running — Fort Pickens — Rebels at Pensacola — Operations there — Wilson's Zouaves attacked — The rebel batteries and works bombarded — Result — Mouth of the Mississippi — Semmes and the Sumter — Ram Manassas — Attack on our ships — Capt. Hollins' report — Great preparations for another expedition — Sails under Dupont and Sherman for Port Royal — Bombardment of the forts at Hilton Head — Tremendous force and effect of our firing — Complete success — The "stone fleet" — Gen. T. W. Sherman in South Carolina — Efforts to secure the cotton — Negroes and plans for their improvement — Sherman's expedition against Port Royal Ferry — Affairs in Missouri — Colonel Sigel — Battle near Carthage — Result — Sigel retreats before Price to Springfield — Gen. Lyon determines to meet Price — Insufficiency of his force — Rebels driven at Dug Springs — Return to Springfield — Plans of the generals — Sigel's movement — Lyon fights battle of Wilson's Creek or Oak Hill — Lyon killed — Severe loss — Gen. Fremont in Missouri — Activity and zeal — Cairo and Bird's Point reinforced — Fremont's proclamation and course — Battle of Lexington — Fremont marches after Price — Superseded by Hunter — No battle — Pursuit abandoned — Retreat — Halleck in command — Proclamation — Success of our troops — Gen. Grant and Belmont — The attack and result — Rebel success and boasting — General effect beneficial to cause of the Union.

THE navy of the United States, which had become already quite numerous and formidable, was increased as rapidly as possible, and was henceforth destined to exercise a powerful influence in the great struggle for national preservation.† The government, in carrying out its plans for crushing the rebellion, and for recovering, so soon as might be, the several points of importance along the coast, which had been seized upon or occupied by secessionists, fitted out expeditions, at an early period, which, in their results, were of the greatest service to the cause of the Union. This service was not only in

* See McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 338–343.

† See Dr. Boynton's "*History of the Navy during the Rebellion*," vol. i., p. 89, etc.

what was actually accomplished against the rebels, but also in demonstrating the power of our ships in operations against forts on the land, as well as the excellent general efficiency of the navy.

During the month of August, an expedition, partly military and partly naval, was fitted out at Fortress Mon-
1861. roe, the destination of which, for obvious reasons, was kept secret. It consisted of nearly 900 troops, well supplied and under command of General Butler, who had, on the 13th, been relieved at the fort by General Wool; the naval portion of the expedition was three large steam-frigates and some eight or ten other vessels, with Commodore Stringham in command. Its destination, as it turned out, was Hatteras Inlet, one of the most important entrances to the extensive series of navigable waters on the river coast of North Carolina, through the long range of sand islands which here serve as a barrier against the wild waves of the Atlantic. There were several of these passages—a shallow one above at New Inlet, a near approach to Albemarle Sound; another of more consequence below at Ocracoke; but this at Hatteras, hard by the light-house at the Cape, was of most value. It was guarded by two protecting forts —Hatteras and Clark—recently erected by the rebels, and its deep harbor had become notorious as a refuge for privateers, and an entrance for various trading vessels running the blockade. Evidently, it was necessary to deprive the rebels, as soon as possible, of so convenient a place for trade and supplying North Carolina and Virginia with essential articles of foreign production and utility.

The expedition sailed from Hampton Roads, August 26th, and the next afternoon anchored off the Inlet. At daylight, on the 28th, arrangements were made for landing the troops and for attacking the forts by the fleet. A heavy swell upon the beach prevented the landing of any number of the soldiers that day. About ten A.M., the fleet opened fire on Fort Hatteras and continued it till half-past one, P.M., when both forts hauled down their flags, and the rebels deserted Fort Clark, which was taken possession of by our men and the Union flag raised. Later in the day and early the next morning, the bombardment was resumed, and told fearfully upon Hatteras. The rebel firing was of no great account, most of their shot falling short, and the gunners being evidently wanting in skill. About eleven o'clock, a white flag was raised from the fort, and Capt. Barron, at the time in command, though formerly an officer in our navy, offered to surrender on condition of being allowed to retire with the garrison. Such terms were of course refused, and as the case was hopeless, Barron concluded to surrender on Gen. Butler's proposition, which was to give up everything and be treated as prisoners of war. The result was, the capturing of 615 men, with Barron, at that date acting secretary of the confederate navy, and Major Bradford, chief of the confederate ordnance department; also, 1,000 stand of arms, 31 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of provisions and stores. Our loss was trifling; and so well had

the secret of the expedition been kept, that, for several days thereafter, blockade runners from various quarters came into the Inlet, and were readily taken by our vessels.

The success of this expedition was cheering in the extreme to the friends of the Union. The secretary of the navy, under date of September 2d, congratulated the officers and men on their gallantry; and it was universally felt that the naval arm of the service was about to be, as it proved to be, of the utmost importance and efficiency in putting an end to the rebellion.

The forts were held and garrisoned by our troops, the steamer Monticello and the steam-tug Fanny being retained at the Inlet to keep off the rebel gunboats, and capture vessels attempting to run the blockade. Fort Ocracoke, on Beacon Island, having been abandoned by the rebels, was destroyed entirely by our men, September 16th. Colonel Hawkins, then in command, having been reinforced, sent a body of men to break up the works of the enemy at a point about twenty miles northeast of the Inlet, and to afford protection to the professed Unionists in that quarter. The Fanny, on her way with supplies, was attacked and taken by rebel vessels, October 2d. It was then determined to try and capture the troops under Colonel Brown, who made a hasty retreat, losing some fifty stragglers on the road. This was on the 4th of October; but the next day the Monticello came upon the rebels, who were severely punished by the shells thrown among them and into their vessels for several hours in succession.

The government speedily sent 500 additional troops to Hatteras, under Gen. Mansfield, who, soon after, was succeeded by Gen. Thomas Williams. Excellent services were rendered to the blockading squadron; the illicit commerce of the enemy was checked, and an occasional prize taken. But the most prominent, if not the most important event at Hatteras, was the political assembly of the loyal inhabitants of the island. Though necessarily but a limited demonstration, and quite insignificant as an encroachment upon the vast area which secession had gotten hold of, yet it attracted attention, and was the means of arousing the sympathies of the North. We may mention, that a convention of delegates assembled and proclaimed their loyalty to the Union; and some 4,000 of the poorer people, mostly fishermen, on the narrow strip of land on the coast, claimed the aid and comfort of Union men at the North. In November, a provisional government was formed, and a representative to Congress elected. That body, however, did not see fit to admit him among its members.

The importance of Fort Pickens to the cause of the Union, and the gallantry by which it had been preserved from falling into rebel hands, we have already noted. (See vol. iii., p. 563.) Colonel Harvey Brown, an excellent and experienced officer, arrived, April 16th, with reinforcements, and by the close of the month, the fort was garrisoned with about 900 men. Diligent and persevering labor was bestowed upon strengthening the works in every respect possible. New reinforcements arrived

at the end of June, consisting of "Billy Wilson's" Zouaves; so that, with several vessels of the blockading squadron at hand, the fort was in such a state of readiness as to meet any attack the rebels might venture upon. They had gathered a formidable force of some eight thousand men at Pensacola, under Gen. B. Bragg, and apparently, were only waiting an opportunity to drive out or capture our troops. Weeks and months, however, slipped by, and entertaining a salutary apprehension of the ability of Fort Pickens, the rebels undertook almost nothing offensive; and, in due time, abandoned Pensacola entirely.

On the part of our officers and men, there was a strong desire to do something more than merely act on the defensive, which latter was ordered by the government. Early in September, the dry dock, which had been placed by the rebels so as to obstruct the channel, was set fire to by a small but resolute force and completely destroyed. Soon after, Lieutenant Russell with a picked force of a hundred men, at half-past three A.M., made an attack upon the Judah which lay off the navy yard and was being fitted out as a privateer. Proceeding in four boats, they boarded the schooner, set her on fire, and escaped with a loss of three killed and twelve wounded. This successful feat, occupying only a quarter of an hour, was pronounced by the rebels themselves, a thousand of whom were quartered at the navy yard, as the most daring and well-executed achievement of the year. The gallantry of our men seems to have stirred up the rebels to attempt something at least. Accordingly, on the night of the 8th of October, they started with 1,200 men to make an attack on the camp of Wilson's Zouaves, situate about two miles from Fort Pickens. The attack was well planned, and they came upon the camp long before daylight, and roused the sleeping Zouaves out of their apparent security. The rebel force succeeded in burning nearly all the tents; but the Zouaves speedily rallied, and with the aid of some companies from the fort, soon drove the rebels back in great confusion. At daylight, the pursuit was continued, and the invading force, in fearful disorder and consequent loss from the well-directed attacks of our men, skillfully taking advantage of the protecting sand hills, and familiar inequalities of the ground, was driven off to their landing place, where, embarking in their boats they were further pursued by the rifle shots of the regulars, thrown among their solid masses. The enemy's loss was severe, a hundred or more being killed and wounded; on our side, the loss was about fifty, 14 being killed and the rest wounded.

Colonel Brown, indignant at the attack recently made, and feeling assured of his ability to assault the enemy to good purpose, called upon Flag-Officer McKean to co-operate, and determined to open fire on the 22d of November. The flag-ship Niagara and the sloop of war Richmond took part in the bombardment, although owing to want of sufficient depth of water they were not able to render all the service otherwise in their power. A few minutes before ten, on the day appointed, Col. Brown

fired his first gun, a signal for the ships to come into action. They quickly obeyed the summons, and in a short time the engagement was general. The line of forts and batteries, to which Fort Pickens and the ships were now opposed, extended four miles round the bay from the navy yard, on the north-east, to Fort McRae on the south-west. Besides the old works of Forts Barrancas and McRae, there were now erected no less than fourteen separate batteries, mounting from one to four guns each, many of them ten-inch columbiads, and some twelve and thirteen-inch sea coast mortars. These powerful fortifications were defended by some eight thousand men, while Col. Brown had under his command at Fort Pickens but one-sixth of that number. The bombardment continued till night, and, resumed again the next morning, was very effective, and silenced fort McRae and the navy yard, and very materially lessened the firing of Fort Barrancas and other batteries. The village of Warrington took fire, and both in it and the navy yard a large number of buildings was destroyed; a rebel steamer at the wharf was also abandoned. The firing was continued till dark, and occasionally during the night with mortars, when the combat ceased. Fort Pickens, as Colonel Brown stated in his official report, "though it has received a great many shot and shell, is in every respect, save the disabling of one gun carriage and the loss of service of six men, as efficient as it was at the commencement of the combat; but the ends I proposed in commencing having been attained, except one, which I find to be impracticable with my present means, I do not deem it advisable further to continue it, unless the enemy think proper to do so, when I shall meet him with alacrity. . . . . Our loss would have been heavy but for the foresight which, with great labor, caused us to erect elaborate means of protection, and which saved many lives. I lost one private killed, one sergeant, one corporal and four men (privates) wounded, only one severely."

The blockade of the mouths of the Mississippi was, from the nature of the case, very difficult, and for a considerable time it was evaded with more or less success. On the 1st of July, the famous privateer Sumter, Raphael Semmes commander, **1861.** passed out, made a dozen or more captures of merchantmen, and ran into Nassau, where British sympathy and aid were freely extended. Sometime after, Semmes, continuing his devastating course, brought the Sumter into Gibraltar, where the Tuscarora found him and kept him in durance, till the privateer captain and company were tired out, and sold their vessel to escape capture. But the blockade, though by no means perfect or complete, was sufficiently so to be very vexatious to the rebels in New Orleans, and roused them to make efforts to break it if possible. A steam ram was constructed during the summer for this purpose, at Algiers, opposite New Orleans. Taking a strong, old tow-boat as a foundation, iron plating was put on the vessel, and a prow of timbers and iron, very strong, projected about ten feet, and was calculated to produce a terrible

blow on the side of any vessel against which it might strike.

Confident of the destructive power of the ram, Manassas, it was determined to attack the blockading fleet which, early in October, was stationed at the head of the Passes, protecting our men, who were engaged in erecting fortifications at the point where the Mississippi diverges into five mouths, and where a well arranged fort would command the entire navigation of the river. Late on the night of the 11th of October, as the steamer Richmond was lying at the south-west pass receiving coal from a schooner, suddenly the Manassas was discovered in close proximity, attended by gun boats and barges laden with combustibles. A tremendous blow was inflicted on the fore part of the Richmond, tearing the schooner from her fasts, and forcing a hole through the ship's side. The ram passed aft, and tried to breach the stern of the Richmond, but her works getting deranged she failed in this, and having received the fire of the steamer's port battery, she was glad to draw off. In a few minutes, the Preble, Vincennes and Water Witch having slipped their cables passed down with the current, the Richmond following and covering their retreat. The Vincennes and Richmond grounded on the bar, the others passing over free; and the fire rafts were entirely avoided. This was about 8 o'clock in the morning of the 12th, and the enemy's five gun boats opened fire, which was continued for two hours without any particular effect, when they sailed back up the river. The damage to the side of the Richmond was repaired, temporarily, and the army transport, McClellan, coming up early in the afternoon, assisted in getting the Richmond off the bar. This was successfully accomplished on the morning of the 13th, and the afternoon of the same day the Vincennes was also got afloat, when the entire fleet was carried without further injury down the pass. Not a single life was lost from the rebel attack.

As communications were not very frequent with our squadron, the first news of this matter at the North was through the high sounding telegram of Capt. Hollins, the commander of the expedition and formerly of the U. S. navy: "Fort Jackson, Oct. 12th, 1861: Last night I attacked the blockaders with my little fleet. I succeeded, after a very short struggle, in driving them all aground on the South-west Pass bar, except the Preble, which I sunk. I captured a prize from them, and after they were fast in the sand, I peppered them well. There were no casualties on our side. It was a complete success."

It was some satisfaction, soon after, to get at the truth, as above narrated, and Capt. Hollins' "peppered them well," (which, by the way, was done at a safe distance and with very indifferent results,) was found to be rather poetical and extravagant than worthy of any credit.

In carrying out the policy of the government with respect to points of importance on the southern coast, the navy department appointed, in June, a special board of army and navy officers to consider and report upon the whole subject. The commission gave full and careful

attention to the matter, and made various recommendations in regard to future operations in behalf of the Union, and for cutting off the means derived by the rebels from running the blockade. Accordingly, an expedition on a larger scale than heretofore attempted was fitted out, the destination of which was kept secret up to the last moment. Gen. Thomas W. Sherman, a brave and accomplished officer, was placed in command of the land forces, numbering about 15,000 men; while the naval portion of the expedition, consisting of the steam frigate Wabash, twenty-two first-class and twelve smaller steamers, and twenty-six sailing vessels, was commanded by Commodore S. F. Dupont, one of the ablest officers in the service.

The expedition sailed on the 29th of October, from Hampton Roads, and met with very stormy weather. Several transports were disabled and four lost entirely, and it was not till the night of Nov. 3d, that the expedition arrived off Port Royal, South Carolina. Soundings were carefully made, it being found that the rebels had removed the buoys marking out the pathway; the next day, a reconnaissance in force was made to gain information respecting the batteries on shore, their strength, position, etc. It was ascertained, that, at the south-easterly point of Hilton Head Island, stood Fort Walker, and on the opposite land of Bay Point or Phillip's Island, was Fort Beauregard, both being works of scientific construction and mounting some 20 guns each.

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The flag ship having passed safely through the channel, and all the arrangements having been effected, on Thursday, Nov. 7th, the weather proving favorable and perfectly clear, the armed vessels of the fleet advanced over the tranquil waters to the deadly encounter. The transports, freighted with thousands of soldiers, remained behind, yet within sight of the grand movement. The loss of the ferry boats, which had been provided to transport the troops over the shallow waters to the shore in the rear of the forts, had compelled a change of plan, by which the co-operation of the military was abandoned, and the whole responsibility of the attack was thrown upon the navy.

It had been ascertained by the reconnaissance, that Fort Walker, on Hilton Head, was the most powerfully armed of the defences, that the greater part of its guns were presented on two water fronts, and that the flanks were but slightly guarded, especially on the north, where an attack was less to be expected. The "mosquito fleet," under Tatnall, formerly of the U. S. navy, consisting of seven small steamers, kept at a very safe distance in the northern part of the harbor. Under these circumstances our fleet made its advance.

The Wabash led the way, the gun boats following, steaming slowly up the bay, and receiving and returning the fire of the rebel forts; then, turning southwardly, they passed nearer the stronger work, and delivered fire with fearful effect. By this arrangement, no vessel became stationary, and the rebels could not gain by experiment and practice anything like a perfect aim. Not-

withstanding the impression in favor of land batteries over ships when not iron clad, and notwithstanding the rebels, confident of success, fought bravely and worked their guns in the best manner, the terrible storm of shot and shell from our ships, which passed five times between the forts, was beyond all endurance. At half-past eleven, the enemy's flag was shot away, and an hour or so later, they gave up the fruitless contest and ran away. Numbering some 2,000 in all, they made a rapid retreat to save themselves from capture by our troops. In the course of the afternoon, Fort Walker was taken possession of, and a large body of troops landed; and as the other fort was found to be abandoned, the stars and stripes were hoisted on its flag-staff, the next morning at sunrise.*

Our success was complete. The losses were few and not important (eight being killed and twenty-three wounded); forty-eight cannon and large quantities of ammunition and stores were taken; and the rebels were astounded at the defeat they had met with. The day following the engagement, the Seminole was sent on a reconnaissance up the river towards Beaufort; she met with no obstructions, and with three gun boats had no difficulty in reaching Beaufort. The village was found to be entirely abandoned, only one white person being left, and he, to the disgrace of the "chivalry," was drunk. The negroes left in possession had already begun to pillage and destroy. "The whole country have left, sir," said an intelligent mulatto boy, "and all the soldiers gone to Port Royal Ferry. They did not think that you could do it, sir." On the 12th of November, Dupont, Sherman, and other officers, visited Beaufort, and found every thing in a sad state of confusion and disorder, the negroes being left to work their will on property of all descriptions.

The government in this, as in the case of Hatteras Inlet, had not made provision for pressing the advantages which had been gained. Had Gen. Sherman been provided with light draft steamers and other facilities, there seems no reason to doubt that, under the terror caused by the rebel defeat, a successful attack might have been made upon Charleston and Savannah; but delays occurred. Gen. Sherman set to work fortifying his position at Hilton Head. He did not, occupy Beaufort until December 6th; nor, although Tybee Island, commanding the approach to Savannah, was taken possession of by Commodore Dupont, Nov. 25th, did Gen. Sherman, or his successor, do any thing effective for some time later. This, together with the unwillingness to use the negroes in work of every kind, for which they were much better fitted than the northern troops, helped to delay matters, and some of the fruits of our victory were thus lost.†

* A general order was issued by the secretary of the navy, expressing the high gratification of the department at the brilliant success of the expedition.

† On the 20th December, the "stone fleet," as it was called, gathered on the coast of South Carolina, and sixteen old whaling vessels, carefully prepared for the purpose, were sunk off the harbor of Charleston. Others, a few days afterward, were sunk in an other spot, the idea being to embarrass or perplex, not destroy, navigation. A great outcry was made by foreign newspapers, hostile to the Union, and Lord Russell even undertook to remonstrate with our government upon

In order to secure, as far as possible, the valuable product of the country, *i.e.*, cotton, an order was issued by the secretary of the treasury, Nov. 30th, prescribing the appointment of agents at the ports or places occupied by the forces of the United States, who should secure and prepare for market the cotton and the products and property which might be found or brought within the lines of the army, or under the control of the federal authority. The negroes were to be employed in this work, and the cotton when gathered, it was directed, should be shipped to New York and there sold by regularly appointed agents, and the proceeds paid to the United States government.

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On receipt of these orders at Port Royal, General T. W. Sherman distributed his forces to give the required aid to preserve what the torch of the rebels—which was every night of impunity employed with greater vigor—had left of the crops in the vicinity. The organization of the negroes, abandoned by their masters, or thronging in numbers to the Union lines, was a matter of no little difficulty. The general superintendence and direction of the plantations, with a view to their preservation and the care and regulation of the negroes at work on them, was assigned by Secretary Chase to Mr. E. L. Pierce, as special agent of the treasury department, a gentleman every way qualified, and who entered on his work with zeal and discretion. The results were encouraging, and gave promise of future improvement in the negro race.

The first movement of any consequence in General T. W. Sherman's department after the occupation of Beaufort, December 6th, was a joint military and naval expedition, directed against a fortified position of the enemy on a mainland at Port Royal Ferry. Accordingly, at the end of December, a method of attack was settled upon by General Sherman and Captain Dupont, in which their forces were jointly to cooperate. The command of the naval operations was assigned to Commander C. R. P. Rodgers; the military movements were conducted by Gen. Stevens. The preparations of both were made with the greatest skill, and carried out with remarkable accuracy. The batteries of the enemy were destroyed and the houses of the vicinity burnt.

As stated on a previous page (see p. 41), Jackson, the rebel governor of Missouri, had been put to flight by Gen. Lyon at Booneville, whence he retreated to the south-western portion of the state to get aid. Gen. Lyon continued the pursuit vigorously; the rebels, however, were met in Jasper county, by a force of some 1,500 Union troops, under Col. Franz Sigel, a brave and spirited officer, who was pushing forward to prevent a junction of Jackson's force with that which was hastening to his assistance from another quarter. Sigel, on the 4th of July, found the rebels at Brier Forks, near Carthage, with a force more than twice his in number, and professing themselves

an act so dreadful as destroying one of the harbors of the world. His lordship was quietly informed of the real object had in view, and also reminded that even after the sinking of the ships, the port had been entered and the blockade broken by an English trading vessel.

eager for a fight. The rebels were largely superior in cavalry, while Sigel was much better supplied than they in artillery. The battle began about half-past ten in the morning. The enemy's large body of cavalry gave them great advantage, and seriously endangered Sigel's position more than once; but nothing could withstand the force of our artillery and the charges of the infantry. The rebels were driven at various times and occasions, but rallied again; and Sigel retreated to Dry Fork Creek, and thereby saved his baggage train. With his men in complete order, but greatly wearied with heat and fatigue, Sigel first took position on the heights beyond Carthage; thence, after another severe struggle with the rebel cavalry, he continued his march to Sarcoxie, fifteen miles eastward. Our loss was thirteen killed, thirty-one wounded; the rebel loss was estimated at fifty killed, 150 wounded.

As during the night and next day, Gen. Price brought several thousand Arkansas and Texas troops, under McCulloch and Pierce, to join Jackson, it was well that Sigel retired when he did. Indeed, it became necessary for him to leave Sarcoxie and proceed to Springfield, where, on the 13th of July, he took his place under Gen. Lyon's command. This devoted soldier and patriot, as above noted, with a force of less than 3,000 men, but men who could and would fight, set out in pursuit of the enemy, determining, as every way the wisest, to strike the blow himself rather than wait to be attacked. He crossed the Grand River on the 7th of July, and was joined by 3,000 troops from Kansas, under Major Sturgis. Ill news in regard to Sigel had reached him; but upon reaching Springfield he was cheered to find Sigel and his men comparatively safe.

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The storm of war was lowering heavily over Missouri, and Gen. Lyon was but inadequately furnished with men and means to meet the rebels. His numbers, small enough at best, were daily growing less by the expiration of the time of enlistment of the volunteers. The rebel preparations were among the most formidable of their many attempts in this quarter during the war. Their army, collected from various quarters, at Cassville, to the south-west of Springfield, near the Arkansas line of Missouri, included a large body of Missouri, Arkansas and Texas troops, under command of some of the most talented officers in the south-west. Advancing under the command of Gen. McCulloch, they encamped, on the 6th of August, at Wilson's Creek, a position ten miles south-west of Springfield. The object was the investment and capture of the Union forces of Gen. Lyon at that town.

Lyon, however, thinking it best to meet the detached bodies of the enemy before they were concentrated in their new position, set out, on the 1st of August, from Springfield, advancing about twenty miles south-westerly, and, on the afternoon of the 2d, after a forced march under a burning sun, encountered a part of the rebel forces, under Gen. Rains, at Dug Springs. The engagement, though not long, was

sharp and decisive. It was principally fought by our cavalry, which, with unequalled spirit, succeeded in driving back a force ten times theirs in number.*

A forward movement was made to Curran, but it was soon thought best to retire to Springfield. This was done, and Gen. Lyon proposed to attack the enemy on the night of the 7th of August. Circumstances, however, prevented; he was very greatly in need of reinforcements and supplies; and he pleaded earnestly to have men sent to him, or he must run the risk of being overpowered. A council of war was held to determine whether, with a force of about 5,000, he should undertake to meet the rebels, numbering over 20,000; the troops, too, of Gen. Lyon were, many of them, freshly-raised, inexperienced recruits, who had been hastily summoned to take the place of the three months' volunteers who had gone home.

Under ordinary circumstances it would probably have been more judicious to retreat; but in the present case, Gen. Lyon knew too well the prodigious effect such a course would have for harm to the Union cause. It was resolved, therefore, to make a stand, at any cost, and to meet the enemy at the earliest practicable moment. Friday, the 9th of August, was fixed upon for an advance; the rebels had the same purpose in view, and meant to march on Springfield that night, in four separate columns, so as to surround and attack it at daybreak; but they did not do so. Gen. Lyon, on his part, made all his dispositions on Friday afternoon, for an attack on the enemy on Saturday morning at daylight; Lyon attacking on the left, and Sigel on the right. During the night they approached the rebel encampment at Wilson's Creek, ten miles south of Springfield, and the battle was begun at dawn of day. It **1861.** was fought gallantly and nobly by our men; but the great disproportion of numbers very soon became evident, and seemed to show that, in dividing his troops into two columns, he committed an error. Sigel at first drove the rebels before him, and secured a good position for his battery. But with only a scant force, Sigel was assailed by two batteries and a column of infantry. His men were thrown into confusion; the cannoneers were driven from their pieces, the horses killed, and five guns captured; and most of the force under Sigel fled, leaving the brunt of the battle to fall upon Lyon's column.

This part of our little army was speedily at work. Totten's and Dubois's batteries were very effective, and our infantry won great honor by their steady, unflinching maintenance of their ground against immense odds. The rebels were repeatedly driven back in confusion, but our men were too few to follow up their advantage. Lyon, brave almost to recklessness, was, as is supposed, fighting this battle against his real convictions; his horse was killed, and he received a wound in the leg and one in the head. He walked

* The day was an exceedingly trying one; the heat and dust were oppressive in the extreme; no water was to be had at any price; and stricken down by the sun and exhausted, the men were very grateful when evening drew on and they could gain some relief.

slowly a few paces to the rear, and said despondingly, "I fear the day is lost." A horse was immediately offered him, which, in a few minutes, he mounted, and swinging his hat in the air, called to the troops nearest him to follow. The 2d Kansas gallantly rallied around him, headed by the brave Col. Mitchell. In a few moments the colonel fell, severely wounded; about the same time a fatal ball was lodged in Gen. Lyon's breast, and he was carried from the field a corpse.*

Major Sturgis now took command, and after a three hours' fight, the rebels were forced from their camp and the field; while our men, almost without ammunition, and considerably reduced, slowly took up their march for Springfield, which they reached at five o'clock, P.M. The enemy did not venture on any pursuit; but, as it was evident that Springfield could not be held against the force the rebels possessed, Col. Sigel conducted the retreat to Rolla with the remnant of his army, his baggage train, and $250,000 in specie. So far as appears, he was not at all molested, and reached Rolla, Aug. 19th. Our loss in the battle at Wilson's Creek was, in all, 1,236. The rebel loss was reported as 1,347.

The rebel authorities endeavored to magnify this battle into a victory, which it certainly was not. In fact, it checked rebel operations under Price and McCulloch, and prevented their doing anything for more than a month. In reality, it was a triumph to the Union cause, though a triumph dearly bought at the sacrifice of Lyon's life.*

Early in July, Gen. J. C. Fremont was ordered to take charge of the western department, embracing the state of Illinois and the states and territories west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains, including New Mexico. In many respects, no more popular appointment could have been made for the West, where Fremont's name carried great weight with it, and would be certain to enlist much enthusiasm and earnest support. Gen. Fremont hastened, at an early day, to the field of his labors, and as very much was left to his discretion and judgment, he entered with unusual zeal and energy upon his work; so great, indeed, that it was not long before he came into collision with the authorities at head quarters. One great object which he was directed to have in view was, to accomplish the descent of the Mississippi; for which purpose he was to raise and organize an army as soon as possible.

The prospect of affairs was gloomy enough in Missouri. The state was largely hostile; the disaster at Bull Run depressed the Union men while it gave the secessionists cause for exultation; faction prevailed; the recruits were badly supplied and badly paid; and the rebels had some 50,000 men in

* Pollard, in speaking of Gen. Lyon, indulges in great bitterness, calling him a "dangerous man," "without a trace of chivalric feeling or personal sensibility," etc., at the same time acknowledging his ability and decision of character.—"*First Year of the War*," p. 140.

* Gen. Lyon's loss was universally deplored. His body was recovered from the field and entombed at Springfield. Subsequently his remains were removed to his native village, Ashford, Conn. Every honor was bestowed upon his name and memory, and Congress, at its session, in December, passed joint resolutions expressive of their sense of his eminent and patriotic services.

arms on the southern frontier. Gen. Pope was in North Missouri; Gen. Prentiss was at Cairo with a few regiments; the troops which Gen. Lyon had commanded were in the condition above narrated; and altogether a very unpromising scene lay before Fremont. But he lost no time in attempting to do what he could. He immediately reinforced Cairo and Bird's Point,* carrying with him for this purpose eight steamers and 3,800 men. Happily, Fremont was in time, for the rebel General Pillow had, at New Madrid, a few miles below, a force estimated at nearly 20,000, and might readily have seized upon this important strategic point. Fremont next undertook to secure the defence of the state on a comprehensive plan, by fortifying Girardeau, Ironton, Rolla and Jefferson City, with St. Louis as a base, holding these places with sufficient garrisons, and leaving the army free for operations in the field.

It soon became clear that Fremont did not mean to allow ordinary difficulties to obstruct his path. This was shown by his compelling the United States treasurer at St. Louis to furnish funds to pay the troops; his proclaiming martial law, Aug. 14th, and suppressing two newspapers in St. Louis; and on the 30th, his issuing a proclamation of great stringency, declaring the whole state under martial law. One passage in this we quote, evidencing that Fremont was prepared to cut the Gordian knot instead of wasting time in trying to untie it: "Real and personal property of those who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared confiscated to public use, and *their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.*"

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This was going quite too fast and too far; Union men in the border states protested against it; the government had, as yet, no fixed or enlarged policy, especially of such a kind as was afterwards adopted; and the president required, in a letter to Gen. Fremont, Sept. 11th, that his proclamation or order be annulled in its most striking features.*

The town of Lexington, on the Missouri, 300 miles above St. Louis, was a point of great importance to be held against the rebels. On the 9th of September, Colonel Mulligan arrived at Lexington and took command, having less than 3,000 men under him. After three days, Mulligan was besieged by a very large body, under Price, some 20,000 or more, and on the 17th, the besieged were cut off from a supply of water, and were compelled to surrender on the 20th of September.

The large numbers under Sterling Price, Ben McCulloch, and others in the western and southern parts of the state, rendered it a matter of necessity, in Fremont's opinion, to pursue Price and

* Cairo, situate in Illinois, at a point of land formed by the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, 175 miles below St. Louis, was early seen by the Union men to be of great importance to keep possession of; Bird's Point, in Missouri, commands Cairo and could easily shell the place. Illinois troops were in Cairo as early as April 25th, and Gen. Grant bestowed much attention in strengthening and holding it.

* The rebel Gen. Jeff. Thompson was very violent at Fremont's proclamation, and issued a counter one from the south-western part of the state, threatening dire vengeance, and a determination, as he phrased it, to "retaliate ten-fold, so help me God!"

his marauding forces, until he caught and routed them. Hence, while the gun boats were being got ready for the descent of the Mississippi, Fremont turned his whole attention to the work before him. His army, of which he took the head, was composed of five divisions, respectively commanded by Gens. Hunter, Pope, Sigel, Asboth and McKinstry, the entire force numbering about 39,000. They were a hardy, serviceable race of men, but there was great lack of arms and equipments, as well as of means of transportation. The movement was made southerly, towards Springfield. By the middle of October, Fremont, and his staff, with three companies of his famous "body guard," and the divisions of Sigel and Asboth, were at Warsaw on the Osage River, which, running parallel with the Missouri, divides the central from the southern portion of the state on its western side. While delayed here a few days, a substantial bridge was built for the passage of the army.

Springfield was reached by the advanced divisions on the 28th of October. A few days previously, the brave Hungarian, Major Zagonyi, and his squadron of cavalry, pushed forward, and with a force of a little over 300, attacked the rebels numbering nearly 2,000, and drove them out of Springfield. Fremont, directly after his arrival, having three of his divisions with him, made preparations for a battle with the rebels.

Just at this crisis, when the army was eager for the contest and everything seemed to promise success, an order arrived, Nov. 2d, superseding Fremont and directing him to turn over his command to Gen. Hunter. This, although a mortification to Fremont, was not altogether unexpected; for his relations with the department were not satisfactory, and both Secretary Cameron and Gen. Thomas, who had made a visit to the West, in October, to inquire into matters, gave an impression decidedly unfavorable to Fremont and his doings. Others also, like Col. F. P. Blair, had made various charges against him; and his extravagance, incompetency, and the like, were freely spoken of; and so, whether wisely or not just at this juncture, his command was taken from him.

Gen. Hunter, who arrived on the night of the 3d of November, put off any attempt at engaging Price's army; he also, on the 7th, repudiated an agreement just formed between Fremont and Price in regard to protecting peaceable citizens of Missouri. After a few days, Hunter began a retreat in the direction of St. Louis, and as he retired Price followed.* On the 18th of November, Gen. Halleck reached St. Louis, and took command of the western department. On the 21st, he ordered that no fugitive slaves should be permitted to enter the lines of any camp, or of any forces on the march, on the ground that important information had been conveyed to the enemy through their means. On the 23d of December, he issued an order, fixing the penalty of death on all

* Greeley, in his "*American Conflict*," vol. i, p. 594, severely criticises the abandonment of Springfield, the giving up Southern Missouri without a blow, and the "sneaking back to our fastnesses along the lines of completed railroads, and within striking distance of St Louis."

persons engaged in destroying railroads and telegraphs; and on the 25th, he declared martial law. The rebel Gen. Price's plan was to approach from the borders of Kansas and destroy the track of the northern railroad, so as to cut off communication with St. Louis. Halleck's activity, however, together with excellent strategy displayed, prevented Price carrying his plan into execution. Gen. Pope, who was, on the 7th of December, placed in command of all the forces in Northern Missouri, projected an expedition against Price, which was rapidly and successfully carried out. On the 15th, Pope encamped near Sedalia; on the 16th, he pushed forward and occupied a position between Warrensburg and Clinton; and from thence operated against the enemy, who were entirely defeated by Col. J. C. Davis at the mouth of Clear Creek. Following upon this was an excursion of Union troops to Lexington, where a large foundry and several rebel craft on the river were destroyed. The substantial result was, that almost the entire region between the Missouri and Osage Rivers was cleared by the 25th of December, and Price was glad to retreat to the borders of Arkansas to find subsistence and safety for himself and his men.

During the last two weeks of December, the Union army captured, in various skirmishes, 2,500 prisoners, including ten commissioned officers, 1,200 horses and mules, 1,100 stand of arms, two tons of powder, 100 wagons, and an immense amount of stores and camp equipage. As evidencing the importance of Missouri at this date to the insurgents as well as the Union cause, we may mention, that not less than sixty battles and skirmishes were fought on its soil during 1861.

In this connection may be noted Gen. Grant's attempt to break up the rebel encampment at Belmont, on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, and opposite Columbus, Kentucky. This latter was the head quarters of secession, General (Bishop) Polk being in command. Gen. Grant was at Cairo, Illinois, and, aided by Gen. Smith, with Union forces at Paducah, Kentucky, making a feint of attacking Columbus, he set out for Belmont. With about 4,000 men, mostly Illinois troops, he embarked, November 6th, in four steamboats convoyed by two gun boats, to Island No. 1, within eleven miles of Columbus. The next morning he proceeded to Hunter's Point, a few miles above Belmont. The troops were landed on the Missouri shore, reached the camp at eleven o'clock, and after a sharp contest drove the rebels out, burned the tents, etc. After some hours fighting, with victory just at hand, the rebels received reinforcements in large numbers, and Grant and his men were compelled to cut their way through to their boats. This they accomplished about five P.M., and escaped with a loss of about 600. The rebel loss was computed at 800. Although forced to retreat, Grant accomplished the main result of his expedition: the camp at Belmont was broken up, and various rebel plans for operating west of the Mississippi were defeated.

CHAPTER VII.

1861.

AFFAIRS IN VIRGINIA—ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

Wise and Floyd in Virginia — Carnifex Ferry — Rebel General Lee — His plans against Reynolds — Rosecrans at Gauley River — Kelly's dash on Romney — Milroy's attempt — End of the season — Rosecrans' address to his troops — McClellan at Washington — His efforts to improve the army — Public sentiment towards him — Sabbath order — "Memorandum" for the President — Extracts — Active exertions — Rebels retire from vicinity of Washington — Grand review — McClellan's statement of the condition of the army at end of October—His views as to forward movements—Attacks on newspaper offices—Grand Jury on freedom of the press — Military arrests — Passport system — Government circular as to coast defences — Col. Geary at Bolivar Heights — Reconnaissance ordered — Gen. McCall at Dranesville — Gen. Stone and his proceedings — Orders troops to cross the Potomac — Philbrick's report — Stone's orders — Col. Devens crosses — Attacked by the enemy — Col. Baker ordered to sustain him — Miserable lack of means of crossing the river — Disaster at Ball's Bluff — Baker killed — Heavy loss — Who is responsible? — Severe trial to loyal people — Effect on the rebels — Scott retires — McClellan general-in-chief — His plans — Gen. Lockwood marches to "Eastern shore" — Good result — Gen. Ord defeats Stuart near Dranesville — Navigation of the Potomac — Rebel batteries — McClellan not ready to move — Order as to fugitive slaves in Washington — Confederate Congress — Davis's message — General tone of it — Proceedings of rebel congress of no great moment.

Turning our attention again to Virginia (see p. 44) we see that, by the end of July, the Kanawha Valley was freed from secession troops, and that Wise (formerly governor), having destroyed all the bridges he could, and carried off wagons and teams of the people, had decamped. A month or more of comparative quiet was spent in repressing insurgent marauders in the mountainous regions. Early in September, however, J. B. Floyd, whose reputation for honesty was none of the best (see vol. iii., p. 564), and who was now in command of rebel troops, occupied a high hill at Carnifex Ferry, on the north bank of the Gauley River, a position of considerable value. On the 26th of August, he had surprised Col. Tyler's 7th Ohio regiment at Cross Lanes, near Summersville, and routed them entirely. Gen. Rosecrans, who had a force numbering nearly 10,000 under his command, determined to attack Floyd at once, and his determination was carried into effect on September 10th. The rebel commander had some 3,000 to 5,000 men, and sixteen field pieces in position, and was inaccessible on either flank or rear, his front being masked with jungle and forest. A spirited attack was made in the afternoon, and Gen. Rosecrans ordered the men to sleep on their arms, ready to assault the post in the morning; but Floyd, deeming discretion the wisest thing for him, silently made off in the night, and by destroy-

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ing the bridge and the ferry boats, he put the Gauley River, with its rushing tide, between him and Rosecrans' army. Floyd retreated some thirty miles to Big Sewell Mountain, and thence to Meadow's Bluff, out of harm's way for the present. Wise, who, it was expected, would help Floyd, remained at Big Sewell, and called his position by the sounding title, "Camp Defiance."

Gen. R. E. Lee, a person subsequently of much note in the rebellion, arrived from the northward with a force of 9,000 men and some eight or ten pieces of artillery; he took command of Floyd's and Wise's troops, which raised his numbers to 20,000 men. While on his way, in August, he found Gen. Reynolds in command at Cheat Mountain and Elk Water. His plan was, if possible, to capture Reynold's forces by strategy, and for that purpose he pushed forward two bodies to take our men in front and rear. For three days, September 12–14th, there was skirmishing, more or less sharp, going on. Col. John A. Washington, one of Lee's aids, and recently proprietor of Mount Vernon, was killed, with about 100 other rebels. The Union loss was probably about equal.

Gen. Rosecrans having taken post at Gauley Mount on New River, Floyd planted himself on the opposite (south) side of the river, and opened fire on the Union troops and others in sight. Rosecrans tried to flank and surprise him; but a sudden rise in the river rendered it impassable, and Gen. Benham failed to get in the rear and cut off Floyd's retreat. On the 14th of November, Floyd's rear guard was attacked and driven by Benham, Col. Croghan, its commander, being killed. Floyd retreated to Peterston, more than fifty miles distant.

In the north-east, Gen. Kelly, who was guarding a part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, started from New Creek on the night of Oct. 25th, and advanced to Romney. In this spirited dash he drove out the rebel battalion, captured two cannon and sixty prisoners, and a variety of valuable stores. 1861.
Gen. Milroy, who succeeded Gen. Reynolds at Cheat Mountain, attempted a similar dash, Dec. 12th, on the rebels in his front, strongly posted at Alleghany Summit, twenty-two miles distant on the turnpike to Staunton. Over 3,000 men went on the expedition; but it failed of success.

On the approach of winter, Gen. Lee was ordered to take charge of the southern coast defences; Wise was ordered to Richmond; and all the rebel forces were withdrawn, except a small one under Floyd. Soon after, in December, Floyd was removed to Tennessee, for service there; and thus ended the operations of the season, the Union army being left in full possession of Western Virginia.

Gen. Rosecrans also, the campaign having been brought to a close, issued a stirring, earnest address to his troops. Among other things he said: "Your patience and watchings put the traitor Floyd within your reach, and though by a precipitate retreat he escaped your grasp, you have the substantial fruits of victory. Western Virginia belongs to herself, and the invader is expelled from her soil."

Gen. McClellan, as previously stated (see p. 45), on the call of the government, proceeded at once to Washington, and entered upon the work of no light magnitude, in the existing crisis. "I found," he says, in a letter to the secretary of war, "no army to command; a mere collection of regiments cowering on the banks of the Potomac, some perfectly raw, others dispirited by the recent defeat (at Bull Run). Nothing of any consequence had been done to secure the southern approaches to the capital, by means of defensive works; nothing whatever had been undertaken to defend the avenues to the city on the northern side of the Potomac. The troops were not only undisciplined, undrilled and dispirited; they were not even placed in military positions. The city was almost in a condition to have been taken by a dash of a regiment of cavalry."*

Gen. McClellan came to his work with much *prestige*, and great things were expected of him on all hands. He began by enforcing military discipline in the camps at the capital, issuing an order to this effect, July 30th; officers of all grades were required to be at their posts and attend to their duties; and a board was appointed for examination of the officers of volunteer regiments. Congress, as we have seen, authorized the president to call for 500,000 volunteers; and the loyal states nobly responded to the call. The lesson of the defeat at Bull Run was now beginning to be learned and appreciated

The government, as well as the people, were disposed to regard Gen. McClellan, though comparatively a young man (born, 1826), as worthy of almost unlimited confidence; and he was eulogized, for a time, in terms which formed a painful contrast to subsequent exhibitions of popular feeling. On the 20th of August, he formally entered upon command of the Army of the Potomac, which, as at that time constituted, comprised the troops serving in the former departments of Washington and North-eastern Virginia, in the valley of the Shenandoah, and in the states of Maryland and Delaware.* **1861.**

At the president's request, McClellan prepared a paper, which he called a "Memorandum," and on the 4th of August, submitted it to Mr. Lincoln. A passage or two may be quoted as giving the views of one who was en-

* "Report of Gen. George B. McClellan upon the Organization of the Army of the Potomac, and its Campaigns in Virginia and Maryland, from July 26th, 1861, to November 7th, 1862."

* On the 6th of September, the following order was issued: "The Major-general commanding desires and requests that in future there may be a more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command. We are fighting in a holy cause, and should endeavor to deserve the benign favor of the Creator. Unless in the case of an attack by the enemy, or some other extreme military necessity, it is commended to commanding officers, that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath; that no unnecessary movements shall be made on that day; that the men shall, as far as possible, be permitted to rest from their labors; that they shall attend Divine service after the customary Sunday morning inspection, and that officers and men shall alike use their influence to insure the utmost decorum and quiet on that day. The General commanding regards this as no idle form. One day's rest in seven is necessary to men and animals. More than this, the observance of the Holy Day of the God of mercy and of battles is our sacred duty." At a later date (Nov. 27th), this order was directed to take effect in all the camps of the United States Army.

trusted with the important and responsible position of commanding-general, and who, at this early period of the struggle, seemed to have entertained a strong conviction of the powers of resistance possessed by the rebels.

"The object of the present war differs from those in which nations are engaged, mainly in this: that the purpose of ordinary war is to conquer a peace, and make a treaty on advantageous terms; in this contest it has become necessary to crush a population sufficiently numerous, intelligent, and warlike to constitute a nation. We have not only to defeat their armed and organized forces in the field, but to display such an overwhelming strength as will convince all our antagonists, especially those of the governing aristocratic class, of the utter impossibility of resistance. Our late reverses make this course imperative. . . . . When we have re-

1861. organized our main army here, 10,000 men ought to be enough to protect the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Potomac, 5,000 will garrison Baltimore, 3,000 Fort Monroe, and not more than 20,000 will be necessary at the utmost for the defence of Washington. For the main army of operations I urge the following composition: 250 regiments of infantry, say 225,000 men; 100 field batteries, 600 guns, 15,000 men; 28 regiments of cavalry, 25,500; 5 regiments of engineer troops, 7,500; total, 273,000. This force must be supplied with the necessary engineer and pontoon trains, and with transportation for every thing save tents. . . . . The force I have recommended is large; the expense is great. It is possible that a smaller force might accomplish the object in view, but I understand it to be the purpose of this great nation to re-establish the power of its government, and restore peace to its citizens, in the shortest possible time. . . . . Every mile we advance carries us further from our base of operations, and renders detachments necessary to cover our communications, while the enemy will be constantly concentrating as he falls back. I propose, with the force which I have requested, not only to drive the enemy out of Virginia and occupy Richmond, but to occupy Charleston, Savannah, Montgomery, Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans; in other words, to move into the heart of the enemy's country and crush the rebellion in its very heart."

For several months, McClellan was busily engaged in getting the Army of the Potomac into shape, and in rendering it fit for active operations. The new levies were recruited and pressed forward with great rapidity; arms and equipments were manufactured and supplied as fast as possible; and the general voice of the people, full of patriotism and sanguine of success, was in favor of immediate advance.

As the army gained strength and greater adaptedness for the work before it, the rebels, who seem to have been kept well supplied, by spies and traitors, with information in respect to matters in and about Washington, called in their advanced pickets, and seasonably retired from their posts of observation near the capital, and from our powerful force gathered there. A grand review of artillery and cavalry was held on the

8th of October; it was an imposing affair, and seemed to furnish evidence of the spirit and energy of the army, and its capability soon to march against the enemy. There were 6,000 cavalry and 112 guns, with an artillery force of 1,500 men; and the president and other celebrities were present.

At the close of October, McClellan submitted a "statement of the condition of the army under his command, and the measures required for the preservation of the government and the suppression of the rebellion." In this statement, inferring from what had been learned through spies, prisoners, etc., that the rebels had a force on the Potomac not less than 150,000 strong, well drilled and equipped, ably commanded and strongly entrenched,* McClellan expressed his opinion that the army was not powerful enough to advance with any prospect of success. Holding, too, that the salvation of the country depended on the army he was commanding, he was indisposed to move until he had, beside 150,000 men for advance, some 60,000 more for garrison and guard duty, and until he had 200 more guns at least, and everything else requisite. The actual force at this date (October 27th) he stated, was only 76,000 fit for an advance, and about 200 guns. Possibly, he thought, the army might, by special, persistent effort, assume, this present season, offensive operations; and in his judgment, the advance ought not to be postponed beyond Nov. 25th, or a few weeks from the date at which he was writing.

1861.

During the summer there were various exhibitions of violent angry feeling at the North, in attacks upon some newspaper offices and editors who sympathized with, and tried to advocate, the cause of secession and rebellion. The grand jury of the United States Circuit Court, sitting in New York, presented several papers as "disloyal presses," "encouraging the rebels," and injuring the interests of the Union. The government sanctioned this view of the subject, and held that the necessities of the case required some limit to be placed on the present unbounded, licentious freedom of the press. This same plea of necessity was put forth to justify the numerous arrests of persons of influence, who were suspected of disloyalty, or known to be rendering assistance, in different ways, to the rebel machinations against the government; and it was ably, if not satisfactorily, argued, that these and all persons acting in a hostile manner, open or secret, to the lawful authority of the land, must be arrested, and restrained by the supreme executive of the United States.*

On the 14th of October, a circular was issued by the government, directed to the governors of the northern states on the seaboard and lakes; and attention was asked to the improvement

* This number was greatly exaggerated, as we now know, since the rebel force in Virginia at this date amounted to less than 70,000 men; in drill and discipline the rebels were also far inferior to McClellan's army.

* Nearly 200 persons were committed to Fort Lafayette during the three months from July to October, 1861. For a discussion of the "*War Powers under the Constitution of the United States*," see the volume with this title, by William Whiting, Esq., Solicitor of the War Department; pp. 342.

and completion of the defences of the loyal states at the earliest moment. The ground taken was, that though the rebel efforts had not succeeded abroad to the extent they desired, yet they were very active; and it was "necessary now, as it has hitherto been, to take every precaution that is possible to avoid the evils of foreign war, to be superinduced upon those of civil commotion, which we are endeavoring to cure."

Gen. Banks, as stated on a previous page (see p. 56), having superseded Gen. Patterson, at the close of July, our troops evacuated Harper's Ferry, and crossed the Potomac again. This course seemed needful in view of the outlying enemy in Virginia. Various skirmishes took place during the summer, generally with marked success on the part of our troops. On the 16th of October, Col. Geary, with about 600 men, who had been seizing upon some 20,000 bushels of wheat a few miles above Harper's Ferry, was attacked by the rebels at Bolivar Heights. The assault was very spirited; but our men, after a few hours' fighting, gained a complete victory.

1861.

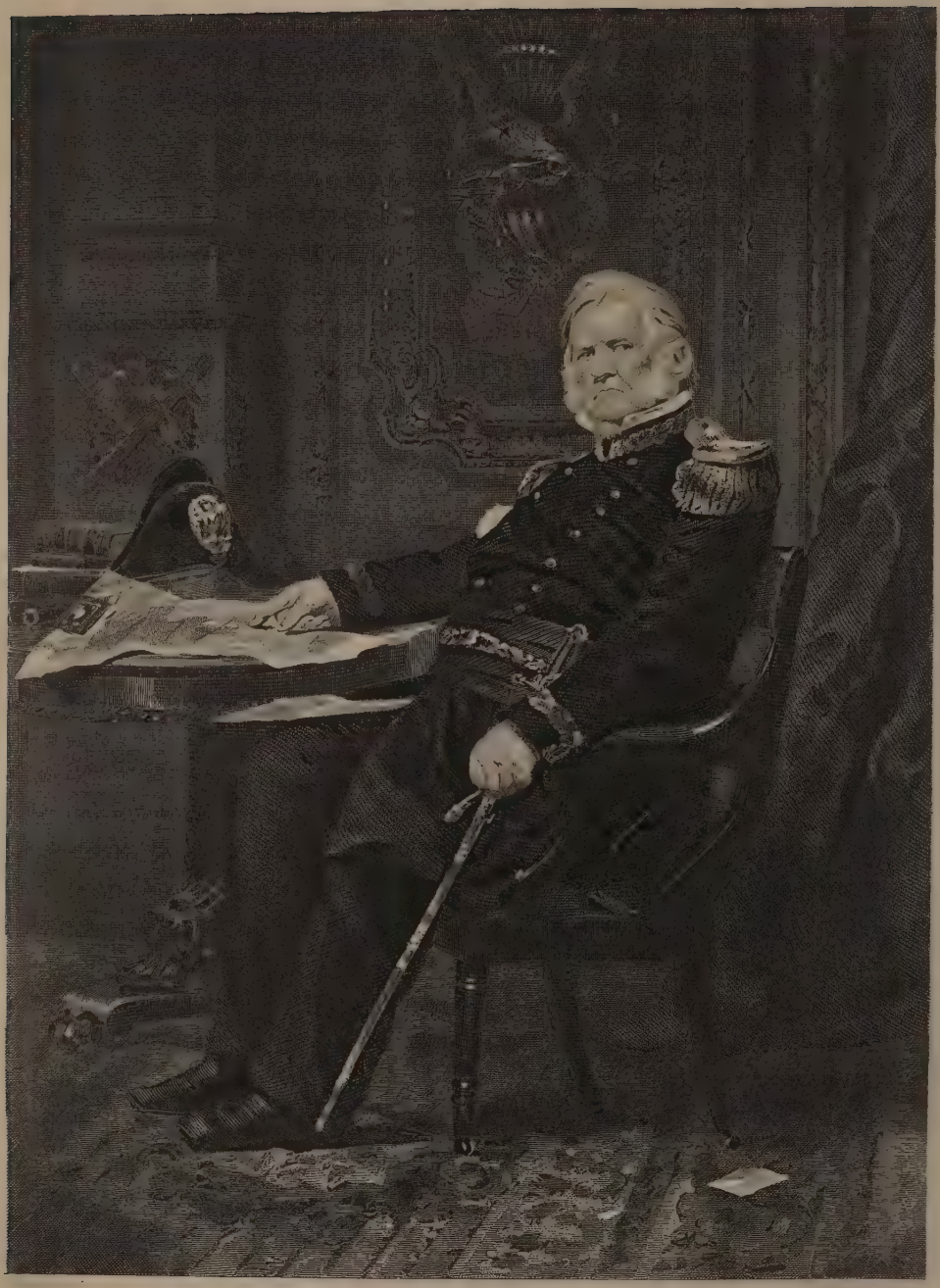
Early in October, Gen. McClellan ordered a reconnaissance to ascertain the enemy's strength on the right, in the neighborhood of the Potomac. Gen. Stone, having his headquarters at Poolesville, was within easy striking distance of Conrad's and Edwards' Ferries, which, some four miles from one another, afforded the means of crossing the Potomac at this part of its course. Intermediate between the two ferries was Harrison's Island, about two hundred yards in width and three miles in length, unequally dividing the stream between the two shores. Conrad's Ferry was at the upper end of the Island. The river was much swollen by the autumnal rains, having risen, in a few days, some ten or more feet above the fording point.

Gen. McCall, in accordance with instructions, moved forward, on the 19th of October, and occupied Dranesville, seventeen miles west of Washington, in Fairfax county, Virginia. This being accomplished, Gen. McClellan sent a dispatch to Gen. Stone, informing him of McCall's purposed reconnaissances, in all directions, against the enemy, and adding: "The general desires that you keep a good lookout upon Leesburg, to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them." On receiving this from Gen. McClellan, Stone began at once a movement which resulted, next day, in the disaster at Ball's Bluff. He proceeded, early in the afternoon of the 20th, with Gorman's brigade and some companies of troops, to Edwards' Ferry. He ordered Col. Devens, of the 15th Massachusetts, to ferry over his regiment to Harrison's Island, using some flat boats from the canal for this purpose. At the same time, he ordered to Conrad's Ferry, Col. Lee's battalion, of the 20th Massachusetts, and other regiments from Rhode Island and New York. Several additional regiments, including Col. Baker's California regiment, numbering in all about 3,000 men, were left as a reserve a few miles in the rear.

A small body of the enemy appearing in the direction of Leesburg, Gorman was ordered to deploy his forces in their view, a feint being made of crossing, and shell and shot being discharged from the battery into the place of the enemy's concealment. Three boat loads, about thirty-five in each, crossed and recrossed the river in trips occupying six or seven minutes. At dusk, Gorman's brigade and the Michigan troops returned to camp. The other forces at Harrison's Island and Conrad's Ferry remained in position. Late in the afternoon, Stone sent to McClellan a dispatch, in which, beside what has just been related, he spoke of his means of transportation at hand. "I have means," he said, "of crossing 125 men once in 10 minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly."

At ten P.M. word was brought to Gen. Stone at Edwards' Ferry, that Captain Philbrick, of the 13th Massachusetts, who conducted the reconnoitring party, sent out about dark by Col. Devens, had returned to Harrison's Island, having been within a mile of Leesburg, and discovered, as he thought, a small encampment of the enemy. Immediately, Stone issued special orders to Col. Devens to cross over and surprise the rebels; Col. Lee was ordered to Harrison's Island with his force to cover Devens's return; and Col. Baker was directed to take his California regiment and be at Conrad's Ferry at sunrise. These orders were duly received, and Col. Devens with 650 men reached the top of the bluff at daylight. On advancing, the rebel camp was found to have no existence; Lee halted in a wood, and sent for further orders. About seven A.M. on the 21st of October, some riflemen and cavalry appeared on the road to Leesburg; whereupon Devens, about an hour later, fell back towards the bluff, where he was directed by Gen. Stone to remain, with the assurance of being supported. About noon, he was attacked by musketry from the woods and fell back some sixty yards, to obtain a better position; and again, at one o'clock, he retired still nearer the bluff, where soon after reinforcements arrived.

Colonel Baker, who had now reached the Virginia shore, had been roused up at two o'clock, A.M., and speedily got his brigade ready for a march to Conrad's Ferry. Here, the means of crossing to Harrison's Island were anything but sufficient, and the means of getting from the island to the shore across the rapid, swollen current were still worse. A narrow and difficult ascent also led to the bluff and the field where Col Devens and his men now were. Hence, after a most tedious and vexatious passage, it was between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, instead of six hours earlier, when Col. Baker reached the scene of action, probably the worst position which could have been contrived for our men, and dangerous in the extreme. Colonel Baker took command, having, all told, 1,900 men, while the enemy, in large numbers, were posted securely in the thick woods. He had had left to his discretion by Stone, to reinforce or withdraw Devens's men: but, as before he arrived the attack had begun, he concluded to fight, even at so fatal a disadvantage.



Winfield Scott.

Two hours or more the battle raged with fierce energy on both sides, but with terrible havoc among our men, owing to their uncovered position. Between four and five o'clock, P.M., Col. Baker, whose daring bravery amounted to recklessness, fell, shot through the head, and cheering his men to the last. A scene of disaster followed. Our men rushed down the side of the bluff, and tried to cross in a flat boat, but were shot by the rebels and drowned by the sinking of the boat. Fully one-half of Baker's entire force was lost; while the rebels escaped with a loss of about 200.*

This lamentable affair at Ball's Bluff was criticised every where with severity and indignation, and the question was frequently asked, who is responsible for the gross bungling and blundering which exposed our troops to almost certain destruction? Why was a force of less than 2,000 men allowed to be placed in the perilous position that this was? Why were there only such paltry means of communication as these flat boats; and why, if the movement was necessary, was it not adequately supported, when there were 40,000 of our men only a few miles distant? The subject came up before Congress for inquiry, and efforts were made to ascertain and fix the blame where it properly belonged; but to little purpose, for it has never yet been satisfactorily explained why this fatal result was not prevented by those in command at the time.*

1861.

This second defeat on the soil of Virginia, added to that at Bull Run, in July, was a severe trial to the loyal people of the country; it gave rise to much complaint; but it did not lessen their determination to put down the rebellion. The effect upon the rebels was similar to that produced by Bull Run; their conceit was inflamed, and their confidence in their invincibility magnified to an absurd degree.

The veteran General Scott, conscious of the infirmities of increasing age, as well as mortified at the disastrous result at Bull Run, begged to be allowed to retire from active service. This was, of course granted, and the highest encomiums were heaped upon him from all quarters. Gen. McClellan, whose popularity was now in the ascendant, and for whom president Lincoln entertained strong personal regard, was made his successor, and on the 1st of November, he assumed the position of general-in-chief of the armies of the United States. Aware of the weighty duties imposed upon him, McClellan felt, as he says, that "the direction of the campaigns in the West, and of the operations on the seaboard, enabled him to enter upon larger

1861.

* Col. Baker's death was very generally lamented. The Senate, of which he was a member, devoted a day (Dec. 11th), to the commemoration of his talents and virtues; and Gen. McClellan, Oct. 22d, issued an order, speaking in the highest terms of the gallant deceased.

* Gen. McClellan repudiated all responsibility in the matter, saying in his report: "I did not direct Stone to cross, nor did I intend that he should cross the river in force for the purpose of fighting." Early in January, 1862, Gen. Stone was severely spoken of in Congress, during debate. A month or so later, he was arrested by order of the war department, on charges of disloyalty, involving, among other things, his conduct at Ball's Bluff. He was sent to Fort Warren, and detained there till late in the summer, when he was released without trial.

combinations" than he otherwise could have undertaken. He addressed letters of instruction to Gen. Burnside in North Carolina, to Gen. Halleck in Missouri, to Gen. Buell in Kentucky, to Gen. T. W. Sherman in South Carolina, and to Gen. Butler, who was placed in command of the land forces to operate against New Orleans. McClellan's intention was, that the several undertakings against the enemy "should be carried out simultaneously, or nearly so, and in co-operation along the whole line;" but, various circumstances interfered, and his plan was modified and virtually given up. The coming into office of a new secretary of war, Mr. Stanton, had a marked effect upon our military operations from this date; and Gen. McClellan soon found that he had a different officer from Mr. Cameron to deal with, and one disposed to yield to the popular call for more active, speedy, forward movements.

On the 13th of November, Gen. Dix ordered 4,000 troops under Gen. Lockwood, to march from Baltimore into Accomac and Northampton Counties, Virginia, and occupy them. This part of the state, forming the "eastern shore," as it is called, is east of Chesapeake Bay and joins Maryland. By a proclamation Gen. Dix assured the people that the rights of persons and property would be respected, and "the condition of any person held to domestic servitude" was not to be interfered with.* The advance was attended with excellent results. A body of some 3,000 insurgents laid down their arms and disbanded; and, in March, 1862, a representative was chosen and sent to Congress.

Early on the morning of Dec. 20th, Gen. Ord was sent by Gen. McCall from Camp Pierrepont, on the Potomac, towards Dranesville, to capture, if possible, the rebel force there, and collect forage. Between 4,000 and 5,000 men were placed under his command. When near Dranesville, he was attacked by the enemy under Gen. J. E. B. Stuart with a force of 2,500 to 3,000 men. The fight began at one o'clock, and lasted only an hour, the victory being entirely on Ord's side.

McCall did not deem it prudent to pursue the enemy, but brought back with him to camp sixteen loads of hay and twenty-two of corn. Although the victory was of no special moment, it came acceptably at the time, there still being great soreness in the public mind as to Ball's Bluff, and the unaccountable—as it seemed to outsiders—delays in the Army of the Potomac making any forward movement.

Gen. McClellan, professing his earnest desire to move against the enemy in Virginia,* still both showed by his action, and gave it as his mature judgment, that the army was not sufficiently numerous, nor in the proper state of readiness to advance at the beginning

* It is curious to note how slowly people learned to call a spade a spade. It took years before the awkward periphrasis or euphemism of the Constitution, about "persons held to service or labor" was abandoned, and negro slaves were designated by their true name, negro slaves.

* McClellan advised, in August, sending armed vessels to hinder the rebels from constructing batteries along the Potomac. In September, Gen. Barnard made a reconnaissance of the rebel batteries as far as Matthias Point. He reported adversely to the plan of attempting to carry these batteries by assault.

of December. He preferred to wait till the winter was passed. Mr. Stanton, the secretary of war, at an early date urged upon McClellan to take immediate steps to secure the reopening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and to free the banks of the lower Potomac from the enemy's works, which seriously annoyed passing vessels. The people generally, not fathoming the causes or reasons for matters relating to the Army of the Potomac, which, according to McClellan, required "minds accustomed to reason upon military operations," were eager for some forward movement, or something which looked like it at least; and it was hard to persuade them that time was not wasted, and opportunity let to slip by without profit.

Complaints having been made that various rebels had recovered their fugitive slaves at Washington, through the connivance, it was supposed, of officers of the army, the secretary of state, on the 4th of December, addressed to Gen. McClellan an order, calling his attention to this subject, and stating that: "By the fourth section of the act of Congress, approved August 6th, 1861, entitled an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, such hostile employment (in the rebel army) is made a full and sufficient answer to any further claim to service or labor. Persons thus employed and escaping are received into the military protection of the United States, and their arrest as fugitives from labor or service, should be immediately followed by the military arrest of the parties making the seizure."

The Confederate Congress, according to adjournment (see p. 56), met at Richmond, Nov. 18th. Members were present from six of the seceded states, sufficient to form a quorum, and the next day Jefferson Davis sent in his message. It was a document prepared with care, and evidently intended to produce effect abroad quite as much as at home; its tone was very confident, and its presentation and treatment of various topics skilful and shrewd, even for Davis. "We are gradually becoming independent of the rest of the world for the supply of such military stores and munitions as are indispensable for war," was one of his statements. Further, he said, "a succession of glorious victories at Bethel, Bull Run, Manassas, Springfield, Lexington, Leesburg, and Belmont, has checked the wicked invasion which greed of gain and the unhallowed lust of power brought upon our soil." The state of the finances was pronounced good; some smart remarks were made upon the Trent affair, evidently in the hope that England would go to war about it; and a sort of loftiness was assumed on the subject of the recognition of the rebel states, as much as to say, if foreign nations can do without us, we can get along very well without them. Davis also indulged in some spiteful words, scorning any idea of ever again having aught to do with the people of the loyal states; *e. g.*, "our people now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they have been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such a connec- 1861.

tion. When they see a president making war without the assent of Congress; when they behold judges threatened because they maintain the writ of *habeas corpus*, so sacred to freemen; when they see justice and law trampled under the armed heel of military authority, and upright men and innocent women dragged to distant dungeons upon the mere edict of a despot; when they find all this tolerated and applauded by a people who had been in the full enjoyment of freedom but a few months ago, they believe that there must be some radical incompatibility between such a people and themselves. With such a people we may be content to live at peace, but the separation is final, and for the independence we have asserted we will accept no alternative."*

The proceedings of the rebel congress were of no great interest or importance. The evident impression was, that the loyal states were resolved upon breaking down the confederacy, and were making preparations accordingly; still, so far as words went, and perhaps so far as their convictions reached, the rebel leaders held, that they were abundantly able to maintain the ground they had taken. Kentucky and Missouri, by a piece of foolish assumption, were voted into their ranks. A resolution was adopted refusing to make any advance to planters or purchase their produce, surprise being expressed that such application should be made. About $60,000,000 were appropriated for the army, and $4,000,000 for the rebel navy. One significant feature was noted at the time, and was held up to public indignation in the loyal states, viz., that most of the proceedings of the rebel congress were conducted in secret sessions; which was certainly a curious commentary on their pretensions to superior liberty as representatives of a free people.

The Provisional Confederate Congress continued in session during the winter, and reached its end, Feb. 17th, 1862. It was immediately succeeded by the "permanent" congress, which began its session on the next day.

* There were also some paragraphs expressing Davis's astonishment and horror at what he called the savage barbarism with which the government of the Union was trying to suppress the rebellion. The words are not worth quoting; Davis probably, if not certainly, knew them to be false; if he believed them himself he was more ignorant than anybody ever supposed. It is not meant to be asserted that instances—alas, too many—of acts of cruelty and inhumanity cannot be produced, war not being at any time the condition in which the virtues of justice, moderation and gentleness especially flourish; but it is affirmed, and the history of the war proves it, that no one but a slanderer and falsifier of the truth can charge, as Davis and company do, the government and officers of our army and navy with intentional, systematic violations of the laws of humanity and right. On the contrary, they strove to mitigate the horrors and excesses of war in every way that was in their power.

CHAPTER VIII.

1861.

MEETING OF CONGRESS—CLOSING OF THE YEAR.

Thirty-seventh Congress, second session —President's message — Character of its contents — Extracts relating to finances, judiciary, colonization scheme, etc.—Notices of army and navy operations—Reports of the secretaries — Secretary of war's views — Secretary of the navy's views — Secretary of the treasury's statements — National debt —Questions in Congress for discussion — Subject of slavery and what to do with the negroes — Difficult to agree upon — Course pursued in the House — Warm debates had, various acts passed, etc. — In the Senate, motion made to appoint commissioners to settle difficulties with the Confederate States — Laid on the table — Bill for confiscating the property of rebels and giving freedom to their slaves — Other action in the Senate — Review of the state and condition of affairs at the close of 1861 — Feelings and views of the people in the loyal states —Successes of the army and navy cheering — Army improving under McClellan — The drawback in McClellan's case — Estimate of numbers of rebels in the field — Probably exaggerated — "All quiet on the Potomac" — Question as to exchange of prisoners, perplexing — Left to the generals and officers — Steps taken — No settlement — Foreign policy of the United States — Situation of the rebels—Causes of inactivity, according to Pollard, and abuses in administration, etc. — Sum of the review as a whole.

ON Monday, the 2d of December, the Thirty-seventh Congress met for its second session. Senators and representatives from twenty-five states were present, and the national legislature entered at once upon its important duties. The next day, President Lincoln sent in his message, in which he laid before Congress a clear, carefully prepared review of the position of the government and the progress of the war. "In the midst of unprecedented political troubles," were the opening words, "we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health, and most abundant harvests." The president then, in a few brief paragraphs, touched upon our foreign relations, and upon the efforts of the rebels to induce other nations to side with them against the Union. In the belief, however, that foreign nations would be clear sighted enough to perceive where their true interests lie, he gave it as his conviction, "that we have practised prudence and liberality towards foreign powers, averting causes of irritation, and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor." At the same time, the president recommended that ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defences on every side, the great lakes and rivers as well as the sea coast being included.

1861.

The financial condition of affairs was spoken of in encouraging terms: "The revenue from all sources, including loans for the financial year ending on the 30th June, 1861, was $86,835,900,

and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debts, were $84,578,034. For the first quarter of the financial year ending on the 30th September, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of July 1st, were $102,532,509, and the expenses $98,239,723. . . . . It is gratifying to know that the expenditures made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the same patriotism which has thus far sustained the government will continue to sustain it till peace and union again bless the land."

Various matters connected with the judiciary and its arrangements, and other topics of domestic policy, were referred to Congress; among them the project of a military railroad connecting the loyal regions of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina with Kentucky and other parts of the Union. "The territories of Colorado, Dakotah, and Nevada, created by the last Congress, have been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying, when it is considered that the leaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the federal officers arrived there."

Reference was made to the confiscation act of the recent session of Congress, and was noticeable for its suggestion of a measure which became afterward a prominent subject of discussion—the furtherance of a system of colonization for the disposal of negroes liberated by the war or by concert with some of the slave-holding states; while the suggestion with which it was coupled of remuneration by Congress for the slaves set free, paved the way for the plans of compensated emancipation afterward strongly urged by the president.

The progress of the war was briefly noted, and due commendation bestowed upon our gallant navy and army. Not only Maryland, but Kentucky and Missouri had furnished 40,000 troops in all, and were warmly and decidedly in favor of supporting the government; and the various successes, especially of the navy, "demonstrated," in the opinion of the president, "that the cause of the Union was advancing steadily and certainly southward." Gen. Scott's retirement was appropriately noticed, and high expectations were founded on the appointment of Gen. McClellan as his successor. The proceedings of Davis and his coadjutors were denounced as evidencing a liking for and a return to despotism; and it was ably argued that "labor is prior to, and independent of, capital;" consequently, the dignity and honor of labor against southern aristocracy and pride were to be understood and maintained. With words of gratulation in regard to the population and prospects of our country in general, the president closed his message as follows:—"The struggle of to-day is not altogether for to-day; it is for a vast future also. With a firm reliance on Providence, all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us."

The reports of the several secretaries, referred to in the message, contained

numerous and valuable details for the information and guidance of Congress. The secretary of war estimated the strength of the army for suppressing the rebellion at 660,971, and cited this as an evidence of the wonderful vigor of our institutions, seeing that this vast military array was procured without conscriptions, levies or drafts.* The secretary also discussed the questions, which began now to be pressing, as to what we were to do with the slaves abandoned by their masters; he urged the economical view of the matter, and asked, "why deprive the rebels of supplies by a blockade, and give them men to produce supplies?" The whole subject was commended to the earnest attention of Congress, nothing doubting that they in their wisdom would dispose of it properly and safely.†

The secretary of the navy reported the vessels of all ranks as 212 in number, half of them or more being steam vessels; while fifty-two others, steamers, were in process of construction. The seamen in service were 22,000. Secretary Welles spoke also of the course, in his judgment, to be pursued in regard to fugitive slaves. His remarks were sensible and to the point, viz., that if fugitives came on board any of our ships, and if they were free from any voluntary participation in the rebellion, and sought the shelter and protection of our flag, then they should be cared for and employed in some useful manner, and might be enlisted to serve on our public vessels or in our navy yards, receiving wages for their labor. The difficult and important work of the navy was clearly pointed out; due honor was bestowed upon what had already been done at Hatteras and Port Royal, and by Captain Wilkes; and the highest expectations were freely entertained of the valuable assistance yet to be rendered by the navy in crushing the rebellion. 1861.

The secretary of the treasury discussed fully and carefully the condition of the finances, the probable income of the treasury, and the steps necessary to be taken in order to provide for deficiencies. Mr. Chase reported that his expected income of July preceding had fallen short some $30,000,000, and he asked for $200,000,000 additional, to meet the expenditures growing out of the vast increase of the army and navy; thus, making the outlay for the year, from June, 1861, to June, 1862, about $543,500,000. The probable wants of the fiscal year, ending in June, 1863, were set down at about $475,000,000, to provide for which, with the supply of the previous year's deficiencies, would necessitate an aggregate of $655,000,000 in loans. On the 1st day of July, 1860, it was stated, the public debt

* Gen. McClellan, in his report, estimated the rebel force in Virginia at 115,500 men, with over 300 guns for field and siege service. One of the journals of the day set forth the entire rebel force at not less than 500,000 men. Later writers and critics, with more reliable means of information, have shown that the above numbers, given by McClellan, are greatly exaggerated, and that the rebels at no time had more than 60,000 encamped in our front.

† Secretary Cameron's report, as originally prepared (and printed in advance in the newspapers), dwelt much more fully and pointedly on this subject; the president modified it more considerably. Other suggestions were also made in the report, respecting the "expediency of a reconstruction of the boundaries of the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia," but they do not seem to have met with favor or countenance.

was less than $65,000,000; on the 1st day of July, 1863, supposing the war to continue, it was estimated it would reach $900,000,000. This amount seemed almost incredible to a people like ours, who had heretofore lived in freedom from national debt and its burdens; but no one, probably, at that day could have contemplated without shuddering, that, before the rebellion should be finally crushed out, the debt would mount up to some *four times* that amount, or over three thousand millions of dollars!—thus putting us on a footing with the nations of the old world in a particular least of all to be desired.

During the present session of Congress, various and important questions came up for discussion in relation to slavery and its concern with the rebellion, and also as to the position of the government in the struggle now going on. As is evident from what we have noted on previous pages, and from the suggestions and statements of the secretaries of war and the navy, the subject of slavery and what to do with the negroes was perplexing and very difficult of settlement. The opinions of the people were divided, and by no means in harmony. Some held, what was thought to be the more extreme view, that slavery, being the primal cause of the rebellion, ought to be done away with at once and forever. Others, considering themselves as more conservative in their views, wished to have the war conducted irrespective of the question of slavery, as not interfering with it at all, and even going so far as to sustain it, to the evident benefit and advantage of the rebellion. The ground taken in the beginning, and persisted in for a long time, by the national authorities, was, that the insurrectionary states were to be brought to submission to the Constitution without regard to, or interference with, state institutions, and especially that the abolition or destruction of slavery was in no respect a part of the purpose of the government. The progress of events, however, and the necessity of dealing with the negroes on something of a settled plan, compelled a change or modification of public sentiment; and as we shall see on subsequent pages, slavery was doomed to universal and complete destruction.

In the House, slavery was denounced as the cause of the rebellion, and movements were made looking to the immediate emancipation of slaves who had left their masters. A bill was introed, Dec. 5th, "to confiscate the property of rebels, to liberate their slaves, and employ or colonize the same, and for other purposes," which was referred to the committee on military affairs. Gen. Halleck's order (see p. 88) was severely commented on by some members, and defended and explained by others; the resolution respecting it was laid on the table. A discussion was had on the general question, with various disagreements as to facts and the purposes of the government. A motion was made, Dec. 16th, to raise a volunteer force to protect Kentucky. It was opposed by many members; it passed the House, however, but it failed in the Senate. On the 20th, the committee on the judiciary was instructed to report a bill amending the fugi- 1861.

tive slave law of 1850. The committee of investigation was engaged in looking after disloyal persons employed as clerks, etc., in public offices. Further debates were had early in the new year, in favor of conducting the war so as to destroy slavery, root and branch; a course which the majority were much disposed to pursue in regard to the question at issue.

In the Senate, Dec. 4th, Mr. Saulsbury, of Maryland, made a motion to appoint commissioners to meet gentlemen who might be named by the confederate authorities, so as to adjust existing difficulties peaceably, without fighting; but it was laid on the table; the day had passed for any such mode of settlement. The next day, Mr. Trumbull introduced a bill "for the confiscation of the property of rebels, and giving freedom to the persons they held in slavery;" it was referred to the committee on the judiciary. A resolution was offered, Dec. 16th, to inquire into arrests made by the government, the *habeas corpus* being suspended; this was also referred to the committee on the judiciary. Papers, certifying that Mr. B. F. Stark of Oregon, was appointed to take the place vacated by the death of Col. Baker, were presented and read, Jan. 6th, 1862; objections were made by several senators on the ground of Mr. Stark's disloyalty; he was, however, permitted to take his seat for the balance of the present session.*

Deferring for the present the further consideration of the proceedings of Congress, it may be well to take a brief review of the state and condition of affairs at the close of the year 1861. Such a review is not only interesting in itself considered, but, if duly weighed, will prove instructive in a high degree. The people of the loyal states, for the most part, entertained confident expectations in regard to the active, energetic and successful prosecution of the war for the Union. In general, excepting the few serious reverses at Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, etc., our military success was decidedly encouraging; and the brilliant exploits of the navy cheered and animated all hearts. Western Virginia was almost wholly in our hands. The prospects in the West were growing brighter. The people at large were ready and willing to any extent to furnish means, as well as men, for putting down effectually this wicked rebellion; and there was such self-reliant strength in the Union, that no resort was had to foreign aid in taking our national loans, or in finding recruits for the army and navy. The army was steadily on the increase; discipline was becoming more and more complete; and our men were growing stronger, day by day, and better fitted for the work before them. Gen. McClellan was engaged in making preparations on a scale of magnitude which showed that he meant to sweep everything out of his path, when he deemed it best to set the Army of the Potomac in motion.

The drawback in McClellan's case seemed to be, and it provoked abund-

* The Senate took measures, early in the session, to purify that body by removing several unworthy occupants. J. C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, was expelled, Dec. 4th, 1861; W. P. Johnston and Trusten Polk, of Missouri, were expelled, Jan. 10th, 1862; and J. D. Bright, of Indiana, was expelled, Feb. 6th, 1862.

ant criticism, that he was waiting quite too long before making a forward movement, and that *something* ought to be done during the autumn or winter; and it was charged that the rebels, who had proved themselves most skilful in deceiving our generals and other officers in regard to their numbers, had imposed on McClellan also, making him believe that they had from 120,000 to 150,000 in East Virginia, while Gen. Wadsworth affirmed confidently, from information gained from "contrabands" and deserters, that 60,000 was the highest number they ever had encamped in front of the Army of the Potomac (see p. 94). The autumn passed away with its fine weather; the winter settled down, and "all quiet on the Potomac" was the regular response to inquiry as to our grand army and its doings.* The army was waiting at the end of the year, exposed in tents to winter's discomforts and severe trials; yet it was waiting in hope of soon being called on to move for its appointed work.

One question had proved perplexing and annoying in the early part of the rebellion, we mean that relating to prisoners and what to do with them. Naturally, the government was reluctant to admit, even in appearance, any belligerent right as due to the rebels by exchanging prisoners with them; yet, under the circumstances, there was no help for it, and the government can hardly be said to have acted wisely in the course which was pursued. It would not do to hang or shoot those taken on land or sea, because there were so many of our men in the hands of the rebels after the battle of Bull Run, that they could, as no doubt they would, have retaliated to the fullest extent. The government, on its part, seemed disposed to ignore the matter, leaving exchange to be agreed upon and conducted by the commanders and officers as they deemed best. Quite a number were discharged informally on both sides, on parole. Early in September, Colonel Wallace exchanged some prisoners with Gen. Polk. A month later, this rebel general proposed to Gen. Grant to ex- **1861.** change prisoners with him on the same basis. Grant replied that he was not authorized to do anything of the kind, as he neither knew nor recognized any such thing as a "Southern Confederacy." Three prisoners were sent by Gen. McClernard from Cairo to Columbus; Polk sent back sixteen to McClernard. On the 8th of November, after the battle of Belmont, Grant and Polk had further correspondence on this subject, but without any additional result as to settling the point. Gen. Fremont (as noted, p. 88) established, November 1st, an agreement with Price in regard to exchanges; but it was repudiated by Gen. Hunter. At the close of the year, and early in the new year, in compliance with public opinion and action in Congress, the secretary of war, Mr. Stanton, appointed two commissioners to proceed to the confederate states and inquire into the condition of Union prisoners there;

* Mr. Swinton points out clearly and forcibly the mistake of Gen. McClellan in delaying his movements, and giving so little satisfaction to the universal call for activity and energy against the rebels. See "*Army of the Potomac*," pp. 68–74.

but they were refused admission into Richmond; and the subject remained, at the end of 1861, unsettled as before, so far as any clear, defined principles were concerned.*

Our foreign policy was ably conducted, and we stood, at this date, in such relation to the principal powers of Europe that there was little or no danger of direct intervention in our affairs on their part. The giving up of Mason and Slidell, and the settling the Trent difficulty on terms acceptable to England, showed the good sense as well as statesmanship of our government; and the secretary of state made it so plain, that there was no misunderstanding it, viz., that the rebellion was purely a domestic matter, and that no outside interference would be permitted for a moment.

As for the rebels, they were only too glad to maintain the appearance of a sort of siege of Washington, and to give the impression of their great and powerful numbers, and of the immense risk to be run in attacking them. They had not yet enforced a general conscription, as was soon after found necessary in the rebel states; and though they helped along volunteering in a rather forcible way oftentimes, still they were in reality weaker than was supposed, and were growing weaker, while our armies were improving and becoming stronger. They were but poorly supplied with various needful articles, and the blockade, much as it was abused on the score of inefficiency, cut them off from obtaining aught but casual and unreliable help from abroad.

Two causes, according to Pollard, conspired to reduce the southern cause to a critical condition of apathy: viz., "the overweening confidence of the South in the superior valor of its people, induced by the unfortunate victory of Manassas (or Bull Run), and the vain delusion, continued from month to month, that European interference was certain, and that peace was near at hand." No gun boats, we are told, were built for interior navigation and service; the privateers proved almost a failure, and did not, as was predicted, cut up or destroy the commerce of the United States; no naval preparations were made, though they had the best

* We may mention here, as most convenient for the reader, that the rebel authorities were desirous to arrange some terms for a general exchange of prisoners. Two persons were sent to Norfolk, and an agreement was entered into with our commissioners for an equal exchange. Gen. Wool, at Fortress Monroe, Feb. 14th, 1862, informed Gen. Huger at Norfolk, that he was charged with full authority to settle upon terms of proposed exchange. Our government agreed to regard privateersmen as prisoners of war. Howell Cobb met Gen. Wool and terms were arranged. Exchange went on for a while; but March 18th, Davis charged the U. S. government with "infamous and reckless breach of good faith," with regard to the privateersmen, and the prisoners taken at Fort Donelson. So far as appears, our government carried out its agreement honorably and fairly; it released 3,000 on parole, taken at Roanoke Island, but refused to do the same with the Fort Donelson prisoners. Much disputing took place, and ill feeling in abundance, with crimination and recrimination, was manifested. In the latter part of July, Gen. Dix and Gen. D. H. Hill arranged an agreement for exchange, based on the cartel of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain. Exchanges again commenced, and were carried forward for some time; but new troubles arose, and fierce threats of retaliation were made by Davis, outlawing Gens. Hunter and Pope, and all officers concerned in helping to arm the negroes. The whole subject was complicated and perplexing; and all through the war there was much of annoyance and trouble with regard to prisoners. For a fuller account of this subject, with documents, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*," for 1862, pp. 710–716.

navy yard on the continent; "King Cotton" was little better than a sham, and did not, as it was confidently said it would, "bring Europe to its knees;" and the political measures of the South amounted to almost nothing. "They are justly described as weak and halting responses to the really vigorous acts of the northern government, in its heartless but strong and effective prosecution of the war. While the Washington government protected itself against disaffected persons and spies by a system of military police, extending over the whole North, the provisional Congress at Richmond was satisfied to pass a law for the deportation of 'alien enemies,' the execution of which afforded facilities to the egress of innumerable spies. The Washington government had passed a law for the confiscation of the property of rebels. The Congress at Richmond replied, after a weak hesitation, by a law sequestrating the property of alien enemies in the South. The Washington government was actually collecting an army of half a million of men. The Richmond Congress replied to the threat of numbers, by increasing its army, on paper, to four hundred thousand men; and the Confederate government, in the midst of a revolution that threatened its existence, continued to rely on the wretched shift of twelve months' volunteers and raw militia, with a population that, by the operation of conscription, could have been embodied and drilled into an invincible army, competent not only to oppose invasion at every point of our frontier, but to conquer peace in the dominions of the enemy."

Bitter complaint also is made by Pollard, as to "the policy of monotonous defence," and the leaving the Union army to arrange and perfect its plans without hindrance. Added to all this, he notes various abuses and defects existing in the management of southern affairs; and altogether gives a discouraging view of the prospects of the so-called "Confederate States of America."

The result of our review, brief as it is, seems to be this much at least,—that the position of the government and people was such as to lead to cheering hope and expectation* that the war would speedily be brought to a close, especially as Gen. McClellan said, more than once, that when he *did* strike, he meant to strike at "the heart," and crush the rebellion entirely thereby. How it happened that these bright forecastings of the future were doomed to disappointment, and the rebellion was able to drag out a lengthened existence, will be made plain to the reader who watches the progress of events, as detailed in subsequent pages of our history.

* The financial condition of the government, it must be noted, however, was not satisfactory. More or less distrust prevailed as to public credit; and on the last day of the year 1861, the banks suspended specie payments.

CHAPTER IX.

1862.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST: MILL SPRINGS, FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON, ETC.

Gen. Buell in Kentucky — Johnston, the rebel commander, and his plans — Affair at Munfordsville — Garfield pursues Marshall and routs his forces near Prestonburg — Zollicoffer and Crittenden at Mill Springs — Gen. Thomas advances — Defeat of the rebels — Value of this victory — The iron-clad gun boats on the Mississippi — Mortar boats — Commodore Foote in command — President's general war order — Foote and Grant advance against Fort Henry — Bombardment and capture by the gun boats — Lieut. Phelps' expedition up the Tennessee — Union sentiments — Fort Donelson — Its strength and importance — Pillow in command — The fort invested by Grant — Severity of the weather — Attack by the gun boats unsuccessful — Rebels attempt to cut their way out — Length and severity of the battle — Floyd and Pillow decamp — Buckner surrenders to Grant — Large number of prisoners — Chagrin of Davis and company — Bowling Green evacuated — Commodore Foote ascends the Cumberland — Nashville taken possession of — Panic of the inhabitants — Andrew Johnson military governor — His course — Columbus abandoned by the rebels — Gen. Halleck's order — Alarm in the South, and extreme measures — Gen. Curtis in Missouri — Price retreats from Springfield — Pursued into Arkansas — Poisoned food — Gen. Curtis's address to the people of the South-west — Price reinforced largely — Amount of force on each side — The enemy begin the attack — Three days' battle — Defeat of the rebels — Employment of Indians by the rebels — Southern view of the result of the battle of Pea Ridge, or Elk Horn.

THE year 1862 opened with various encouraging evidences of activity and energy, in the West especially. The forces under McClellan were maintaining their position undisturbed, and continued to do so for some time after the year began; but, in Kentucky, our army was more actively employed. Gen. Buell, an able and energetic officer, was in command in this department, having succeeded Gen. W. T. Sherman, in Nov., 1861. The rebels were commanded by Gen. A. S. Johnston, formerly an officer in the United States army. He, having got together bodies of troops from various quarters, strengthened Bowling Green—a point of great importance in Kentucky—by Hardee's division, from South-eastern Missouri. Polk also received additions to his force, which was already large; while Zollicoffer (see p. 39), having secured the pass at Cumberland Gap, was taking up an important position in the midst of the rich mineral and agricultural district on the upper waters of the Cumberland. Johnston, in the latter part of December, issued a proclamation to the people of South-eastern Kentucky, in which, with considerable flourish of rhetoric, he declared that he was come to repel "those armed northern hordes who were attempting the subjugation of a sister southern state." He asserted, also, though he himself knew that it was a slander, that the avowed object of the North was to set the slaves at liberty, and to put arms in

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their hands to be used against their masters.

The day following this proclamation, there was a spirited engagement on the south side of Green River, opposite Munfordsville, at Rowlett's Station, where the troops were restoring the railroad bridge which had been destroyed by the rebels. Our force was largely outnumbered, but bravely repelled the enemy. Falling back towards Bowling Green, the Gibraltar of Kentucky, as it was called, the rebels concentrated a large force there, under Johnston, while McCook's, Nelson's and Mitchell's divisions of Buell's army threatened the position in front.

At this time, early in January, Humphrey Marshall had gathered a force of some 3,000 rebels in the extreme eastern part of the state, on the Big Sandy River, and had entrenched himself in the neighborhood of Paintville. From hence he expected to sweep Eastern Kentucky, take possession of Frankfort, and set up the secession "Provisional" Governor, G. W. Johnson. Gen. Buell, however, sent Col. Garfield after him with a brigade of infantry and some 300 cavalry. The march was one of great difficulty and toil, owing to the deep mud in the roads and the wet, inclement winter season. Marshall hastily retreated, on the 7th of January, closely pursued by Garfield's troops. On the 9th, at noon, a reinforcement having arrived, the enemy were further pursued toward Prestonburg. Night coming on, when near the town, they slept on their arms on the field, and early the next morning, moved on Marshall's main body at Middle Creek Forks, three miles beyond Prestonburg. Marshall's force was about 2,500 men, with three cannon, planted on a hill. Garfield had less than 2,000; but the fight was conducted with so much ability and bravery on his part, that the enemy was driven from all his positions. Our loss was only two killed and twenty-five wounded.

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By this decisive battle, Kentucky was freed from Marshall and his force; and Gens. Thomas and Schoepf were left at liberty to look after Zollicoffer. On the borders of Wayne and Pulaski County, Zollicoffer held an advantageous position on both sides of the Cumberland, which he fortified with great skill. The spot which he had selected was at Mill Springs, a bend of the Cumberland, where, at its junction with the White Oak Creek, was afforded water protection on three sides. In this area, on a range of hills several hundred feet above the river, and supporting one another, Zollicoffer had built his works, and he had encamped there some 12,000 men, with about 800 cavalry and fifteen pieces of artillery. Zollicoffer was joined, early in January, by Gen. G. B. Crittenden, son of the venerable senator from Kentucky, who took command, and issued a proclamation after the usual style. In front of the rebel position was Gen. Schoepf, with about 8,000 men, while Gen. Thomas was stationed with his division some distance to the north, at Lebanon.

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In this position of affairs, Gen. Thomas was charged with the important duty of dislodging and defeating the enemy. On the 17th of January,

Thomas reached Webb's or Logan's Cross Roads, about ten miles north of Zollicoffer's position, and, on conference with Schoepf, made arrangements for the attack. The roads were almost impassable, and the movement was consequently somewhat less rapid; on the 19th, however, the battle took place, Crittenden having found himself in such a position of affairs that he must either be stormed out and run away, or make an advance. He chose the latter, and probably thinking that the Union force was less than it proved, he expected to gain a victory without difficulty. This was on Sunday morning, and after a severe contest of four or five hours, the rebels were driven back to their entrenchments. During the night, they abandoned everything and retired, burning the ferry boats, and being in a very demoralized condition. Twelve pieces of artillery and a large amount of ammunition and stores, together with 1,000 horses and mules, fell into our hands. Zollicoffer was killed, and the rebel loss was very heavy; our loss, in all, was 232.

The news of this battle at Mill Springs, or Logan's Cross Roads, was received with enthusiasm at the North. It furnished complete evidence of the courage and perseverance of our troops, and their ability to meet the rebels, who, it had been assumed, were superior in a hand to hand contest. This decisive victory broke up the enemy's line in Kentucky, opened the path into East Tennessee, and proved the commencement of a series of successful military operations in the progress of the war in the West.

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At the same time that these movements, just detailed, were going on, Gen. Halleck was busily engaged in making preparations for operating against the left of the enemy's line on the Mississippi and the northern boundary of Tennessee. The navy department, during the autumn and winter, had pushed forward, at St. Louis and Cincinnati, the getting ready the gun boats and mortar fleet; these had gathered at Cairo for an onward movement down the Mississippi. The iron-covered gun boats were specially constructed for the service. They were broad in proportion to their length, so as to sit firmly on the water and support with steadiness the heavy batteries for which they were intended. The largest were of the proportion of about 175 feet to 50, drawing five feet when loaded. They were firmly built of oak with extra strength at the bows and bulwarks, and were sheathed with wrought iron plates two and a half inches in thickness. To ward off the shots of the enemy, the sides of the boats, both above and below the knee, were made to incline at an angle of 45°, so that they could be struck at right angles only by a plunging fire. These boats were so built that, in action, they could be kept "bow on," and use their bow battery and broadsides with tremendous effect. Seven out of the twelve gun boats were iron-clad, and carried armament of the heaviest character. The mortar boats (some thirty or more in number) were about 60 feet long and 25 wide, and were surrounded on all sides by iron-plate bulwarks six or seven feet high. The

huge mortar which they carried, bored to admit a 13-inch shell, with 17 inches of thickness from the edge of the bore to the outer rim, weighed over 17,000 pounds; while the bed or carriage on which it was placed weighed 4,500 pounds. From this formidable engine shells might be thrown a distance of two and a half to three and a half miles. Each boat was manned by a captain, lieutenant and twelve men, most of the men being western boatmen and volunteers, familiar with navigation and the peculiar service in which they were to be engaged.* Commodore Foote, a veteran but energetic officer, was placed in command of the flotilla.

Towards the close of the month, January 27th, President Lincoln issued his "General War Order, No. 1," as follows:

"*Ordered*, That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. That especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe, the Army of the Potomac, the army of Western Virginia, the army near Munfordsville, Kentucky, the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready to move on that day. That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given. That the heads of departments, and especially the secretaries of war and of the navy, with all their subordinates, and the general-in-chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order."

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Eager to anticipate, if possible, the wishes of the president, Commodore Foote and Gen. Grant, with the approval of Gen. Halleck, determined to make an attack upon Fort Henry, at the beginning of February. The Tennessee River, in consequence of an unusual rise in the water at this time, offered a very favorable opportunity for navigation and transport of troops; and the expedition consisting of four iron-clad gun boats, and a fleet of transports with the land forces, set sail from Paducah, on the 4th of February, at daylight. Fort Henry was distant some 65 miles by the river, and in the afternoon, the flotilla reached a point about four miles below the fort, where a body of troops, under Gen. McClernand, was landed. The object was, to make a detour and take the work in the rear, while the gun boats made the attack from the water. Gen. Grant having brought up additional troops the next day, the land and naval force advanced to the attack on Thursday, Feb. 6th. Some 15,000 of the troops, under Gen. C. F. Smith, proceeded by the left bank on the Kentucky shore, to take and occupy the heights commanding the fort. About an equal number moved across the country to the rear of the fort, on the road to Fort

* For a full discussion of the subject of the construction of new vessels for the navy, the iron-clad navy, the monitors, etc., together with valuable statistics, see Dr. Boynton's "*History of the Navy during the Rebellion*," vol. i., pp. 117–243.

Donelson, the design being to prevent reinforcements to Fort Henry, or the retreat of the garrison, or to attack it on receipt of orders. The army, however, owing to the badness of the roads, and necessary delays, was not in time to share in the capture of Fort Henry; it was accomplished by the naval force alone.

About ten o'clock, the gun boats moved towards the fort, and when within a mile, commenced the assault. This was a little after noon, and the firing on both sides was rapid and steadily continued; but the boats were too much for the fort. Within an hour and a quarter the rebel flag was hauled down and the fort surrendered. The troops in the fort, numbering some 4,000 or 5,000, escaped before General Grant could intercept them. Eighty-three prisoners were taken, Gen. Tilghman being one; there was also a large amount of stores, which fell into our hands. The chief casualty of the day was produced by a shot which penetrated the boiler of the Essex, and caused the wounding and scalding of twenty-nine officers and men, including Commander Porter.

This victory was regarded with much satisfaction at the North; the dispatch of Commodore Foote was read in both Houses of Congress; and the thanks of the people were conveyed to our gallant naval force which had done such good service.

Directly after the surrender, Lieutenant-Commanding Phelps proceeded, by order of Commodore Foote, with the gun boats Conestoga, Tyler and Lexington, some 200 miles up the Tennessee River. The expedition was entirely successful. The railroad bridge, about twenty-five miles above Fort Henry, was partly destroyed, so that the enemy could not use it; the boats proceeded as far up the river as Florence, Alabama, forcing the rebels to burn six of their steamers and much valuable property; two steamers were captured, together with a gun boat partly finished, and a large supply of excellent lumber. Lieut. Phelps met with many cheering evidences of the loyal feelings of the people in Tennessee and Alabama. 1862.

The fall of Fort Henry opened the way for an immediate advance upon Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland River. This imposing fortification was situated near the boundary of Tennessee, on the west bank of the river, about 100 miles from its mouth. It was connected by a direct road with Fort Henry, and served as an out-post or river defence of Nashville, some eighty miles above. By the aid of railroad communications, reinforcements had been hurried to Donelson, and warned by the fate of Fort Henry, the rebels determined to retain, if possible, so important a barrier against the approach of our army into Tennessee.

Two days after Fort Henry fell, Gen. Pillow took command of Fort Donelson, and added in various ways to its defences. Naturally it was a strong position, being on a sloping elevation over a 100 feet high, with other hills and ravines densely wooded all around. Two water batteries were added, supplied with heavy ordnance; on the summit were trenches, or rifle

pits, protected by abattis of felled trees and interlaced brushwood; and in every suitable spot howitzers and field pieces were stationed. Its garrison amounted to nearly 20,000 men, so important was it deemed by the rebels to hold the place. Floyd, who arrived with reinforcements on the 13th of February, was chief in command, and was aided by Pillow, Buckner, B. K. Johnson, and others.

Nothing daunted at the prospect, Gen. Grant and Commodore Foote hastened forward preparations for the attack, although there was, as there always seems to be, delay at a moment when time was precious. Foote, with his gun boats, was to attack the water batteries; while Grant was to invest the fort on land. The latter was first on the spot. He left Fort Henry early on the morning of the 12th of February, with a force of about 25,000 men, in two divisions, commanded by Gens. McClernand and C. F. Smith.* The weather was mild and spring like, and by noon the advance was reported to be within two miles of the works at Fort Donelson. As our troops came up the enemy's pickets were driven in, and a semi-circular line of investment was formed before the fortifications. Gradual approaches were made to the works, with occasional sharp skirmishing along the line, the enemy retiring to their defences beyond the ravine which separated the two armies.

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During Thursday, the 13th, no general attack was made upon the rebel entrenchment, General Grant being in waiting for the arrival of the gun boats, and for additional troops under Gen. Wallace. The investment, however, was drawn closer, and there was some heavy firing of artillery. Several movements were made against special points, and the greatest bravery was displayed by our men; but when night came, the troops occupied the same position as in the morning. In fact, it became evident that the present was a far more serious undertaking than the one which was so speedily settled in the capture of Fort Henry.

In the evening, the gun boats and reinforcements arrived, and the morrow was to test the question at issue. Meanwhile, the mild and beautiful weather, under which the army had left Fort Henry, changed suddenly to winter's severity and keenness. A heavy rain set in, which turned in the night to a storm of snow and sleet; and many of our troops, being without blankets or tents, were exposed to the utmost rigors of the situation; while, if they lighted a fire, they were immediately exposed to the enemy's guns. The sufferings of our troops that night will not soon be forgotten. Once, the rebels made a sortie and strove to capture one of our batteries; but the 20th Indiana, lying in the woods below it, repulsed them, after a sharp and brief skirmish.*

About midnight, Commodore Foote arrived in the immediate neighborhood of the fort, and early the next morning, Feb. 14th, on conference with General

* Pollard takes comfort to himself in the remark, that the men who fought so well at Fort Donelson were all Western men, not one, he says, of the hated "Yankees" being present.

Grant, a joint attack, the same day, was determined upon. Grant, by the addition of some 8,000 troops, under Wallace, felt strong enough for the assault by land; and Foote, though not fully confident, did not hesitate to undertake his part of the work. Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, the conflict began with four iron-clad gun boats in advance and two wooden ones in the rear; but though bravely handled, they were unable to keep up the contest for more than an hour, and having become unmanageable, they drifted slowly down the stream.

Grant now thought it advisable to invest Fort Donelson as completely as possible, and await repairs to the gun boats. His purpose, however, was frustrated by the enemy. They saw and felt the danger of being surrounded, and determined at once to make an effort to fight their way out. Accordingly, they resolved to begin at daylight, on the 15th of February, and cut open an exit for their troops into the interior of the country. The assault was made at the time specified, on the right of our whole line, and for several hours the rebels fought with desperate bravery and resolution. They gained some advantage during the fight, but were in turn repulsed, with fearful loss on both sides, and were driven behind their inner works. When night came on, our troops held the position they had gained, and remained under arms till morning, intending at dawn of day to recommence the attack.

Satisfied that they could not hold the fort without reinforcements, Floyd and Pillow passed the command over to Buckner, and during the night, embarked about 5,000 troops in steamboats, and made their escape. The next morning early, Buckner sent a flag of truce, asking for terms, etc. Grant was short and sharp in his reply: "no terms, except unconditional and immediate surrender, can be accepted," he said. Buckner, protesting against Grant's "ungenerous and unchivalrous terms," gave up the contest, and on Sunday morning, Feb. 16th, the Union flag waved over this stronghold of the rebellion. **1862.**

Our loss was severe, being 446 killed, 1,735 wounded, and 150 prisoners; total 2,331. The rebel loss was 231 killed, 1,007 wounded, and 13,829 prisoners; total 15,067. In addition to the large number taken prisoners, there fell into our hands about fifty cannon, 3,000 horses, 20,000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of commissary stores.*

This important victory was peculiarly gratifying to loyal men everywhere. Gen. Grant congratulated his troops for the triumph over rebellion gained by their valor, and for their readiness, during four successive nights, without shelter, and exposed to the bitter inclemency of the season, to face the enemy in the position chosen by himself. On the other hand, as can readily be imagined, Davis and the rebel authorities were deeply mortified at the fall of Fort Donelson. In a message to his Congress, March 11th, he pronounced Floyd's and Pillow's reports "in-

* Some southern writers say, that the number surrendered was only about 5,000, and assert that, all told, the troops at Fort Donelson amounted to only 13,000.

complete and unsatisfactory," and professed himself in the dark as to the reasons for their movements. He accordingly suspended them from command for the present.

The fall of Fort Donelson hastened the crisis in rebel affairs in the West. The rebel Gen. A. S. Johnston had before this seen that Bowling Green, Kentucky, was untenable, and orders were given to evacuate it. This was done on the 14th of February, when Gen. Mitchel took immediate possession. By a forced march of eighty miles, the rebel force reached Nashville on the 16th, and under Johnston's command passed on to Murfreesboro, thirty-two miles distant, on the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad. Commodore Foote with his gun boats ascended the Cumberland, destroying the extensive iron works, six miles above Dover, and reaching Clarksville on the 19th of February. The enemy had fled, and great alarm was manifested respecting the purpose of our advancing force.

Of course, Nashville followed the fate of Donelson. Without the latter, it was defenceless; and hence, when the news came, on Sunday forenoon, that the fort was lost, the city was thrown into consternation. Floyd destroyed the bridges over the Cumberland, and hastened away. "An earthquake," says Pollard, "could not have shocked the city more. The congregations at the churches were broken up in confusion and dismay; women and children rushed into the streets, wailing with terror; trunks were thrown from three-story windows in the haste of the fugitives; and thousands hastened to leave their beautiful city in the midst of the most distressing scenes of terror and confusion, and of plunder by the mob."

On the 24th of February, the Union forces reached Nashville, which was formally surrendered by the mayor into Gen. Buell's hands. A general order was issued congratulating all who loved the Union on the success of our arms, and promising protection and support to all peaceable, well disposed citizens. Andrew Johnson was soon after appointed military governor of Tennessee, and early in March, arrived at Nashville, and entered vigorously upon his new and difficult duties. The newspapers were placed under military supervision. The municipal officers were required, on the 26th of March, to take the oath of allegiance. The city council refused; the mayor and some others were arrested, and the city councilmen ejected from office. Numerous other arrests were made, and Gov. Johnson used the strong hand in repressing disunion practices in Tennessee.

As by the taking of Nashville Columbus was seriously endangered, orders were issued by Beauregard and Johnston, on the 18th of February, to destroy part of the track and bridges of the Memphis and Ohio Railroad, preparatory to a removal of the forces at Columbus to Island No. 10, about forty-five miles below, on the Mississippi River. This was soon after accomplished; and on the 4th of March, when an armed reconnaissance was made as far as Columbus by the gun boats and transports with troops, it was found to have been abandoned by the rebels, as wholly untenable.

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General Halleck, in command of the department, issued, Feb. 22d, an order for the regulation and behavior of the troops. Among other things he said, "it does not belong to the military to decide upon the relation of master and slave. Such questions must be settled by civil courts. No fugitive slave will, therefore, be admitted within our lines or camps, except when specially ordered by the general commanding."

The successful operations of our army produced much excitement in the South, and the leaders in the rebellion began to understand better what a gigantic struggle it was in which they had engaged. Every man, young and old, was called for. Boards of police in every county in Mississippi were appointed preparatory to drafting; and the governor of Arkansas, by proclamation, drafted into immediate service every man in the state subject to military duty, requiring him to respond within twenty days. In this way, and under such pressure, was begun that system of measures which resulted in the passing of a conscription act by the Confederate Congress, April 16th, and the raising a large force during the ensuing summer months.*

In a previous chapter (see p. 89) we have spoken of the movements in Missouri, and the general result up to the close of 1861. Sharp skirmishing took place at Mount Zion, Dec. 28th, and at Fayette, January 8th; but without material result. Our forces under Gens. Sigel and Asboth, and Cols. J. C. Davis and Carr, combined at the close of the month, under command of Gen. S. R. Curtis, a distinguished officer of the U. S. army. Early in February, these divisions pushed rapidly from Rolla, the termination of railroad communication with St. Louis, toward Springfield, where the rebel General Price had taken up his headquarters and secured supplies for his men. He had raised an army of 4,000 men, built huts, and was in a rather comfortable position, as he thought; but the approach of Curtis warned him of danger. A sharp skirmish took place near Springfield; and Price, on the 12th of February, during the night, decamped, the U. S. troops entering the town early next morning. Immediately the pursuit after Price was begun, and continued a hundred miles or more from Springfield into Arkansas. On the 18th, the state line was crossed; on the 19th, Price, having had some reinforcements, attempted to make a stand at Sugar Creek; but was speedily defeated. On the 23d of February, Curtis entered and took possession of Fayetteville, capturing a number of prisoners, stores and baggage. The enemy burnt part of the town before leaving on their flight over the Boston Mountains.* **1862.**

* By this act all over eighteen and under thirty were conscripted for the war, and none were allowed exemption who were at the time in service, whether under eighteen or over thirty-five. All this was irrespective of state laws and regulations. In September, 1862, another act of conscription was passed, calling out every man between thirty-five and forty-five, and all youths as soon as they became eighteen years of age. The work was carried on with unrelenting vigor and energy, and every means resorted to in order to collect and have ready for use a military force sufficient to meet the immense army our government was bringing into the field.

* Gen. Halleck, in a dispatch, made mention of a shocking exhibition of the malice of the rebels: "forty-two officers and men of the 5th Missouri cavalry were

On the 1st of March, Gen. Curtis issued an address to the people of the South-west. It was called forth in great measure by the studied misrepresentations and falsehoods which the rebels used every where in respect to the object had in view by our troops, and it entered into the subject fully, clearly and cogently. "The only legitimate object of the war is peace, and I adhere to this legitimate object. Peaceable citizens shall be protected as far as possible. The flight of our foes from their camps, and the imitation of their conduct by the citizens, in fleeing from their homes, leaving their effects abandoned, as it were, for the victors, have much embarrassed me in my efforts to preserve discipline in my command, as these circumstances offer extraordinary temptations. The burning of farms and fields of grain in Missouri, and extensive barracks and valuable mills in Arkansas by the enemy, has induced some resentments on the part of my troops, which I have severely punished. . . . . We come to vindicate the Constitution, to preserve and perpetuate civil and religious liberty, under a flag that was embalmed in the blood of our revolutionary fathers. Under that flag we have lived in peace and prosperity until the flag of rebellion involved us in the horrors of civil war."

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Although Gen. Curtis had succeeded in driving Price out of Missouri, he was well aware that it would require a severe struggle to maintain the advantage he had gained. Price, though actively pursued, had escaped without much loss, and his ranks having been considerably recruited and continuing to increase, he expected soon to be able to drive the Union army out of Arkansas and regain his lost ground in Missouri. Curtis estimated the reinforcements received by Price to be some sixteen regiments, which, with the Arkansas volunteers and companies, placed him in command of at least 30,000 to 40,000 men, in and near the Boston Mountains.

On the other hand, Curtis's force in the face of the enemy in these early days of March, deducting the troops required for garrison duty, along his extended line of communications, besides a constant moving force to guard his train, left him ready for the field, surrounding or in the vicinity of Sugar Creek, where he had established his headquarters at the time, not more than 10,500 infantry and cavalry, with forty-nine pieces of artillery, including a mountain howitzer. Early on the 15th of March, a cold, wintryish day, with snow on the ground, Van Dorn, the rebel commander, advanced to make an attack. The several divisions of our troops were ordered to take position and meet the enemy at Sugar Creek as soon as possible. Gen. Sigel, in bringing up his force from the vicinity of Bentonville, set out at two A.M., on the 6th; he advanced slowly, fighting and repelling the enemy in front, on the flanks and rear, for five

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poisoned at Mud Town by eating poisoned food which the rebels left behind them. The gallant Captain Dolfert died, and Lieutenant-Colonel Van Deutzh and Captain Schwan have suffered much, but are now recovering. The indignation of our soldiers is very great, but they have been restrained from retaliation upon the prisoners of war."

and a half hours, when he was reinforced by Gen. Curtis. By this movement, Sigel's division was brought to the west end of Pea Ridge, where he formed a junction with Gen. J. C. Davis and Col. Carr. The men rested on their arms, on the night of the 6th, in waiting for the coming day's fight, which all knew was to be a serious and trying one.

At daylight, on the 7th of March, the battle was renewed, and with slight exception continued to rage furiously the whole day. Van Dorn had moved round Curtis's flank by the road crossing Pea Ridge, in order to cut off his retreat in case the rebels were successful. This had necessitated a change of front, so as to face the road on which the enemy were still moving. The new line was formed under the enemy's fire, the troops moving in good order and with gallant bearing. In the centre, the battle was carried on with great fury, as also on the left wing; but our men nobly withstood the fierce assaults of the rebels, who lost two of their best generals, McCulloch and McIntosh. Gen. Curtis having brought all four of his divisions to face the position which had been held in check, the troops bivouacked another cold and cheerless night on the field.

Again, at sunrise, on the 8th of March, the battle was begun by our men. The enemy fought desperately, furiously; but they were completely routed. Sigel pursued them for several miles towards Keetsville, and the cavalry still further. The rebel loss was estimated at 3,000 killed and wounded, besides more than 1,000 prisoners. Van Dorn, however, without specifying particulars, makes his loss less than 1,000 in all. The aggregate loss of the killed, wounded and missing of all ranks on our side, was given by Gen. Curtis at 1,351.

A novel feature in the battle of Pea Ridge, or Elk Horn, as the rebels named it, was the employment of Indians, some 2,500 being under command of the rebel General Pike. They proved of little service to those who had seduced them from their proper allegiance, and in their wild fury, they were guilty of acts which Gen. Curtis severely censured afterwards in a note to Van Dorn. Many of our soldiers, as he said, were found "tomahawked, scalped, and their bodies shamefully mangled," and he expressed a hope that the rebels were not going to carry on their resistance by means of a savage and barbarous warfare. Van Dorn made the best he could of the matter, in reply; hoped it was not true; and retorted, that prisoners had been murdered in cold blood by the German troops in our army. Quite probably here, as elsewhere, acts of cruelty were committed which could not be justified; but certainly the introducing of Indians was calculated to aggravate war's horrors and abominations.

Southern writers and chroniclers soften this defeat all they can, and claim that the substantial fruits of victory were with the rebels under Van Dorn. It was rather cold comfort, under the circumstances; but, such as it was, they were allowed to enjoy it to the fullest extent, without let or hindrance.

CHAPTER X.

1862.

BURNSIDE EXPEDITION: OPERATIONS ON THE SOUTHERN COAST.

Expedition under Burnside and Goldsborough — Size and extent — Sets sail — Rough and dangerous passage — Tedious delays — Enemy strengthen their position — Attack on Roanoke Island — Surrender of the rebels — Mortification of Davis and secession — Expedition to Elizabeth city — Success — Edenton and Winton — Address to the people of North Carolina by Burnside and Goldsborough — Governor Clark's address — Spirit of these — Importance of Newbern — Expedition against — Bravery of our troops — Burnside's congratulatory order — Other operations on the southern coast at this date — Exploration of interior passage to the Savannah River — Batteries planted — Fort Pulaski isolated — Reconnaissance of Little Tybee River — Operations of Dupont and Wright on the Florida coast — Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, etc. — Union feeling in Florida — Edisto Island — Washington's birth day — How celebrated in 1862 in the loyal states — Davis and confederate government — Davis inaugurated — His address on the 22d of February — Extracts from, illustrating tone, temper, etc. — Davis's message to Confederate Congress — Admits serious disasters — Estimated size of the rebel army — Financial condition of the confederacy — A glimpse at the nature and terribleness of the struggle now going on.

During the latter part of 1861, active preparations were being made at New York for fitting out another combined military and naval expedition, to operate against an important point or points on the southern coast. Everything was furnished which could in any wise tend to secure success; abundant material, a disciplined and gallant force, numbering 16,000 men, accomplished and well trained officers, etc. The military part of the expedition was under command of Gen. Burnside, the naval under Commodore Goldsborough. The three army brigades composing this force were commanded by Gens. J. G. Foster, J. L. Reno, and J. G. Parke. Commodore Goldsborough's squadron consisted of eighteen light draught steam gun boats, with an armament of fifty rifled cannon; it was divided into two columns for active service, led by Commanders S. F. Hazard and S. C. Rowan. The special service the expedition was to accomplish was on the shores of North Carolina, within the waters of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds; and for this purpose all the arrangements were made for the most efficient co-operation of the naval and military departments; the guns were so equipped as to be used on the water or the land; there was a thoroughly organized signal corps; two extensive pontoon trains, etc. 1862.

Thus prepared for its work, the Burnside expedition set sail from Annapolis on the 9th of January. Owing to dense fogs in the Chesapeake Bay, incident to the season, it did not reach Fortress Monroe till midnight of the 10th. The next day without detention, the order was given to sail, and Sunday, the 11th, saw the fleet at sea. As had been generally supposed, while

the vessels were collecting, that they would be employed inside of the capes of Virginia, but little anxiety had been felt respecting their sea going qualities. But now, when the well known dangers of Hatteras were taken into account, there was considerable apprehension entertained, and the result proved that this apprehension was well founded.

The first day out, there was much embarrassment from the fog on the coast, which greatly impeded progress. Monday was clear, with a heavy wind and rough sea, which caused the vessels to labor very heavily; by noon, however, most of them were inside of the bar at Hatteras Inlet, their first southern destination, in time to escape the unusually severe gale of Monday night and Tuesday. The anchorage was bad and the vessels jostled together. Some of the vessels were grounded and lost; others had to be sent back to Fortress Monroe. Weeks were spent in striving to secure passage through the narrow, perplexing, and violent channel. At length, however, by patience, mutual help, and unwearied assiduity, General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough saw the flotilla fairly embarked on Pamlico Sound, and ready for action.

Meanwhile, the rebels, aware of the purpose of the expedition, took occasion to strengthen the defences, and gather a large body of North Carolina and Virginia troops at Roanoke Island, a position which commands the channel separating the waters of Pamlico and Albermarle Sounds. There was besides a fleet of gun boats, and ready means of reinforcements by railroad communication with Virginia and the northern part of the state.

As it was a matter of necessity to dislodge the rebels at Roanoke, the expedition set sail from Hatteras for that purpose, on the 5th of February. Fifteen gun boats led the way, followed at an interval of a mile by the armed transports, and side-wheel steamers. The naval vessels, placed under the immediate command of Commander Rowan, were formed in three separate columns, and as the day was clear and the wind favorable, the entire fleet of seventy vessels presented a striking picture as they slowly advanced toward Roanoke. At sunset they anchored within sight of the island. The next day being foggy and wet, nothing was undertaken beyond a reconnaissance of Croatan Sound, as the passage is called which separates Roanoke from the mainland. Friday, the 7th, was foggy in the morning, but about 10 o'clock it cleared up sufficiently for the advance. An active bombardment of Fort Bartow, at Pork Point, on the upper part of the island, ensued, doing some damage to the enemy's works, while another portion of the gun boats was engaged in firing at the rebel vessels at long range. 1862.

In the course of the afternoon the army transports came up, and after considerable difficulty, our troops were safely landed. The process was tedious and comfortless, the men having to wade through water and mud, and a great part of the night being thus occupied; added to this, a cold rainstorm made the position of our troops exceed-

ingly cheerless during the night. But the morning found them ready for action. General Foster promptly got his men in order, and after marching a mile and a-half came in sight of the enemy's position. It was capitally chosen, protected on the right and left by a morass deemed impassable, and stretching across nearly the entire width of the island. A bayonet charge was undertaken by the Zouaves, which so frightened the rebels that they abandoned their guns and ran away This assured the entire defeat of the enemy, and though they made a stubborn resistance, they surrendered unconditionally, and Roanoke Island became ours, with its heavy guns and batteries, and eight steamers, each mounting two guns.

The complete success attained by our arms on this occasion was equally surprising and mortifying to the authorities at Richmond. Jefferson Davis, in his message to the Confederate Congress, Feb. 25th, expressed the hope that matters were not so bad as they appeared to be in regard to the "discomfiture at Roanoke Island and the fall of Fort Donelson." He was waiting for further information, but at the same time confessed: "enough is known of the surrender of Roanoke Island to make us feel that it was deeply humiliating, however imperfect may have been the preparations for defence."*

The victory at Roanoke Island was immediately followed up by an expedition, under command of Captain Rowan, sent in pursuit of the fleet of the enemy, which had fled up the Albemarle Sound, a distance of some thirty or forty miles, into Pasquotank River, toward Elizabeth City. Captain Rowan sailed from Roanoke on the afternoon of Sunday, and arrived at the mouth of the river at night. 1862. The following morning, the 10th of February, the fleet ascended the river, and at eight o'clock came upon the enemy's gun boats, consisting of seven steamers and a schooner armed with two heavy 32-pounders, drawn up in front of the city. A brief but spirited contest ensued; the enemy set their boats on fire, and the crews escaped as best they could; the fort on Cobb's Point, mounting four guns, was abandoned; and in less than an hour the rebels were entirely defeated, and the flag-ship Delaware was moored to the wharf at Elizabeth City. After the gun boats were deserted, the rebels commenced setting fire to the principal buildings in the city, most of the people having fled. Captain Rowan, however, by prompt action, succeeded in checking this wild proceeding.

Elizabeth City was taken possession of by the Union forces the day after the engagement. On the 12th of February, Edenton, at the west end of Albemarle Sound, was visited by a por-

* Pollard speaks with unusual bitterness of this result, which lost to the rebels a position "only second in importance to Fortress Monroe." He details at length the urgency of the confederate General Wise for reinforcements, and the curt manner in which he was treated by J. P. Benjamin, rebel secretary of war (no favorite with Pollard, by the way), and he lays upon Benjamin and his fast friend Davis the whole blame of the disaster, "which unlocked all North-eastern North Carolina to the enemy, and exposed Portsmouth and Norfolk to a rear approach of the most imminent danger."—"*First Year of the War*," pp. 227–234.

tion of the flotilla; on the approach of which to the town, a body of flying artillery ran away with all speed. Eight cannon and one schooner on the stocks were destroyed. Two schooners, with 4,000 bushels of corn were captured on the Sound, and six bales of cotton taken from the custom-house wharf. The next day, Lieut. Jeffers, proceeded with several vessels to the mouth of the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal, and driving away some rebels there, sunk two schooners to obstruct navigation, and burned all that remained above water. A few days after, a reconnaissance was made by Capt. Rowan up the Chowan River as far as Winton, the capital of Hereford Co. Information had been given that there were several hundred Union men there who desired protection; but when the Perry approached Winton, it was greeted with volleys of musketry from the high bank on the shore. The town was shelled in retaliation, and the buildings destroyed.

On the 18th of February, Commodore Goldsborough and Gen. Burnside, issued a joint proclamation in reference to the objects of their mission. It was addressed "To the People of North Carolina," and in earnest terms entreated their attention: "The mission of our joint expedition is not to invade any of your rights, but to assert the authority of the United States, and to close with you the desolating war brought upon your state by comparatively a few bad men in your midst. Influenced infinitely more by the worst passions of human nature than by any show of elevated reason, they are still urging you astray, to gratify their unholy purposes. They impose upon your credulity by telling of wicked and even diabolical intentions on our part; of our desire to destroy your freedom, demolish your property, liberate your slaves, injure your women, and such like enormities; all of which, we assure you, is not only ridiculous, but utterly and wilfully false." 1862.

The governor of North Carolina, H. T. Clark, also issued a proclamation, Feb. 22d; but it was couched in the usual violent and extravagant language of southern officials, and charged "avarice and ambition" upon the government and supporters of the Union, as well as "a spirit of vengeful wickedness without a parallel in history," etc. In the present, as in other cases, the contrast is very marked, and every dispassionate reader cannot but be struck with it, and the conclusions to which it necessarily leads.

In consequence of the favorable results of the expedition thus far, Gen. Burnside turned his attention to another portion of the state. Washington, on Pamlico River, and Newbern, on the Neuse River, were the chief depots in this quarter for lumber, tar, turpentine and naval stores of the country. Newbern, in its size and position, was one of the chief cities in the state, and its population exceeded that of the capital, Raleigh, by several hundreds, and was second only to the seaport Wilmington. It was, moreover, by the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, immediately connected with Beaufort on the ocean forty miles below, and with Goldsboro' sixty miles in the

interior, the chief station on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. Situated at the junction of two rivers, the Trent and the Neuse, once gained, it might, without difficulty, be held by gun boats. On every account, it was felt that its possession was of the first importance to our cause.

Early in March, the troops intended for the expedition against Newbern were embarked from Roanoke Island, and were ordered, with the naval force, to rendezvous at Hatteras Inlet. Captain Rowan was in command, Goldsborough having been recalled to the Chesapeake.* The military force was, in all, about 8,000, divided into three columns; the naval force consisted of six gun boats, with the transport vessels for the troops. On the evening of the 12th of March, the vessels anchored off the mouth of Slocum's Creek, about eighteen miles below Newbern. The next morning the landing was effected under cover of the gun boats; the roads, full of mud and mire, were in a fearful plight; and only twelve miles were gone over by night, when the column halted, a mile and a half from the rebel stronghold. The gun boats shelled the woods and protected the troops on their march; the enemy's works on the river were generally abandoned without fighting.

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At seven o'clock, on the morning of the 14th of March, our troops were in motion, Gen. Foster being charged with the duty of attacking the enemy on the left, Gen. Reno on the right, and Gen. Parke in front; the latter also was to act as a support to the other brigades. For details reference must be had to the reports of the commanders; it is sufficient here to state that the engagement was severely contested; for four hours our troops fought bravely and steadily; and the rebels, who stoutly endeavored to repulse their onslaughts, were at last compelled to yield. The enemy's line of breastworks was very extensive and formidable, and was manned by about 6,000 men. Of course the capture of these works decided the fate of Newbern.

Gen. Burnside, the next day, issued a congratulatory and well deserved order, concluding with these words: "The General commanding directs, with peculiar pride, that as a well-deserved tribute to valor in this second victory of the expedition, each regiment engaged shall inscribe on its banner the memorable name, Newbern."

The enemy, who had fled in confusion, burned and destroyed the bridges and the draw of the railroad bridge over the Trent, which prevented pursuit by our troops. Two hundred prisoners were taken, beside several vessels, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores. Gen. Foster was appointed military governor of Newbern and its neighborhood. A week later, a force was sent up Pamlico River, as far as Washington, where our men were well received, and Union sentiments were freely expressed.

Other operations of a naval and military character on the southern coast, early in 1862, may here, properly be noted. On a previous page we

* For a more full account of the operations against Newbern, see Woodbury's "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*," pp. 51–68.

called attention to Captain Rodgers' success on the Chowan River. The next movement of interest took place in the month of January, and deserves honorable mention. The city of Savannah is about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river, and situate on the southern or right bank. The approach by water is defended by Fort Pulaski, on Cockspur Island, at the mouth of the river, and Fort Jackson, four miles below the city. Along the left bank of the Savannah is a succession of islands, and large and numerous ones interrupt the channel. Turtle and Jones Islands are two of these, the latter being bounded on two sides by the Mud and Wright Rivers, and on the other by the Savannah River. A daring reconnaissance was made by night, under the guidance of negro crew and pilots, through the intricate passages between the island and mainland. The depth and bearings of the channel were ascertained, and it was discovered that gun boats could pass by the Wright into the Savannah River. By unremitting night labor all the obstructions were removed, and a passage way secured.

On the 26th of January Capt. Rodgers made a reconnaissance in force up the Wright River. The rebel commodore, Tatnall, appeared with gun boats and scows; but was easily driven back. Capt. Rodgers not deeming it prudent to pass into the Savannah, near Fort Pulaski, our boats returned by the way which they went. A battery at Venus Point, on Jones Island, was erected, quietly but securely, notwithstanding the severity and tediousness of the work; another battery was planted in a similar manner on Bird Island, opposite Venus Point; so that, to the astonishment of the rebels, Fort Pulaski was cut off from communication with the city of Savannah early in February, and the stronghold in which they so confidently trusted was exposed to siege and assault by the Union forces.

On the 27th of January, Capt. Davis, with eight vessels, and transports carrying some 2,400 troops, under General Wright, made a reconnaissance of Little Tybee River and the adjacent waters, for the purpose of carrying out the object proposed above, viz: the isolation of Fort Pulaski. Tatnall, with five vessels, made an attack upon the expedition, when, after half an hour's fight, two of the enemy's boats were driven back, and the others ran under the guns of the fort. 1862.

At the end of February, an expedition sailed from Port Royal, under Capt. Dupont and Gen. Wright, with the intention of reoccupying the principal points on the east coast of Florida. Fort Clinch, St. Mary's, and Fernandina were captured March 2d and 3d; Fort Clinch on Amelia Island was taken possession of and garrisoned. Fernandina, which was almost deserted, was occupied by the Union forces; so also was St. Mary's; at both places the preparations for defence were extensive, but the rebel troops were not there. Brunswick, in Georgia, was found in a similar condition, March 7th; and at Jacksonville and St. Augustine, Florida, no opposition was offered to the advance of our troops.

Commodore Dupont next visited Mosquito Inlet, fifty miles further south

His object was to establish an inside blockade and cut off the rebels from external help. Union sentiments and views were manifested on several occasions, and secession despotism was submitted to because of inability to resist it.

The only movement of any consequence towards Charleston was that by Gen. T. W. Sherman, on the 11th of February, when Edisto Island was occupied. This island is about twelve miles long and nine broad; it is also some ten miles from the mainland, twenty miles from the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, and forty miles from Charleston. The rebels had deserted the island entirely, leaving nothing but the negroes, and some cotton which was not burned before they ran away.

Turning from the narrative of naval and military operations, let us devote a few moments to another topic, not less interesting or important. The name of Washington, the father of his country, has always been, and always will be, held in the highest reverence and esteem by the American people. He is one of the few, the very few great men in the world's history whose name is pure from aught that is unworthy the patriot and the Christian; and it is one of the best signs for good that our countrymen look upon him with affectionate admiration, and uniformly point to his life and career as the bright and glorious example to themselves and their children, in all time to come. The birthday of Washington has become a national holiday, and is observed as such every where and by all. When the 22d of February, 1862, arrived, it was felt to be especially appropriate, in the loyal states, to pay marked attention to it, and in every city, town and village the day received more than its accustomed honors, and the hearts of the people were cheered and encouraged thereby. Both Houses of Congress, with the principal officers of the government, met at noon, in the chamber of the House of Representatives, and listened anew to the Farewell Address of Washington, as read by Mr. Forney, the secretary of the Senate. Besides reading the Address public orations were delivered in the larger cities, and there were military displays, ringing of bells, illuminations, and other festal observances.

It was not in the loyal states alone that the 22d of February was observed and made much of. Davis, and his fellow-laborers in a bad cause, took occasion to consummate a part of their plans on this famous day. The "provisional" arrangement of the confederate government had been brought to a close, and on the 22d of February, Jefferson Davis, as head of the "permanent" government, was inaugurated president over the "Confederacy." An inaugural address was also delivered, in which the chief leader in the Great Rebellion spoke of the position of affairs with a calm assurance and a confident certainty of ultimate success, mingling, at the same time, with his remarks a large infusion of bitterness and disappointment at the energy and resolution of the loyal people in the North and West. A passage or two may not inaptly here be quoted:

"On this, the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American Independence, and beneath

Jeff. Davis

the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues, and those of his compatriots, we have assembled to usher into existence the permanent government of the Confederate States. Through this instrumentality, under the favor of Divine Providence, we hope to perpetuate the principles of our revolutionary fathers. The day, the memory, and the purpose seem fitly associated. . . . . When a long course of class legislation, directed not to the general welfare, but to the aggrandizement of the northern section of the Union, culminated in a warfare on the domestic institutions of the southern states—when the dogmas of a sectional party, substituted for the provisions of the constitutional compact, threatened to destroy the sovereign rights of the states, six of those states, withdrawing from the Union, confederated together, to exercise the right and perform the duty of instituting a government which would better secure the liberties for the preservation of which that Union was established. Whatever of hope some may have entertained, that a returning sense of justice would remove the danger with which our rights were threatened, and render it possible to preserve the Union of the Constitution, must have been dispelled by the malignity and barbarity of the northern states in the prosecution of the existing war.

"Although the tide for the moment is against us, the final result in our favor is not doubtful. The period is near at hand when our foes must sink under the immense load of debt which they have incurred; a debt which, in their effort to subjugate us, has already attained such fearful dimensions as will subject them to burthens which must continue to oppress them for generations to come.

"Never has a people evinced a more determined spirit than that now animating men, women, and children in every part of our country. Upon the first call men fly to arms; and wives and mothers send their husbands and sons to battle without a murmur of regret.

"We are in arms to renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty. At the darkest hour of our struggle the provisional gives place to the permanent government. After a series of successes and victories, which covered our arms with glory, we have recently met with serious disasters. But, in the heart of a people resolved to be free, these disasters tend but to stimulate to increased resistance."

In his message to the Confederate Congress (see p. 100), Davis admitted that "events have demonstrated that the government had attempted more than it had power successfully to achieve. Hence, in the effort to protect, by our arms, the whole territory of the Confederate States, seaboard and inland, we have been so exposed as recently to encounter serious disasters." His allusion was to the losses of Fort Donelson, Roanoke Island, etc.; but, not deeming it possible "that anything so *insane* as a persistent attempt to subjugate these states could be made," he did not disguise the strong probability, "that the war will be continued through a series of years." Without undertak-

ing to present "an accurate statement" of the confederate military strength, he said that it was some 400 regiments of infantry, with a proportionate force of cavalry and artillery, making in all about half a million of men. **1862.** In regard to finances, Davis spoke in highly congratulatory terms, asserting that the expenditure for the past year was only $170,000,000, and that the enemy had wasted three times as much in vainly striving to conquer the confederacy.

With such sentiments as these, making such representations as the above, and well understanding that the struggle was no light one in which he was engaged, Davis tried to sustain his own hopes and to infuse additional life and activity into the "Confederacy." It was now a matter of life or death. It was evident that the loyal states were resolutely determined to crush the rebellion at any cost; and that Davis and those who worked with him were equally determined not to submit, so long as they were able to make any resistance whatsoever. Terrible alternative! There was no help for it; the battle had to be fought out, even to the bitter end; and the awful responsibility for shedding of blood, for carnage, cruelty, suffering, distress, and the thousand evils attendant upon war, must rest upon the men who, without any just or reasonable cause, began the rebellion of 1861, and persevered in it for four weary, desolating years.

CHAPTER XI.

1862.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA: THE MERRIMAC AND THE MONITOR.

General McClellan's preparations — Delays — War order for the campaign — McClellan's plan — Army corps ordered — Jackson's attack on our troops at Hancock — Lander's success — Col. Geary's march — Winchester evacuated — Rebels fall back — Manassas abandoned — Our troops occupy it — Public feeling — McClellan relieved of command-in-chief — New departments formed — McClellan's address to the troops — Advance by way of Fortress Monroe determined on — Importance of the contest between the Merrimac and the Monitor — The arming of the Merrimac — Inactivity of the navy department — Merrimac's attack on our ships — Success — Fearful blow of the ram — The Cumberland sunk, colors flying — The Congress surrenders — Set on fire and blown up — The Minnesota not attacked that day — Gloomy Saturday night — The Monitor arrives — Peculiarity of build, etc. — Reappearance of the Merrimac, Sunday morning — The Monitor meets her — The encounter — The victory — Gen. Shields's success over Jackson at Winchester — Troops embarked for the Peninsula — McClellan's expectations as to his force — Disappointment — His plan in general — Movements — McDowell's corps detached — McClellan's views — Question as to number of the troops — Siege of Yorktown — President's letter to McClellan — Gen. W. F. Smith's exploit — Fredericksburg taken — New Market also — Rebels determine to evacuate Yorktown, and retire in safety.

Gen. McClellan, in following the plans which he had adopted in regard to offensive operations in Virginia, was engaged, as we have seen (page 92–3), in making vast and extensive preparations for a campaign early in 1862.

Estimating the rebel forces at 150,000, and supposing them to be well disciplined and thoroughly entrenched and supplied with artillery (see p. 94), McClellan was unwilling to advance upon Manassas during the early part of the winter, notwithstanding severe censure was cast upon him for delay and inexplicable tardiness. The president did not pretend to know much, if anything, about military science, and the secretary of war, though bred to the law and full of zeal and spirit, was not probably better able to judge than Mr. Lincoln of the reasons which weighed so strongly with the general-in-chief against what he considered to be premature, unprepared action.

Although the roads previously had been good, yet towards the close of December, 1861, they became unfavorable, and grew more and more so as the season advanced. Early in February, McClellan, affirming that he could "fix no definite time for an advance," declared that "the roads have gone from bad to worse; nothing like their present condition was ever known here before; they are impassable at present." About the middle of January, McClellan recovered from a severe illness, and soon learned how anxious the government was for an immediate movement. The general-in-chief wished to attack Richmond by the Lower Chesapeake; which, however, Mr. Lincoln did not approve, and issued a special war order, January 31st, directing that a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas Junction be seized and occupied, the troops to move on or before February 22d.

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The president put various queries to McClellan in regard to the comparative values of the two plans, his and McClellan's; to which the general-in-chief answered in a lengthy paper, February 3d, given in his Report, urging strongly that the base of operations by the Lower Chesapeake "afforded the shortest possible route to Richmond, and struck directly at the heart of the enemy's power in the east." A majority of the general officers, who met at McClellan's headquarters, approved of his plans to move by the Chesapeake and Rappahannock, ascending to Urbana on the Rappahannock, and thence crossing to Richmond, between forty and fifty miles westwardly.

Mr. Lincoln, at one time convinced by interviews with McClellan that the plans of the latter were the best, at another quite confident that his own and his secretary's were preferable, hesitated in his action, and seemed to assent with reluctance to any of the propositions of the general-in-chief. On the 8th of March, the president issued his "General War Order No. 2;" by which it was directed that the Army of the Potomac be organized into four army corps. The first, consisting of four divisions, was assigned to Gen. McDowell; the second, consisting of three divisions, to Gen. Sumner; the third and the fourth, consisting each of three divisions, to Gens. Heintzelman and Keyes. Gen. Wadsworth was placed in command of the troops for the defence of Washington; and a fifth army corps, consisting of two divisions, was assigned to Gen. Banks.* On the same

* Gen. McClellan complains, in his Report, that this

day, a third war order was issued, requiring that no operations be entered upon without leaving Washington entirely secure, and without clearing the navigation of the Potomac from the enemy's batteries and other obstructions. The movement upon the Chesapeake, as McClellan wished, was also ordered to move, as early as the 18th of March, or earlier, if possible.

Meanwhile, events, some of them of great importance, had occurred at various points in Virginia, since the beginning of the war. These may properly here be noted, as having, to a considerable extent, modified Gen. McClellan's plan of the campaign.

Early in January, the rebel Gen. Jackson, who had been purposing for some time to move from Winchester to the northwest, left that place, and advanced towards Hancock, some forty miles distant. Arriving at Bath, through a pitiless storm of snow and hail, he drove out four companies of our troops, who retreated to Hancock, across the Potomac, and made a stand on receiving reinforcements there. Jackson followed and demanded the surrender of the town; but Gen. Lander, who was in command, refused peremptorily. Firing across the river was tried by both parties, but to little purpose. Jackson moved westwardly, and Lander made his preparations to cross into Virginia soon after. Colonel Dunning, at Romney, made an attack on the enemy stationed at Blue's Gap, a strong position, sixteen miles distant, on the road to Winchester, and routed them completely. Lander joined Kelly at Cumberland, and went thence to Romney; but finding that Jackson had nearly surrounded him with a large force, he marched all night to Springfield. Jackson did not follow him, but retired to Winchester. Subsequently, Moorfield was captured; and by a spirited dash upon the rebel position at Bloomery Gap, Lander took the enemy completely by surprise, several officers and men, in all seventy-five, being made prisoners. On the 11th of February, Lander telegraphed to McClellan that the district was cleared of the enemy. The war department (February 17th) acknowledged the activity and valuable services of Gen. Lander; but he was compelled to resign on account of ill health, and died on the 2d of March.

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On the 24th of February, Colonel Geary (of Banks's command,) crossed the Potomac, and took possession of Harper's Ferry, which, half-burned and plundered by the rebels, was mostly deserted by its inhabitants. The heights being secured, a strong force occupied Charlestown on the 28th, on the advance to Winchester. Martinsburg, an important town on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was occupied on the 3d of March, and Smithfield on the 6th. The enemy, in the direction of Winchester, were evidently falling back; and it was expected that a stand would be made at that place by Jackson. Geary, meanwhile, advanced with his force and occupied Lovettsville, and

order was issued hastily, without consultation at all with him. He affirms that he had always been in favor of the principle of organization into army corps, but he did not think that the time had come as yet for this. "These views had been frequently expressed by me to the president and members of the cabinet; it was therefore with as much regret as surprise that I learned the existence of this order."

was very successful in driving before him a body of Mississippi troops, stationed at the town; these presently retired to Hillsborough. Leesburg was occupied on the 8th of March, the rebels under Hill having hastily evacuated it. Sixty-seven prisoners, over one hundred horses, and a quantity of stores were captured.

Jackson evacuated Winchester, March 11th; it was immediately taken possession of, the next day, by our troops, under Gens. Hamilton and Williams. The fortifications at this place, which had been supposed to be formidable, were found to be hastily constructed and of no importance. The brigade of Gen. Shields was now quartered at Winchester, where Gen. Banks also established his headquarters.

This movement, threatening as it did the left flank of the rebels, hastened their retirement along the entire line from Aquia Creek to the Shenandoah. Well advised of the progress of vast military preparations on the Potomac, and aware that one large force was before them; that another was fast gathering from Harper's Ferry, on their flank; and that probably speedy movement would be made by the Chesapeake in their rear, the rebel leaders resolved to decline a battle, which had been for months eagerly expected by the people of the loyal states. Retreat, at the present, was their policy, and retreat they accomplished in the coolest and most scientific manner. The heavy artillery at Manassas was leisurely removed, the railroad leading south answering the purpose of transporting men and munitions to any extent; and so skilfully was all this performed, despite Gen. McClellan's "secret service force," to give information of the rebel doings, that, when our army reached Manassas, there was not a gun left to be captured, or hardly a straggler to be taken prisoner. On Sunday evening, March 9th, the last of the rebel force abandoned Centreville, retreating in perfect order, leaving the formidable line of fortifications on the ridge entirely empty, save a few wooden painted logs, which had been placed in the embrasures. The famous stone bridge over Bull Run, and another over Cob Run, were destroyed in the retreat.

1862.

Gen. McDowell, with the advance of the army, arrived at Centreville on the 10th of March, and dispatched a cavalry force the same evening to Manassas, whence the last of the rebel troops had departed in the morning. Nearly everything of value had been removed, and nothing remained but the refuse of the camp, the lines of rude huts, etc.

It was a mortifying confession, but it had to be made, that the rebels had got the better of us, and that their retreat on this occasion was equivalent to a victory. It required all the public confidence heretofore placed upon McClellan and his forthcoming victories, to escape the conviction that the number of the rebels had been greatly over-estimated, and that we had given them an advantage, especially in the way of preparing for defence against our advance, which was likely to protract the contest far longer than any one as yet had contemplated.

McClellan, having entered upon the active duties of commanding the ad-

vance movement of the army, did not expect certainly that any change would be made in his official position as general-in-chief. By the war order, however, which was issued on the 11th of March, it was ordered: "Major-General McClellan, having personally taken the field at the head of the Army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered, he is relieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac." By the same order, Gen. Halleck was placed in command of the Department of the Mississippi, and Gen. Fremont in command of the Mountain Department, *i. e.*, the region west of the Department of the Potomac. Each of these commanders was ordered to report directly and frequently to the secretary of war.*

Although not a little mortified at the course which had been pursued towards him, McClellan, three days afterwards, issued a spirited address to the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, in which he declared, that, though he had held them back, it was to discipline them and fit them to "give the death-blow to the rebellion." He also assured them, that he was ready to share all dangers and trials with them, and that he held it an honor to belong to the Army of the Potomac.†

* McClellan, in his Report, states that the first knowledge he had of this order was through the newspapers. He addressed a note to the president, cheerfully acceding to the disposition thus made of his services, and declaring that no consideration of self would in any manner interfere with the discharge of his public duties.

† The rebel batteries on the Potomac at Cockpit Point and other stations were abandoned soon after the retreat from Manassas, and the river was once more free from annoying and vexatious obstructions.

At a council of the generals commanding army corps, held at headquarters, March 13th, it was deemed most expedient, Washington being properly secured against attack, and Manassas being occupied in force, to proceed to the advance upon Richmond by way of Fortress Monroe. The president and war department approved this plan of operations, and urged immediate, energetic action.

Before proceeding further, however, with the narrative of military operations in Virginia, we must call the reader's attention to the celebrated encounter between the Merrimac and the Monitor, not only because of its general effect upon the progress of the great contest, but also because of its marked importance in the history of naval warfare in modern times. Certainly, nothing which has ever occurred in connection with ships of war, and with attempts to render them invulnerable, is more remarkable and more significant in its results than this memorable encounter.

It will be remembered, that when the rebels seized upon the navy yard at Norfolk (see p. 24), the U. S. steamer Merrimac was one of the vessels which was scuttled and abandoned by Capt. Macaulay. Subsequently, she was raised and placed in the dry dock, and special care was bestowed upon fitting her out in such wise as to be invincible to all attack, and consequently able to act as a universal destroyer. Her hull was cut down, and a bomb-proof covering of wrought iron put over her main deck. Her bow and stern were sharpened and clad in steel, with a projecting

angle of iron to pierce any adversary in her path. Her engines were stated to be 510 horse-power, and all her machinery was below the water line. Armed with ten guns, 80-pounders, rifled; with a furnace for heating shot; manned by ten lieutenants and 350 picked men; and presenting the appearance of a submerged house, with the roof only above water, the Merrimac, or as the rebels re-named her, the Virginia, was a formidable antagonist indeed for the doomed vessels then blockading the entrance to Norfolk, and the mouth of the James River.* Buchanan, the commander, after forty-five years connection with the navy, had deserted the flag of his country, and was now ready to do all in his power for the new master whom he was serving.

On a pleasant sunshiny day, Saturday the 8th of March, the Merrimac left Norfolk, and about noon was seen coming round Craney Island, accompanied by two gun boats, and heading for Newport News. Several other armed steamers joined and followed in her train, and were prepared both to give aid and share in the confidently expected victory of the Merrimac. With nothing visible but her smoke-stack and the confederate flag flying from a staff, she steamed directly for the frigate Congress and the sloop-of-war Cumberland, which were stationed off James River to guard the blockade and protect the camp on the shore at Newport News. Both of these were sailing vessels, and had consequently no opportunity of manœuvring in presence of so formidable an adversary as this massive steam ram. The other vessels in the Roads, at Fortress Monroe, were signaled to the aid of the Congress and Cumberland. They were the flag-ship Roanoke, the frigates Minnesota and St. Lawrence, and some half dozen gun boats, which were employed in towing the frigates into position,—the Minnesota not having full steam on at starting, and the Roanoke being disabled by a broken shaft.

Whilst these noble vessels were getting under way, the Merrimac moved slowly onward on her mission of destruction. The Congress and Cumberland, meantime, prepared to meet the assaults of the Merrimac. The former mounted fifty guns; the latter twenty-four of heavy calibre. The Cumberland opened fire at about a mile distant; but the iron roofed monster gave no sign, until within 100 yards of the frigate. The broadsides of both the ships bounded harmlessly from the mailed sides of the Merrimac. Equally unavailing were the shots fired from the powerful battery at Newport News. Six or eight times the Cumberland repeated these broadsides from her massive guns, but to no purpose; a single shot, however, from the Merrimac killed five of her men.

* The navy department was quite freely censured for not being more attentive to the critical condition of affairs at Hampton Roads. It was well known that the Merrimac was all prepared to do her work; Gen. Wool had sent a carefully drawn up statement to the authorities at Washington respecting the monster ram, affirming as his conviction that nothing in the Roads could withstand her onset; and yet apparently no steps were taken to save the splendid vessels in the harbor, beyond ordering the Monitor to the scene of action. Providentially, the Monitor arrived before it was quite too late, and also proved equal to the fearful emergency. But see, for a defence of the navy department, Boynton's "*History of the Navy during the Rebellion*," vol. i., p. 317, etc.

Then came the fearful moment of trial. The Merrimac, sure of her prey, plunged headlong into the side of the helpless frigate. The iron horn or ram, striking her just forward the main chains, made a deep gash, knocking a hole in the side near the water line as large as the head of a hogshead, and driving her back upon her anchors with great force, while the water ran into her hold. Slowly drawing back, the Merrimac poured a broadside into the sinking ship. Still the Cumberland maintained the unequal contest. Officers and men without a single voice of dissent, resolved never to surrender to the rebels. They stood by their guns up to the last moment; the dead, and the dying, and the wounded, strewed all around; the shots of the enemy pouring in upon the sinking frigate; the vessel on fire in the forward part; all hope gone; yet the Cumberland waved no white flag of surrender. Down she sank, her hull grounding fifty-four feet below the surface; but her glorious flag still streamed at the topmast above the waves, and remained there long after the ram had departed. At the last, the men saved themselves as best they could; but many were drowned before a small steamer arrived from Newport News to their relief. Out of 376, officers and privates, 117 were known to be lost, about twenty-three were missing, and the rest were saved.*

The Merrimac had expended only about forty-five minutes in destroying the Cumberland, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, she was ready to complete the destruction of the Congress and the other vessels not far off. Seeing the fate of the Cumberland, the commander of the Congress set the jib and topsail, and with the assistance of a gunboat, ran the vessel ashore. **1862.** The Merrimac took a position astern, at a distance of about 150 yards, and raked the Congress fore and aft with shells, while one of the smaller steamers kept up a fire on her starboard quarter. The two stern guns of the Congress were her only means of defence. These were soon disabled, one being dismounted, and the other having its muzzle knocked away, by the terrible fire of the enemy.

Between four and five o'clock, Lieut. Smith, in command, was killed, and Lieut. Prendergrast, deeming it utterly useless to protract the fight, where his men were being slaughtered, and not a single gun could be brought to bear against the enemy, hauled down his flag, and surrendered to the Merrimac. A small tug came along side, and all were ordered out of the ship, as she was to be burned directly. Some of the troops on shore kept up a fire on the tug, and succeeded in driving her off; whereupon the Merrimac poured another broadside into the Congress, although the white flag was flying at her peak. With this inhuman act, the Congress was left to her fate; hour after hour she burned, lighting up the harbor till past midnight, when the magazine exploded, and the fragments of the lost frigate were scattered in every direction. There were 434,

* Lieut. Morris and the brave officers and men under his command, received the special acknowledgments and thanks of the navy department for "their courage and determination under the most disastrous and appalling circumstances."

officers and men, on the Congress; 136 were lost; the remainder were saved.

The Minnesota, one of the first-class vessels in the navy, was the next object of the Merrimac's attention. Late in the afternoon, accompanied by two steam tugs, she bore down upon the Minnesota. Fortunately, there was not sufficient depth of water to allow of her coming very near; so, taking a position a mile distant, on the starboard bow, she opened fire, but did not accomplish much by the operation. The Minnesota lay aground about two miles from Newport News; and the St. Lawrence, also anxious to join in the contest, was grounded near by. As there was no chance of these vessels getting away that night, and as the evening had already set in, the Merrimac steamed back to her anchorage, satisfied with what she had done, and waiting for the next day's light to prove further her powers of destructiveness. Two were reported to have been killed; Buchanan, the commander, and seven others wounded.

That was a gloomy Saturday night, not only to those in the vicinity of Fortress Monroe, but to every part of the country whither the electric telegraph conveyed the astounding news of the Merrimac's doings. The Cumberland was sunk in the waters, the Congress lay wrapped in flames, the Minnesota was helplessly imbedded in the sand, nothing appeared to be safe, for nothing on land or water seemed to be able to meet the terrible assaults of the Merrimac. It was at this point, when hope was well nigh gone, that the Monitor appeared on the scene of action; and providentially brought that help which none other was able to afford.

Untried, unknown, regarded with much doubt by many who were thought to be wise in such matters, this remarkable vessel arrived at Fortress Monroe, about ten o'clock in the evening. In every way a novelty; in appearance, not unlike what the Norfolk rebels termed her, "a Yankee cheese-box set on a raft;" and with hardly anything visible but a flat iron deck on the surface of the water, surmounted by a low round tower, pilot box, and smoke-pipe, few supposed the Monitor capable of performing what the next day fully proved her ability to do. With a hull impossible to be injured, and with a tower only ten feet high and twenty in diameter, revolving readily, and mounting two 11-inch guns, the Monitor was, in fact, a bomb-proof fort, of immense power and effectiveness.*

The Monitor was now emphatically on her trial trip. She had just been completed, had left New York under orders, on the 6th of March, and had arrived in Hampton Roads on the evening of the 8th. The passage was exceedingly rough and stormy, but the Monitor proved to be a capital sea boat, and all on board of her were eager to test her capabilities in a deadly grapple with the Merrimac. Captain Worden was directed to lay the Monitor along side the Minnesota, which he accord-

* For a full and carefully prepared account of ironed or armored vessels, in reference both to our own and to the navies of other nations, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*," pp. 604–628. See also the first volume of Boynton's "*History of the Navy during the Rebellion.*"

ingly did, reaching that position at two o'clock on Sunday morning.

At daylight, the Merrimac was astir again, ready to sweep from her path every obstacle, and expecting probably to clear the Roads entirely of the blockading fleet, if not to bombard and take Fortress Monroe itself. She had numerous attendants, even those who came merely to look on, and enjoy the sight of what the monster ram was to do in the way of ruin. The Monitor took her position at once in front of the Minnesota, and discharged one of her 11-inch Dahlgrens upon the Merrimac. It was an astounding challenge, like a pigmy assaulting a giant; but a hundred and sixty-eight pound shot was not to be despised, come from where it might, and so the Merrimac prepared to make short work of her diminutive assailant. It was soon found, however, that the Monitor was not easily to be beaten. Broadside after broadside produced no effect upon her; it was of no avail to attempt, as the Merrimac did, to run her down, and crush her in that way; the active Monitor, with her revolving battery ever pointing full upon the ram, poured forth shot incessantly upon the sides, at the bow and the stern, seeking some vulnerable spot. The contest raged for hours, when the Monitor withdrew for a space to hoist more shot into her turret. This being done, the fight was renewed; but the Merrimac was glad ere long to retire towards Sewall's Point. It needed no words to express the fact that she was badly beaten, and compelled to stop in her career. The Monitor did not pursue the fleeing vessel; she was under orders to act on the defensive; and as the lesson just given to the rebels was a severe one, it was thought that it would probably answer for the present.*

The Merrimac was seriously injured, but to what extent was not made public; the Monitor came out of the contest unharmed, except by a tremendous blow from a shot striking the pilot house. Capt. Worden, who was in the pilot house, directing the movements of the vessel, was stunned by the concussion, and for a time partially blinded. On rallying, he was greeted with the cheering news that the Minnesota was safe, and the Merrimac driven off to her rebel home.†

Gen. Shields, with his division at Winchester (see p. 131), having ascertained, March 19th, that Jackson was strongly posted near Mount Jackson, resolved to try and draw him out by a feigned retreat, and thus fight him to greater advantage. **1862.** The troops were sent off towards Cen-

* Mr. A. C. Stimers, chief engineer of the United States service, was on board the Monitor as government inspector. He wrote a spirited letter on the day of the fight to Captain Ericsson, the inventor, lauding the Monitor in high terms:—"I congratulate you," he said, "upon your great success. Thousands have this day blessed you. I have heard whole crews cheer you. Every man feels that you have saved this place to the nation by furnishing us with the means to whip an iron-clad frigate, that was, until our arrival, having it all her own way with our most powerful vessels." For an interesting account of Mr. Ericsson's life and labors, see Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. ii., pp. 308–312.

† In order to complete the history of the Merrimac's career, we may mention here, that, on the 11th of April, she appeared again in Hampton Roads, and captured a few small vessels; and on the 11th of May, she was blown up by her officers in the Elizabeth River, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Union forces. The Monitor, to the deep regret of all loyal men, was lost in a violent gale off the coast of North Carolina, Dec. 31st, 1862.

treville, leaving Ashby's cavalry, who were on the lookout, to suppose that Winchester was being evacuated. On the 22d of March, a skirmish took place near Winchester, during which Shields was badly wounded in the left arm. During the night, a strong force was placed in advance, on the Strasburg road, in a masked, admirably protected position, near Kernstown. The next day, Jackson's troops made an attack upon our men, endeavoring to turn Shields's left flank; but they were repulsed after a severe struggle. An attack was then made on our right, with desperate energy and determination; it was, however, met with equal spirit and bravery; Tyler's brigade dashed forward to carry the enemy's batteries, and hurl his left flank back upon the centre. Jackson, with his supposed invincible stone-wall brigade and the accompanying brigades, were compelled to fall back upon their reserve. They made an attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day; but were not able to stand the fire of our men. They speedily fled in disorder, leaving Shields in possession of the field, the killed and wounded, 300 prisoners, two guns, four caisons, and 1,000 stand of small arms.

Too fatigued to pursue the enemy that night, Shields prepared for the next day's work, whether a renewal of the fight with Jackson reinforced, or a driving him into flight. On the 24th of March, the rebels retreated, and during the following week, were pursued to Woodstock, and thence to Edenburg, about twenty miles beyond Strasburg. Skirmishing was kept up by Ashby's cavalry, which protected Jackson's retreat.

This victory was highly commended by the authorities as "auspicious and decisive," and it served to elevate the spirits of the people in view of the campaign now just being entered upon. Gen. Shields's force was between 7,000 and 8,000; his loss was 103 killed, 440 wounded, twenty-four missing. The rebels numbered about 10,000; their loss in killed and wounded was over 1,000.

In carrying forward the plan of the campaign indicated on p. 129, troops were embarked, during the latter part of March, from Alexandria for Fortress Monroe. The transports supplied were found to be insufficient, and there was much delay in getting the troops to their destination. Heintzelman's corps led the way, and landed on the Peninsula, March 23d. Other detachments followed, as rapidly as means of transportation allowed. Gen. McClellan, expecting to have the support of the four army corps, directed that the first corps (McDowell's), be embarked last, intending to use it in mass on either bank of the York River, according as seemed best. He left Washington, April 1st, and arrived at Fortress Monroe the next day. Blenker's division of 10,000 men had been withdrawn, despite his protest, March 31st, to reinforce Fremont;* at the same time, McClellan was allowed to detain him a while at Strasburg, until Jackson was disposed of. As an offset

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* Under date, March 31st, the president wrote to McClellan, "I felt *constrained* to order Blenker's division to Fremont;" and some days later, April 9th, he wrote, "you know the *pressure* under which I withdrew Blenker's division." What the constraint or pressure was, in how far it was political, personal, or otherwise, is not explained. The reader must judge for himself.

to this, some 10,000 men, under Wool at Fortress Monroe, were placed at McClellan's disposal, at first; but on April 3d, he was forbidden to use them without Wool's sanction. "This order," McClellan remarks, in his report, "left me without any base of operations under my control, and to this day I am ignorant of the causes which led to it."

Very little information was obtained at Fortress Monroe as to the position of affairs on the Peninsula, and the topography of the region had to be learned by experience, rather than by previous surveys or maps. The navy also, it was found, was too busy in looking after the Merrimac and rebel gunboats, to be able to give any of that support on which McClellan had counted, in operating against Yorktown and Gloucester. His plan was, as he says, by rapid movements to drive before him or capture the enemy on the Peninsula, open the James River, and press on to Richmond, before the rebels should be materially reinforced from other quarters. But McClellan's plans were not carried out as he intended, because, as he asserts, the means necessary were taken away from him. The army was put in immediate movement against the enemy's works, at various points between Fortress Monroe and Yorktown. Heavy rains had made the roads bad, and although the rebels abandoned some points, yet, when Gen. Keyes reached Lee's Mills, he found the post too strong to be carried, as he had been directed, by assault. Heintzelman arrived in front of Yorktown on the afternoon of April 5th; both columns having been exposed to a warm artillery fire during the advance.

It was at this point, while thus engaged, McClellan received an order, dated April 4th, from the president, detaching McDowell's corps from his command. Although done under the impression that it was essential to the safety of Washington against rebel assaults, it proved a severe disappointment to McClellan; it rendered him powerless, as he says, to turn Yorktown by West Point, and left him no choice but to attack the place directly in front with such force as he had under his command.* In his report, McClellan affirms positively that Mr. Lincoln, when withdrawing Blenker's division, had assured him that no other interference of any kind would be made with the proposed operations on the Peninsula; and he goes on to say that he was shocked at this order, that it marred all his expectations, that, in short, "it was a *fatal error*." Careful reconnaissances were made for several days, and developed the serious difficulties in the way of our advance, as it had to be forced through dense forests, deep swamps, flooded roads, and the like. On examination by McClellan himself, it was concluded not to risk an immediate assault upon the extensive fortifications which protected so fully Yorktown and Gloucester. From the first arrival of our troops before Yorktown, there was

* There is a curious question as to a matter of fact, which one would suppose not difficult to settle. It is instructive as well as curious, and may give the reader an idea how hard it is to attain positive accuracy where numbers are concerned. The president and secretary of war said that McClellan, according to his own returns had, April 7th, 108,000 men for the peninsular campaign. McClellan declared that at that date, 85,000 was the extent of his force all counted. Rather a large difference that of 23,000!

more or less skirmishing of the sharpshooters with the enemy in their entrenchments in front of the Union line. Heavy rain storms, unusual for the season, aggravated the ordinary difficulties of a campaign in a strange region; and the ground, imperfectly drained, would have rendered an advance entirely impracticable, had not some Maine and Michigan regiments constructed, with great toil, a series of corduroy roads, over which the artillery could be transported.

The rebel General Magruder had some 10,000 men at Yorktown, and could be reinforced at any time directly from Richmond, and was reinforced largely so soon as our army appeared. It was, therefore, prudent, if not necessary, on McClellan's part, to take the course which he did; although there were many who held, that a bold dash at the outset would have given him possession of Yorktown.

The impatience of the public, demanding greater activity and speedy results, was shown in various ways. The president was deeply affected by it, and under date of April 9th, closed an urgent letter to McClellan as follows:—"I suppose the whole force which has gone forward to you is with you by this time, and if so, I think it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. . . . . Let me tell you that it is indispensable to *you* that you strike a blow. *I* am powerless to help this. . . . . The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an entrenched position is but the story of Manassas repeated. I beg to assure you that I have never written you, or spoken to you, in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you, so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can. But *you must act*."*

1862.

Siege operations were pushed forward vigorously and as rapidly as possible; batteries were erected to silence the enemy's guns, and drive them from the works at Wynn's and Lee's Mills; and active reconnaissances were kept up continually in every direction. On the 16th of April, Gen. W. F. Smith, with a brigade of Vermont troops, advanced to a point, thought to be the weakest of that part of the enemy's lines, about a mile above Lee's Mills, where there was a dam covered by a battery. The rebel fort was silenced in about two hours; and an attempt was made to carry the entrenchments; but without success. On the 18th of April, a portion of McDowell's corps, under Gen. Augur, made an advance upon Fredericksburg, and drove the enemy, some 3,000 in number, a running fight being kept up at the same time. The rebels burned two bridges and a number of vessels on the Rappahannock; and the authorities formally surrendered the town. The same day an advance was accomplished by some of Banks's force, who took possession of New Market, near Manassas.

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* McClellan, in his report, is confident that the president, if he knew the actual position of affairs, would not deem an attack at all safe, at that time. He also says, "still less could I forego the conclusions of my most instructed judgment for the mere sake of avoiding the personal consequences intimated in the president's dispatch."

The steady progress of the siege works, under the superintendence of Gen. Fitz John Porter, and the certainty that within a few days the assault would be made with success, led the rebels to the conclusion that Yorktown must be evacuated. With their usual skill in concealing their designs, keeping up a vigorous and noisy fire, during the early days of May, they made their preparations, and on the 3d and 4th of the month abandoned all their works. The next day McClellan purposed to assault Yorktown, which now became needless. The advantage was on the enemy's side, they having stopped our progress a whole month, and having had the opportunity, meanwhile, of strengthening their position in and about Richmond.

Thus far, certainly, the president's earnest and peremptory injunction to McClellan, "you must act," had not resulted in the successes which the public voice called for, and which the government was exceedingly desirous to attain, at the earliest possible moment.

CHAPTER XII.

1862.

ISLAND NO. 10: SHILOH, OR PITTSBURG LANDING: CONGRESS IN SESSION.

Rebel fortifications on the Mississippi — Importance of the river — Island No. 10 — Strongly fortified — Gen Pope at New Madrid — Works there — Occupies Mount Pleasant — Attack on New Madrid — Rebels retreat — Commodore Foote and his flotilla — Begins bombardment of Island No. 10 — Pope's plans and operations — Canal made for crossing peninsula — Very toilsome work — Gunboat Carondelet runs the enemy's batteries — Bombardment continued — Pope's troops cross the Mississippi — Rebels give up in despair — Surrender — Chagrin of rebel authorities — Vast amount of supplies, etc., taken — Foote and Island No. 10 — Advance of Grant's army in Tennessee — Beauregard at Corinth, Mississippi — The two armies — Confederate line of defence — Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing — Beauregard and Johnston determine to attack him before Buell arrives — Battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing — First day's fight — Union army nearly ruined — Buell arrives at night — The next day the rebels beaten and driven back to Corinth — Hugeness of the conflict and terrible slaughter — Thanks to the army — Halleck assumes command — His plans — Congress in session — Tone and spirit of the majority — Slavery abolished in District of Columbia — The bill and message of the president — Slavery abolished in the territories of the United States — Mr. Lincoln's views as to compensated emancipation — President authorized to take possession of roads, etc., in certain cases — Great financial measure — Legal tender question — Issue of treasury notes — Confederate Congress at Richmond — Its proceedings, views of its members, etc.

As has been already pointed out, the confederate leaders clearly perceived the importance of the Mississippi to their plans, and, as rapidly as possible, they had carefully and skilfully fortified all the principal strategic points from the Ohio to the Gulf, a distance of nearly 1,000 miles. Beginning with Columbus in Kentucky, at Island No. 10, dividing the stream at the northern border of Tennessee, at Memphis and its vicinity, at Vicksburg, and

elsewhere, to New Orleans, above and below that city, the rebels had been at work, excavating the hill-sides for batteries, throwing up trenches, mounting cannon on the heights, preparing mines on the banks and torpedoes for the channel; and using every possible means to obstruct the advance of our armies. It was, therefore, a matter of necessity on our part to open the Mississippi, as well for the commercial interests of the great West, as to cripple most effectually the purposes of the leaders in rebellion.

The energy and activity of our military and naval forces under Buell, Grant, Foote, etc., had driven the rebels to abandon not only Nashville and Bowling Green, but also Columbus, "the northern key to the Mississippi delta," as it was called. Still, **1862.** our success, great as it had been, was only a step in the onward progress down the Mississippi. Island No. 10 was the next formidable obstacle in the way of further advance; and the rebels were determined to make here a bold stand. This Island No. 10, about forty miles below Cairo, is situated at the bottom of a great bend of the Mississippi, where the stream, in a sharp curve, sweeps around a tongue of land projecting from the Missouri shore, and, pursuing thence a north-westerly course to New Madrid, on the western bank, descends past a similar narrow promontory of Tennessee soil, on its great southerly track. The distance across the upper end of the first promontory, four miles above the island, to New Madrid is six miles, and by the river is fifteen. The passage across the second promontory is five miles, while by water it is twenty-seven. On the Tennessee shore was a great swamp, cutting off communication with the interior, so that the garrison at the island had to depend mainly, if not wholly, for its supplies, reinforcements, and way of escape, if necessary, upon the river. All help from the Missouri shore was cut off by our troops, under Pope, having occupied and secured it.

Pope began his march, Feb. 22d, from Commerce above Cairo, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and after a slow and painful advance, owing to the deep mud and sloughs, arrived at New Madrid on the 3d of March. He found the place occupied by regiments of infantry and several companies of artillery. The fortifications consisted of earthworks mounting over twenty guns, with lines of entrenchments. Six gun boats, carrying from four to eight heavy guns each, were anchored along the shore between the upper and lower redoubts. As the country was level for miles around, and the river so high that the guns of the boats looked directly over the banks, Pope found the approaches to the town commanded for some seven miles by direct and cross fire from at least sixty guns of heavy calibre.

Point Pleasant, twelve miles below, was first occupied by direction of Pope, so as to blockade the river from below. This was accomplished by Col. Plummer, despite the cannonading of the enemy's gun boats. The rebels made great efforts to strengthen New Madrid, in order to hold Island No. 10; but so soon as Pope got his heavy siege guns, (March 12th), they were placed in posi-

tion, and in the course of a day's cannonading proved that the town must be given up. The rebels hastily retreated during the night, leaving behind a large quantity of stores, artillery, etc.

On the same day, March 13th, that New Madrid was captured, Commodore Foote left Cairo with a fleet, including seven iron-clads and ten mortar boats, and having been joined at Columbus by Col. Buford with his regiment and other troops, some 1,500 in all, he moved down the river, and took possession of Hickman, on the Kentucky shore. The next day, the expedition approached Island No. 10; reconnaissances were made along the shores; the mortar vessels were placed in position; and everything was prepared for the attack. A bombardment was begun, on Sunday the 16th; but with no particular result, except trying the range of the guns on both sides. The next day, another vigorous attempt was made by the gun boats and mortar vessels, which kept up a continuous fire all the afternoon upon the island and water batteries of the rebels. The day's work, however, was not encouraging, and it became quite evident that Island No. 10, and its bulwarks, could not easily be taken by assault from the gun boats; other help was needed from another quarter before the place could be captured.

1862.

Pope's operations were expected to render this aid. His object was to cut off the escape of the rebels by the only way left to them, viz., across the Tennessee peninsula, a few miles to Tiptonville, below New Madrid, whence they might readily reach Memphis or its vicinity. To accomplish his object, Pope needed only the means of crossing the river, and bringing his forces face to face with the enemy from below. At first, a road was thought of through the swamps to a point on the Missouri shore opposite Island No. 10. This being impracticable, a canal was projected, by which steam transports could be brought from above across the Missouri peninsula to New Madrid below.

The canal was a serious piece of work and occupied a much longer time than was expected; but Colonel Bissel and his regiment of engineers overcame all difficulties, and finally succeeded. It was twelve miles long, six of which were through very heavy timber, requiring great exposure and privation in cutting the way through. It was completed April 4th, and was highly praised as a monument of enterprise and skill.

Foote, meanwhile, was not idle or inefficient. The firing was regularly kept up, and on the night of April 1st, in the midst of a furious storm, battery No. 1 of the enemy, which had been particularly annoying to our boats, was taken by assault. The rebels, however, retreated without contesting the possession of the fort. On consideration, Foote determined to allow one of the gun boats to run the batteries. On the night of the 3d of April, in a furious storm of lightning and thunder, the gun boat Carondelet, Captain Walke, passed the entire series of rebel batteries, without returning a shot, and receiving their concentrated fire. Strange to tell, the Carondelet passed in safety, and was received with much enthusiasm

by our troops at New Madrid. Three days afterwards, another gun boat accomplished the same feat in safety. On the morning of the 4th of April, the heavy floating battery of the rebels at Island No. 10, having been fired upon for more than an hour by three of our boats, cut loose from its mooring, and drifted two or three miles down the river.

On the 7th of April, Paine's division, in the steam transports, preceded by the gun boats, crossed the Mis- 1862. sissipi. The rebels, finding the case hopeless, attempted to retreat during the afternoon and night; but early on the 8th, ascertaining that they were completely cut off, they laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. Colonel Elliott proceeded at once to take possession of the works on the Tennessee shore, opposite Island No. 10, and to save, if possible, several steamers belonging to the rebels. This he accomplished, and brought in besides some 200 prisoners.

Pope, in his report, dilates upon the greatness of his success. "Three generals, 273 field and company officers, 6,700 prisoners, 123 pieces of heavy artillery, all of the very best character and latest patterns, 7,000 stand of small arms, an immense quantity of ammunition of all kinds, etc., are among the spoils. The conduct of the troops was splendid throughout, as the results of this operation and its whole progress very clearly exhibit. We have crossed the great river, the banks of which were lined with batteries and defended by 7,000 men; we have pursued and captured the whole force of the enemy, and all his supplies and material of war; and have again recrossed and occupied the camp at New Madrid, without losing a man or meeting with an accident."

Foote, on his part, was, on the 7th of April, visited by some rebel officers, who surrendered Island No. 10 to the commander of the fleet. Immediate possession was taken of the island. Communication was then had with Pope, and a safe opportunity was afforded for investigating the extent of the military preparations of the enemy, the forts and batteries, which it had required twenty-three days of persistent efforts, on land and water, effectually to overcome.*

In pushing forward operations in the South-west, it was of prime importance to effect a junction of the forces under Gens. Grant and Buell, on 1862. the upper waters of the Tennessee River, so as to cut off the rebel communications with the South and East. Nashville had been occupied as we have seen, (p. 116), Columbus had been evacuated, and Island No. 10 was certain to be captured in a short time; hence, by advancing our forces to Corinth, in Mississippi, where was

* Pollard states that Beauregard was charged with preparing the defences for Island No. 10, and the Mississippi River generally. He, and the South everywhere, were sure that the position was impregnable, and the daily bulletins respecting the progress of affairs a the island confirmed that notion. When the news of its fall did come, it came upon the southern peopl from northern sources, and the mortification, astonish ment and keen appreciation of their loss are forcibly depicted by Pollard. "There could be no excuse for the wretched management and infamous scenes that attend ed the evacuation. . . . . No single battle field had yet afforded to the North such visible fruit of victory as had been gathered at Island No. 10." Pollard states that the total number of prisoners taken was not more than 2,000.—"*First Year of the War*," pp. 291–294.

the junction of the Memphis and Charleston, and the Mobile and Ohio Railroads, the conquest of Memphis would be greatly facilitated, and another valuable point on the Mississippi River secured. A bold step it was, indeed, from Bowling Green, in Kentucky, to the northern boundaries of Mississippi and Alabama. Yet it was accomplished, and in the course of a month, Tennessee being firmly held by the Union army, our energetic commanders in the West were advancing against the new lines of the enemy's defence in the states bordering on the Gulf.

Beauregard, aware of the momentous issue at stake, concentrated all his available forces at and around Corinth, with Gens. A. S. Johnston, Polk, Bragg and Hardee to aid and support his plans, and with an army more than 40,000 in number, in the highest state of efficiency, to resist the progress of our advancing host. It was not unnatural that he should expect to be able to rout the Union army at Pittsburg Landing before it could be reinforced by Buell. Grant, who had in charge the important movement now on foot, had also a number of distinguished officers in his command, as W. T. Sherman, McClernand, C. F. Smith, Wallace, etc.; his army, too, numbering about 30,000, was as brave a body of troops as could be desired, when work was to be done which required steadiness, and the higher soldierly qualities. On the 11th of March, the transport steamers began to arrive at Savannah on the Tennessee River, with the advance division of the army. The gun boats, the next day, proceeded some forty miles up the river to reconnoitre, going as far as Eastport, and finding the rebels engaged in erecting fortifications wherever they could.

The enemy's line of defence had for its base the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, the preservation of which was absolutely necessary to enable the rebels to hold Northern Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. East of Corinth were several important points on this road, as Chattanooga, Huntsville, Tuscumbia, Florence, etc.; westwardly, the road runs in a direct line to Memphis, ninety-three miles distant. The Union line was the Tennessee River, extending from Paducah in Kentucky, to Eastport in Mississippi. The gun boats were kept moving up and down the river to prevent the erection of batteries by the rebels, and were of special service to Grant's plans.

By the middle of March, all of the troops under Grant had arrived at Savannah, when an advance was made seven miles to Pittsburg Landing. Wallace's division landed on the left bank of the river, marched to Purdy, about fifteen miles to the west, and destroyed the railroad bridge and part of the railroad from Humboldt to Corinth, cutting off a train laden with rebel troops. On the night of the 16th, an expedition started for the purpose of intercepting communication on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. They met the enemy's cavalry in the woods, and a sharp skirmish ensued; after which our men returned to Pittsburg Landing.

Buell, not being able to advance into

BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE.

RECAPTURE OF ARTILLERY BY A PORTION OF GEN. ROSSEAU'S COMMAND.

Northern Alabama, in columns, as he proposed, was ordered to join Grant and co-operate with him in attacking and driving Beauregard out of Corinth. Buell left Nashville on the 28th of March, and his army took the road overland from Columbia to Savannah, some eighty miles distant. By the junction of his forces with those of Grant there would be an army of about 100,000 men, ready to crush any resistance the rebel leaders might be able to offer.

Beauregard, as we have intimated, felt the necessity of striking a blow before Buell's arrival. He did every thing he could to rouse the spirit of his troops; as did also Johnston, who took command of the entire force at Corinth, numbering between 40,000 and 45,000 men. Some delays occurred; but, early in April, hearing, as he phrases it, "from a reliable quarter," that Buell was near at hand, it was resolved to hurry forward the movement against Grant. Johnston issued an animated address to the troops, filled with the usual incentives to action, and urging them to "march to a decisive victory over agrarian mercenaries, sent to subjugate and despoil them of their liberties, property and honor." The troops were arranged in three corps, under Polk, Bragg and Hardee, Beauregard being second in command.

1862.

Pittsburg Landing is about eighteen miles from Corinth, and it was expected by Johnston and Beauregard that they would be able to reach the Union lines and make an attack early on April 5th; but the badness of the roads hindered their advance considerably, and it was not till the next morning, Sunday, April 6th, that the rebel army began the assault. The five divisions of Grant's forces, numbering between 30 and 40,000 men, were posted on the left bank of the Tennessee, in a semi-circular outline around Pittsburg Landing, waiting, with some anxiety, for Buell's arrival.

Before daylight, the pickets were driven in, and the rebel columns pressed forward upon our men. Sherman, with his widely extended brigade in the front, bore the brunt of the attack. Advised of the enemy's approach by their assault upon his advanced guard, he ordered under arms all his division, and sent word to McClernand, asking him to support the left; to Prentiss, giving him notice that the enemy was in force on the front, and to Hurlbut asking him to support Prentiss. The four brigades of Sherman's division were stationed to the right and left of Shiloh Church, which he regarded as the centre of his position. Two batteries of artillery were posted, one at Shiloh, the other on a bridge to the left, and some cavalry and infantry were placed in a large open field to the left and rear of the church.

Hour after hour the raging contest went forward. The rebels pressed heavily upon the Union left, and pushed it back. Soon the same result happened to the front and right. In some cases, our troops became panic-stricken, and brought discredit upon their name and position; but, as a whole, they fought stubbornly, and resisted the enemy's assaults with all their might. Yet, they were not able to withstand

the force of the rebel attack. Prentiss, and 2,000 of his men, were made prisoners; the camps of every division except Smith's, commanded by Wallace, were occupied by the rebels; nearly half the field artillery was lost; and our whole force was pressed back upon the ravine near the Landing, where, by one final rush, the enemy hoped to push them into the river and compel them to surrender.*

This was in the latter part of the afternoon, and had it not been for the opportune aid afforded by the gun boats, which brought their fire to bear upon the rebel batteries, and also for the arrival of the advance of Buell's army, late in the day, it is almost certain that Grant would have been utterly routed. As it was, however, night came on; the battle ceased; the rebels were worn down with fatigue; and Grant and Buell, with new and fresh forces, prepared for the morrow. Having the ability now, they determined to reverse the order of the day previous, and become the attacking instead of the attacked army.

Very early on the morning of the 7th of April, our forces were in motion. The men, reinspirited by new troops being brought into the field, resolved to redeem, on Monday, the losses of the day before. The rebels, though, as Beauregard says, "not in condition to cope with an equal force of fresh troops, armed and equipped like our adversary, in the immediate possession of his depots, and sheltered by such an auxiliary as the enemy's gun boats," still made a determined resistance. 1862. They fought bravely and steadily throughout the earlier part of the day. The victory, however, could not long remain in doubt; most of the camps were recovered; the artillery again fell into our hands; and the insurgent leaders gave up the contest. Early in the afternoon, they began to retire, and by four o'clock, they were driven from the field. The pursuit was kept up until night came on, when our men returned to camp.

In this hotly contested battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, the slaughter on both sides was fearful. The rebel General Johnston, with a number of other officers, were killed; Beauregard gave as their total loss, 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, 959 missing; total, 10,699. On our part, the losses were: Gen. Wallace mortally wounded, besides a number of other officers killed and wounded, 1,614 killed, 7,721 wounded, 3,963 missing; total, 13,508. The rebels left between 2,000 and 3,000 dead on the field when they retreated; the bodies were buried, by order of Grant, at the same time that our own dead were consigned to their graves.

The war department issued a bulletin, April 9th, highly praising "Generals Grant and Buell and their forces, for the glorious repulse of Beauregard at Pittsburg, in Tennessee;" and the pre-

* Beauregard, in his report, sharply censures a portion of his army for their unworthy conduct, when the Union camps fell into their hands: "some officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, abandoned their colors early in the first day, to pillage the captured encampments; others retired shamefully from the field, on both days, while the thunder of cannon, and the roar and rattle of musketry told them that their brothers were being slaughtered by the fresh legions of the enemy."

sident, the next day, appointed a thanksgiving for the "signal victories of the land and naval forces engaged in suppressing an internal rebellion," and called upon the people to "invoke reverently the Divine guidance for our national counsels." Beauregard, on his part, endeavoring to make the best of matters, issued an address to his soldiers, in which he spoke in exalted terms of their bravery and their great success.

Halleck, directly after the news reached him of this important victory, set out from St. Louis, and on his arrival at Pittsburg Landing, took command of the army. On the 22d of April, Gen. Pope with his division, numbering 25,000, arrived at the Landing, from New Madrid. The army was thus increased to 108,000 men, and Halleck, placing Grant on the right wing, Buell in the centre, and Pope on the left wing, made preparations for an immediate advance upon Beauregard at Corinth; the narrative of which, however, we shall defer to a subsequent chapter.

Meanwhile, amid the din of war and the terrible lessons of the battle field, Congress (see p. 105) had been pursuing its work with an earnest purpose rightly to fulfil its high mission in the existing crisis. The war, of course, in its various aspects and relations, formed the main subject of discussion; and Congress, as expressing the voice of the nation, gave clear evidence that, whatever differences there might be on minor, subsidary questions, whatever sacrifices there might be demanded, one result alone would be satisfactory to the people, viz., the suppression of the rebellion, and the restoration of the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

1862.

We shall not attempt to go into details; we have no room to quote from the speeches of the members of Congress on the all-engrossing topics of the day; we can but sum up the chief results, and refer the reader, who is curious as to what was said, to the volumes containing the debates in Congress during the present session. The republicans, being largely in the majority, never seem to have lost sight of the anti-slavery portion of their avowed political principles. The members from the border states, being slave-holders themselves, and convinced of the lawfulness of the institution and its necessity to the interests of the South, resisted strenuously every movement looking towards interference with, or extinction of slavery. Senator Trumbull's bill for the confiscation of rebel property, and giving freedom to their slaves, was a decided step forward; and before the session closed, it was followed by others still more significant.

A bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was introduced into the House, early in the session, and having been referred to the committee on the District, was reported favorably upon, March 12th. The Senate also took up the same subject, which was referred to the committee on the District, who reported a bill with amendments, in February. This was discussed during the following month. The usual arguments on both sides were gone over; the border state members

opposed it vigorously; efforts were made to fasten on to the bill a compulsory colonizing of the negroes, but to no purpose; the majority were resolved upon their course, and would not agree to any such restriction.* The bill passed the Senate, April 3d, by a vote of 29 to 14; in the House discussion was not protracted, and on the 11th, it passed by a vote of 92 to 38. As thus adopted by both Houses, the bill declared the immediate abolition of slavery in the District; provided means for the colonization of the free blacks, if desired by them; and appropriated $1,000,000 to compensate the owners of slaves, at a rate not exceeding $300 for each.

1862.

On the 16th of April, President Lincoln sent a brief message to Congress, expressing his approval of the act or bill, and especially "that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in this act."†

Following upon emancipation in the District of Columbia, was the passage of an act removing slavery from the territories of the United States. It was introduced into the House, March 24th, as a measure to render freedom national, and slavery sectional; and was taken up for discussion, May 9th, in the midst of exciting, encouraging news from New Orleans. Pro-slavery sympathizers, like Cox of Ohio, groaned over "the whole negro business. Heaven is sick," he exclaimed, "and earth is weary, of this damnable and dangerous iteration." On the 12th of May, the bill passed the House by a vote of 85 to 50; the Senate passed the bill, January 9th, by a vote of 28 to 10. As finally adopted it was "An act to secure freedom to all persons within the territories of the United States."

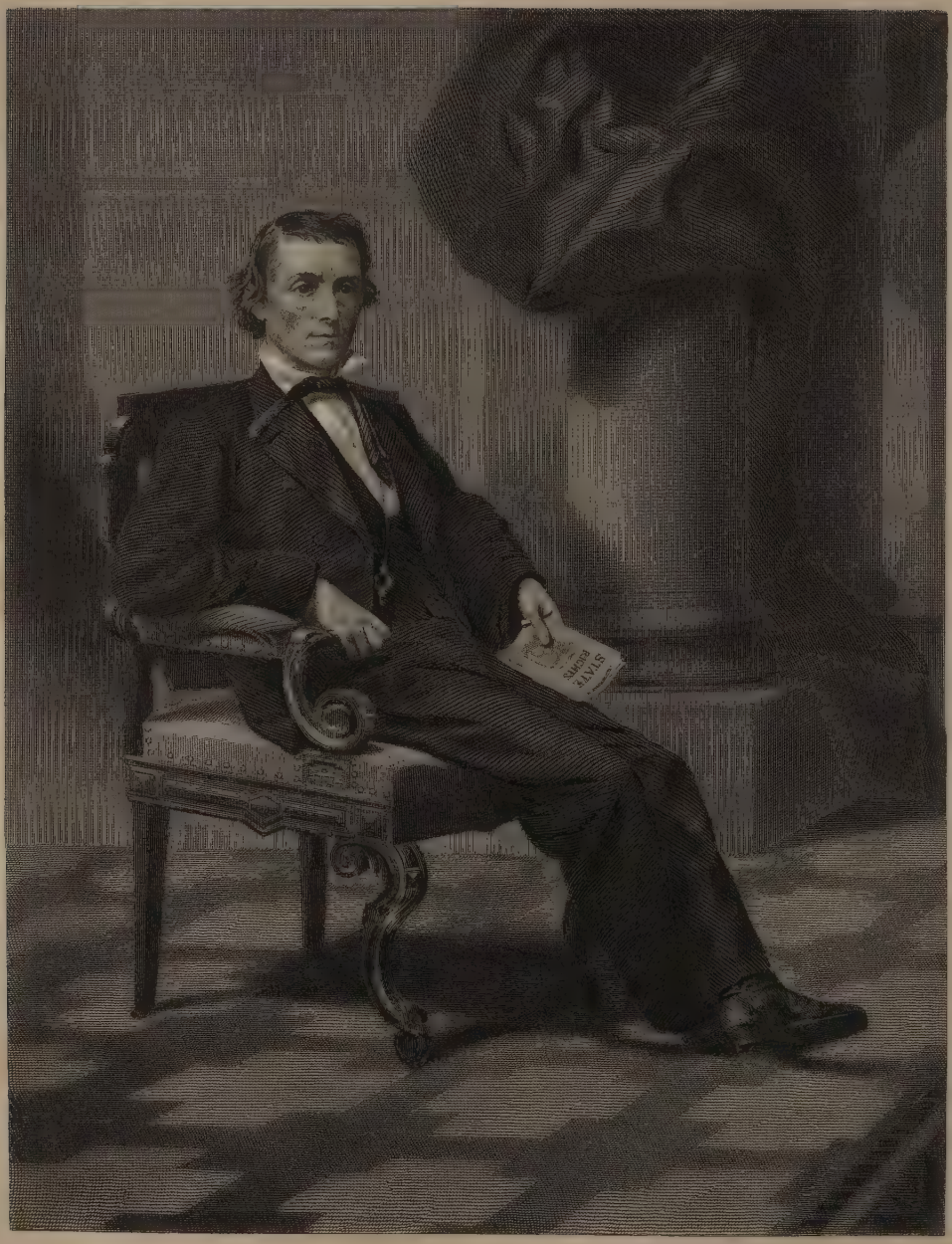
1862.

President Lincoln, feeling deeply the pressure of the slavery question, and as yet not being able to see his way out of the difficulty, was anxious to make trial of a system of compensated emancipation, especially in the border states, in the hope that through them a powerful influence might be brought to bear upon the states further south. It was his hope also, that the war would sooner come to a conclusion by adopting such a course. On the 6th of March, he sent a message to Congress, asking the following resolution to be passed: "*Resolved*, That the United States ought to co-operate with any state which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system." The resolution was adopted in the House, March 11th, in the Senate, April 2d, by large majorities.

At the close of the month of January, the bill authorizing the president of the

* For Senator Sumner's "Resolutions declaratory of the relations between the United States and the territory once occupied by certain states, and now usurped by pretended governments, without constitutional or legal right," offered, February 11th, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*," 1862, p. 345.

† Action was speedily taken for the benefit of the negroes thus made free in the District. Educational measures, especially primary schools, were organized, as soon as possible, there being more than 3,000 children to be provided for. Every thing which was proper was done, on a liberal scale, to secure them the advantages which the blacks had long enjoyed in the free states. See McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 211–212.



Alexander H. Stephens

United States in certain cases to take possession of railroads and telegraph lines, was taken up and debated. It was strongly urged, on the one hand, as a military necessity, essential in the present juncture; on the other, it was resisted, as giving the president a despotic power dangerous to place in any man's hands. The bill, however, passed, January 31st, and became a law.

On the 17th of January, the bill for the issue of treasury notes came up in the House. This was, and was felt to be, a very important measure, and it was long and ardently discussed by some of the ablest members of the House. Many denied entirely the power of Congress to make paper money a legal tender, and much eloquent declamation was bestowed upon the unconstitutionality of giving the treasury notes this character and value. But the majority in the House thought otherwise, and they argued, just as strongly, that the measure was a wise, judicious and excellent one; and, moreover, as the government could not be carried on without money, it was a necessity to give it the power sought for in this bill. The bill was accordingly passed by a vote of 93 to 59. In February, the Senate took up the bill. A motion was made to strike out the legal tender clause, but it did not prevail; and the bill finally passed, February 25th, by a vote of 30 to 7.

1862.

By this important financial measure, there was authorized the issue of $150,000,000, of United States notes of denominations not less than five dollars each, not bearing interest, and creating the same a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports, and payments by the government of interest on bonds and notes, which was required to be paid in coin. This new "circulation" was to be received by the government in payment for any loans which might be negotiated by the secretary of the treasury. To fund the debt thus created and enlarged, the issue of coupon or registered bonds, to the amount of $500,000,000, bearing six per cent. interest, and redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years, and payable twenty years from date, was authorized. All bonds, stocks, and other securities of the United States, held within the country, were, by the act, to be exempt from taxation by or under state authority.

In connection with the proceedings of the national legislature, we may briefly note here what the Confederate Congress, at Richmond, was doing at this time. The ten states actually in rebellion were represented; there were also persons professing to represent Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. Vice-president Stephens presided in the Senate; Mr. Bocock, of Virginia, was elected speaker of the House. All the important measures in this and subsequent sessions of the Confederate Congress were discussed and determined on with closed doors, and no reports of speeches or votes were made public. Occasionally, however, an open session was held, and the views and opinions of some of the members became more or less known.

1862.

Some members of the rebel congress urged the "carrying the war into

Africa," as the only pathway to success, and were very severe upon the policy of defence alone.* Others thought that the government knew best what to do, and were fully competent to manage matters, and so they were in favor of leaving the entire conduct of the war in the government's hands. Strong resolutions were passed to continue the contest without flinching; and the cotton question, and how to deal with it, excited long and sharp debate. Gen. Huger and J. P. Benjamin were censured for the defeat at Roanoke. Appropriations were made for naval purposes; the conscription act was passed, April 16th, (see p. 117); England and other powers were spoken of with disgust, because of their not recognizing the "Confederacy," etc. On the 21st of April, the session closed, and the rebel congress adjourned to meet again in August.

* The rebel General Jackson advocated an invasion of the North as the speediest and most effective way in which to gain southern independence. His plan was, before the North had time to recover from the disaster at Manassas, to march into Pennsylvania, winter at Harrisburg, and in the spring of 1862 advance directly upon Philadelphia. He was very confident of success, and proposed his plan to the Richmond authorities, who gave it very curt treatment. Mr. Cooke says that Jackson never approved the defensive policy, and that "invasion of the North was his possessing thought, and became the dream of his life."—See Cooke's *"Life of Jackson,"* pp. 86–88.

CHAPTER XIII.

1862.

NAVAL OPERATIONS: CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Fort Pulaski — Preparations for bombarding it — Gen. Gilmore's order — Fire opened on the fort — Surrendered the next day — Rifled ordnance — Privateer Nashville slips out — Fort Macon — Assault determined on — Batteries erected — Surrender demanded — Fire opened — Fort taken — Gen. Reno's advance upon Camden, or South Mills — Blockade of the Mississippi — Importance of opening the river and taking New Orleans — Ship Island occupied — Value of this spot — Gen. Phelps and his proclamation — Biloxi occupied — Other troops under Butler arrive, some 14,000 in all — Farragut in charge of naval part of the expedition — Size and extent of his force — Rebel preparations — Forts Jackson and St. Philip — Strength of the forts — The mortar flotilla under Porter — Bombardment begun — Chain across the river broken — After six days steady firing, Farragut determines to run past the forts — Two divisions of six gunboats, one for each fort — Farragut's statements — Great panic in New Orleans — Farragut sails up the river and anchors opposite the city — Excitement and behavior of the authorities and people — Mayor Monroe's letter — United States flag hoisted on the mint — Pulled down by a man named Mumford — The man afterwards hung — Further operations against the forts — Butler and his troops — Both forts surrendered — Infamous conduct of rebel naval officer — Immense importance of the capture of New Orleans — Value to the cause of the Union — Severity of the blow to the rebels.

Fort Pulaski, of whose position we have spoken, on a previous page (see p. 125), is a very important fortification at the mouth of the Savannah River. It has five sides or faces, including the gorge; is casemated on all sides; has walls seven and a half feet thick, and twenty-five feet high above high water; and is surrounded by a wet ditch forty-eight feet wide. 1862.

At the time of the siege the fort contained forty-eight guns, of which twenty bore upon the batteries on Tybee.

Gen. Gilmore, who had superintended the engineering operations thus far, was now ordered to Big Tybee Island, to complete the investment by stopping the water communication from the south, and to commence operations for the bombardment of the fort. A battery on a hulk, in a creek forming the inner boundary of Tybee Island, served the purpose of cutting off rebel intercourse from below. On the 21st of February, ordnance and stores began to arrive in Tybee Roads; and from that time until the 9th of April, all the troops on Tybee Island, consisting of several regiments of infantry and artillery, were constantly engaged in landing and transporting ordnance, ordnance stores, and battery materials, making fascines and roads, etc. With immense labor, patiently gone through with by the men, eleven batteries, havan armament of thirty-six large and very heavy pieces in all, were placed on the northern side of the island, at points from a mile to two and a half miles from the landing place; the batteries were also at distances from the fort varying from 3,400 yards to 1,650, the Parrott and James guns being at the shortest range.

Gen. Hunter, who, March 31st, succeeded Gen. T. W. Sherman in command of the department of the South, and also Gen. Benham, commanding the northern district, were present and superintending operations. Gilmore, who was in immediate charge, issued his general order, April 9th, with respect to the bombardment. Carefully estimating the strength of his batteries, and also the work they were to perform, his directions were minute in relation to the time of firing, the charge of powder, and the like.

The next morning, April 10th, at sunrise, Hunter sent an officer, under flag of truce, to demand the surrender of Fort Pulaski, in order to save needless effusion of blood, etc. The rebel commander answered briefly but spiritedly; "in reply, I can only say, that I am here to defend the fort, not to surrender it." At eight o'clock the first shot was fired, and in the course of an hour all the batteries were in operation. Steadily through the day, and partially through the night, the bombardment proceeded, our men, though inexperienced in the use of artillery, doing excellent service; the rebel firing was accurate and well sustained, without, however, doing any injury to either our men or the works.

Early on the 11th of April, the batteries were again in full operation, aided materially by a detachment of sailors from the Wabash, then in the harbor. The rifled guns were particularly effective, and penetrated deeply into the brick face of the wall. By noon, the fort was so severely injured, that Benham was preparing to take it by a storming party, when a little before two P.M., a white flag was raised and the firing ceased. Gilmore received the surrender of the fort, and allowed honorable terms to the officers and men found therein. Forty-seven guns, large quantities of stores, ammunition, etc.,

and 360 prisoners were taken; and only one of our men was killed.*

The scientific skill displayed in preparing and carrying through this attack brought prominently into notice the value of the new rifled ordnance, in all cases of a similar kind. The opinion was freely expressed, by Hunter and others, that "no works of stone or brick can resist the impact of rifled artillery of heavy calibre."

Great apprehensions were felt in Savannah, that an immediate advance would be made upon the city; but owing to the inadequacy of force, the Union commander was unable to do more than hold what had been acquired. The blockade, however, was thenceforth effective, so far as Savannah was concerned.

About two weeks after the capture of Fort Pulaski, another marked success was attained. On a previous page (see p. 120), we have recorded General Burnside's operations on the coast of North Carolina, and the taking of Newbern, in March, 1862. Beaufort, which was only forty miles distant by railroad, was next of importance to be secured. By the possession of Newbern, Beaufort was effectually cut off from communication by land with the interior, and it was even reported, soon after the taking of Newbern, that the rebels had burned the privateer Nashville, and blown up Fort Macon. The story was in advance of the facts. The Nashville managed to slip out, on the night of March 17th, and escaped to Georgetown, South Carolina, and Fort Macon was not given up without an attempt to hold it. This fortification was a regularly constructed work, hexagonal in form, mounting two tiers of guns—one in casemated bomb-proof, the other en barbette. It is situated on the eastern extremity of Bogue Island, in full command of the channel to Beaufort, distant a mile and three quarters across the bay in a north-easterly direction.

1862.

On the 19th of March, Gen. Parke, in compliance with orders to that effect, advanced with his brigade towards Beaufort. The railway had been almost destroyed by the rebels, so that the passage of the troops was partly by water and partly by marching overland. The rebels retired within the fort on the approach of Parke's brigade. Surrender was demanded, but refused; whereupon, siege material was brought from Newbern, and ferried across the shallow water to a point some four or five miles west of Fort Macon, on the island or spit of sand on which the fort was built. The marshy character of the ground to be passed over in order to reach the place where the batteries were to be erected, rendered the work toilsome as well as tedious; but it proceeded with as much rapidity as was practicable. Three batteries were completed, within 1,200 and 1,400 yards of the fort, and were furnished with heavy armament, especially three Parrott guns, rifled, which kind of ordnance, as we have already noted, proved effective in the very highest degree.

Burnside, on the 23d of April, arrived

* It was considered noteworthy, that the day on which Fort Pulaski was surrendered was the same on which, one year before, the rebels had opened fire upon Fort Sumter, and thus inaugurated the great rebellion.

from Newbern, bringing with him two barges fitted up as floating batteries. In addition to these, the gun boat Ellis, with a 100-pounder, and the vessels of the blockading fleet, were to take part in operations against the fort. Another demand was made for its surrender, and Burnside, in his anxiety to save useless expenditure of force and prevent loss of life, met Col. White, the rebel commander at the fort, and tried to induce him to yield; but he preferring to try the fortune of war, the bombardment was begun, very early on Friday morning, April 24th.

In an hour or two, the proper range for the guns was obtained, and the iron missiles were hurled from the batteries upon the doomed fort. Hour after hour this was kept up; and it became evident, ere long, that the contest could not be maintained by the garrison in the fort. Hence, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a white flag was hoisted, and Fort Macon passed again into the hands of the government, from which it had been unlawfully wrested in the previous year.

While Parke and his brigade were engaged in the capture of Fort Macon, Reno was sent from Newbern to the upper waters of the Albemarle Sound, in the rear of Norfolk. Taking a considerable force with him, he left on the 17th of April, reached Elizabeth City on the 19th, and disembarking, proceeded at once against South Mills, or Camden. After a sharp contest near the town, a return to the boats was ordered late in the evening, Reno having accomplished the principal object he had in view, which was the conveying to the enemy the idea that the entire Burnside expedition was marching upon Norfolk. The courage and endurance shown by the troops, notwithstanding the intense heat and fatigue, were justly and highly praised by the commanding general.

The blockade of the mouths of the Mississippi (see p. 79), was kept up with vigor and a fair measure of success, during the autumn and winter of 1861; but the government and the people were by no means content to maintain a blockade simply. The pathway up the Mississippi must be opened, and that mighty river cleared of rebel obstructions as speedily as possible.* We have narrated the operations which resulted in capturing Island No. 10 (see p. 143). We shall now ask the reader's attention to the energetic measures taken to reopen the Mississippi, and by the capturing of New Orleans, to restore the authority of the Union in the most valuable city which had been seized upon by the rebels.

The first important step was the occupying of Ship Island. Lying intermediate between Santa Rosa Island and the mouths of the Mississippi, near the entrance to the interior water communication with New Orleans by Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain, this

* Mr. Parton relates an interesting anecdote connected with the fixing upon New Orleans as the place to be captured above and before all others: "One day (about the 10th of January, 1862), toward the close of a long conference between Gen. Butler and the secretary of war, Mr. Stanton suddenly asked: 'Why can't New Orleans be taken?' The question thrilled Butler to the marrow. 'IT CAN!' he replied." Thenceforth, he gave his days and his nights, till he was ordered to march with the troops against New Orleans.—Parton's "*Gen. Butler in New Orleans*," p. 191.

was one of the most valuable stations along the coast. It was sixty miles distant from New Orleans, and about the same distance from the northernmost pass, at the mouth of the Mississippi. The value of this spot, as a defensive position, had been appreciated by the government, and a light-house had been erected, and a fort partly completed, in 1859. The rebels destroyed these at the outbreak of the insurrection, in 1861; and although some efforts were made by them to fortify the island, yet they abandoned it entirely in September.

Early in December, 1861, some 2,000 troops of Butler's recent levies were landed on Ship Island, under command of Gen. J. W. Phelps. He was an active and spirited officer, and, apparently, having nothing better to do just at the time, he signalized his arrival by issuing a rather remarkable proclamation, addressed "to the loyal citizens of the South-west." It was a straightforward business-like document, advocating, in plain terms, "here and every where, and on all occasions, *free labor and workingmen's rights.*" Its circulation, however, was almost entirely confined to the island, and it was admired rather for its zeal than for the discretion of its author.

On the last day of the year 1861, Biloxi, a small town in Mississippi, about ten miles from Ship Island, was visited by a part of the squadron and some of the troops. It was found that most of the men here had enlisted in the rebel service, leaving the women, etc., at home. Other troops arrived at Ship Island in January, 1862; and Butler, on the 25th of February, sailed from Hampton Roads to assume command of the land forces intended to operate against New Orleans. At the close of March, he had 14,000 men at the island, mostly new recruits. By the middle of April, he succeeded in embarking 8,000 troops for the Mississippi, which were to co-operate with the naval force which was there, and which was being pushed forward with zeal and energy. 1862.

Captain D. G. Farragut reached Ship Island, February 20th, having in charge the naval operations of the United States in the Gulf of Mexico. Though somewhat advanced in years, Farragut (since rear-admiral,) was highly esteemed in the service, and the navy department placed entire reliance upon his bravery and skill in carrying forward the important work with which he was entrusted. "There will be attached to your squadron," said Secretary Welles, (January 20th,) in his letter of instructions, "a fleet of bomb vessels, and armed steamers enough to manage them, all under command of Commodore D. D. Porter, who will be directed to report to you." With this powerful flotilla, Farragut was directed to proceed to New Orleans, and take it, and then to aid in opening the river above.

Farragut proceeded to organize his squadron at the earliest moment after his arrival in the Gulf. Difficulties and delays occurred, especially in getting the large ships over the bars at the mouths of the Mississippi; so that it was not until the first week in April that the large steamers, Mississippi and Pensacola, were over the bar, and the

mortar boats were ready to move to their appointed stations. Butler received instructions to forward his land forces, and serious work was evidently expected. The entire force of Farragut consisted of seventeen steamers and gun boats, Porter's mortar fleet of twenty-one sailing vessels, with seven steamers of light draught, and the troops under command of Butler in the transports, of which two only were steamers. The aggregate armament, counting boat howitzers, placed in the main-tops, was about 300 guns and mortars.

The rebels, on their part, had bestowed especial attention upon fortifying the approaches to New Orleans. Besides providing some twenty armed steam rams and gun boats, they had taken especial care to strengthen in every way the two important forts, Jackson and St. Philip, on the right and left banks of the Mississippi, and about twenty-five miles from its mouth and seventy-five from New Orleans. The united armament of the two forts was 126 guns of long range and heavy calibre. Fort Jackson, the stronger of the two works, and the first to be encountered on ascending the river, was a regular pentegonal bastioned fortification, with an outside water battery, mounting seventy-five guns in all, including thirty-three 32-pounders on the main parapet. Fort St. Philip consisted of a main work with two batteries attached, fully commanding the bend of the stream. A strong chain was extended across the river, here half a mile wide, buoyed by eight hulks from fifty to eighty yards apart. Within these defences the rebel flotilla was gathered, including the ram Manassas, under Hollins, (see p. 80), and the Louisiana, a formidable iron-covered battery, of great size and heavy armament, on which the rebels placed much reliance for the defence of the city. There were also various gun boats and vessels prepared as fire-ships to be sent against the approaching Union fleet. Gen. J. K. Duncan had charge of the coast defences, and Gen. Lovell (both graduates of West Point), was in command at New Orleans, with several thousand troops.*

On the 16th of April, Farragut having completed his arrangements, ascended the river with the fleet. The mortar flotilla, which was intended should commence operations, was, after a careful survey of the region, placed in position, by Porter, on the right bank of the river, in line under the lee of a thick wood, closely interwoven with vines, the foremost vessel at a distance of 2,850 yards from Fort Jackson. Fire was regularly opened from the mortar batteries, on the 18th, upon Fort Jackson, each vessel firing every ten minutes. No very perceptible effect was produced during the first day's bombardment, though 1,400 shells were fired, and the citadel, a structure of brick and wood in the centre of the fort, was set on fire, and clothing and stores in it destroyed. The rebel fire

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* So confident was the rebel press of New Orleans that the Mississippi could not be ascended by our ships and New Orleans captured, that one of the newspapers, April 5th, indulged in bravado of this sort: "Our only fear is that the northern invaders may not appear. We have made such extensive preparations to receive them that it were vexatious if their invincible armada escapes the fate we have in store for it."

was spirited and effective, and two of the mortar boats were penetrated by shots from the fort.

The second day, one of the mortar boats was sunk by a rifle-shot, while on the other hand, serious injury was done by our fire to the officers' quarters in the fort. During the night, Capt. Bell was sent, with a proper supply of materials and two gun boats, to break up the chain barrier. This was accomplished successfully, and a passage was opened for the fleet. On the third and fourth days there were some delays, caused by sending for fresh ammunition. The mortar boats, however, kept steadily at work, and though apparently slowly were yet surely accomplishing the reduction of Fort Jackson. On the fifth day the rebel fire was especially annoying, they having attained the range of the bombarding vessels; still Porter did not desist, and poured shell into the fort at the rate of 1,500 during the twenty-four hours.

For six days the steady firing of the mortar boats was continued, when Farragut determined to carry out a plan he had formed for passing the forts, and advancing at once upon New Orleans. The passage was, on examination, found to be open for the fleet, and every possible precaution, which ingenuity or experience could suggest, was taken to prepare the vessels for their perilous enterprize. The fleet was arranged in two divisions, to each of which was assigned six gun boats. Captain Bailey was in command of the first division; Captain Bell of the second; and the Hartford was the flag-ship of Commodore Farragut.

About three o'clock A.M., April 24th, the fleet got under way, Capt. Bailey leading the right with his gun boats to attack Fort St. Philip, while the other division of the ships was to aid in the attack on Fort Jackson. "The enemy's lights," says Farragut in his report, "while they discovered us to them, were, at the same time, guides to us. We soon passed the barrier chains, the right column taking Fort St. Philip, and the left Fort Jackson. The fire became general, the smoke dense, and we had nothing to aim at but the flash of their guns; it was very difficult to distinguish friends from foes." Farragut's ship, at one time was set on fire by a fire-raft; but the flames were extinguished. Fort St. Philip was soon silenced, and eleven rebel gun boats destroyed. The forts were passed, and the victory gained, winding up with the making a total wreck of the rebel ram Manassas. **1862.**

Farragut having sent the cheering news of his success to Porter, directed him to demand the surrender of the forts. He also informed Butler that the way was open for him to land his forces at Quarantine Bayou, as previously arranged. Leaving two gun boats to protect the landing of the troops, Farragut continued his progress up the river, and reached English Turn about half-past ten, on the morning of April 25th. Evidently, a panic had already seized upon the people in the city and vicinity, for cotton-loaded ships on fire came floating down, together with other indications of the greatest fright, and hasty destruction of property of all kinds. The fleet met with brief deten-

tion at the earthwork forts, six miles below New Orleans; but, after some sharp firing, they were speedily silenced; and, passing through burning vessels, fire-rafts, and the like, Farragut, at one P.M., anchored with his squadron in front of the city.

The levee was one scene of desolation. Ships, steamers, cotton, coal, were all in a blaze, and it taxed the ingenuity of our men to avoid the floating conflagration. Capt. Bailey was sent on shore to demand the surrender of the city. Great excitement prevailed, and the mob insulted Bailey and his party in the grossest manner. Lovell, the rebel commander, having left the city with his troops, some 3,000 or more in number, the mayor and common council positively refused to pull down the Louisiana flag and hoist that of the United States. The next morning, April 26th, Farragut wrote to the mayor, J. T. Monroe, announcing that the rights of persons and property would be held secure, and peremptorily demanding "the unqualified surrender of the city, and that the emblem of sovereignty of the United States be hoisted over the city hall, mint, and custom house, by meridian this day, and that all flags and other emblems of sovereignty, other than those of the United States, shall be removed from all public buildings by that hour." He closed his note in very plain terms: "I shall speedily and severely punish any person or persons who shall commit such outrages as were witnessed yesterday, armed men firing upon helpless women and children, for giving expression to their pleasure at seeing the old flag."

Mayor Monroe's answer was both inflated and arrogant in its tone; *e. g.*, "To surrender such a place (as New Orleans) were an idle and unmeaning ceremony. The city is yours by the power of brutal force, not by my choice or the consent of the inhabitants. It is for you to determine what shall be the fate that awaits her. As to the hoisting of any flag not of our own adoption or allegiance, let me say to you, sir, that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be paralyzed at the mere thought of such an act; nor could I find in my entire constituency so desperate and wretched a renegade as would dare to profane with his hand the sacred emblem of our aspirations. . . . . You have a gallant people to administrate during your occupancy of this city; a people sensitive to all that can in the least affect their dignity and self respect. Pray, sir, do not fail to regard their susceptibilities." **1862.**

By order of Farragut, the United States flag was hoisted on the mint, early in the morning, and some of the people ventured to cheer it, despite the threats of the mob. The flag was pulled down and dragged through the streets by one of those desperate characters in which New Orleans abounded;*

* The man's name was W. B. Mumford. Three other persons were with him, and the act was performed on Sunday morning, April 27th, during the time of religious service on ship-board. Early in June, when Butler was in command in New Orleans, Mumford was tried by military commission, convicted of treason, and sentenced to be hung. Butler approved the sentence, and Mumford was executed, in the presence of a large crowd, on the 7th of June. He was thenceforth added to the roll of southern "martyrs;" and Jeff. Davis, in December, issued a proclamation, denouncing Butler as an outlaw, to be hung instanter, as soon as caught.

this touched the old commodore to the quick, and he felt so outraged at the conduct of the mayor and people that he declared, if it were persisted in, it would subject the city to the fire of the fleet at any moment. After receiving another insulting note, Farragut, on the 30th of April, declined all further intercourse with J. T. Monroe and men of his stamp.

Porter, who had been left with his bomb vessels to secure the reduction of the forts, proceeded actively with his work. A demand was made for their surrender, which at first was refused; Porter thereupon opened fire upon them again, and sent six of his schooners and cut off the supplies and means of escape in the rear of Fort Jackson. Butler also, having landed at Quarantine in the rear of Fort St. Philip, cut off reinforcements from that quarter. The result was, that the men in the forts showed evident signs of mutiny, and Duncan, on a second demand, concluded to accept Porter's terms. This was on the 28th of April. Porter understood that the three steamers and the Louisiana, an immense iron-clad battery of 4,000 tons, which Farragut had unwittingly left behind him, had also surrendered, or were ready to surrender; but instead of that, the person in command of the vessels, named Mitchell, behaved most dishonorably, by setting fire to the battery and sending it to explode in the midst of our fleet. Providentially, the battery blew up when near Fort St. Philip, and our ships escaped without injury. Porter denounced the act of Mitchell as infamous, and on capturing the rebel steamers, he refused to parole the officers, and sent them to the North as prisoners of war. The army officers and men were paroled, and conducted themselves with a propriety in striking contrast to the behavior of Mitchell and others in the rebel navy on this occasion. Fort Jackson was greatly injured by the bombardment, nearly 2,000 shells having been thrown into it, besides some 3,000 in the ditches and outer works.* Fort St. Philip was but little injured, as its fate depended on its companion across the river; when Jackson surrendered, St. Philip fell as a matter of course. By order of Butler the forts were garrisoned by the 26th Massachusetts, he himself proceeding with the rest of his troops to take possession of New Orleans; which, we may here state, he did, on the 1st of May.

The entire casualties in the fleet during the bombardment and ascent to the city were 40 killed, and 177 wounded. The rebels reported their loss in Fort Jackson at 14 killed, 37 wounded; probably their loss as a whole was larger than was ever acknowledged. The rebels lost six forts, Jackson, St. Philip, and Chalmette, on the river; Livingston, on the Gulf; and Pike and Morgan, on Lake Pontchartrain; beside two large earth works above the city. Some 1,200 prisoners were taken. **1862.**

* Pollard, quoting Duncan's purposely exaggerated statement, says that 25,000 shells were thrown by our mortar boats without injuring Fort Jackson to any extent. Duncan "had no alternative but to give up the place. He surrendered in fact to his own garrison. The post probably could have been held, if the men had stood to their guns. He stated this in an address on the levee to the people, and while stating it, cried like a child."—"*First Year of the War*," p. 319.

Eighteen gun boats, including three iron rams and other expensive works, were taken or destroyed. The ram Mississippi, on which some $2,000,000 had been spent, was blown up to prevent its falling into our hands.

The importance of this great victory over the rebels cannot be too highly estimated. Its effect was deeply felt in the loyal states, as well as in those which were in arms against the government. It taught a lesson to enemies as well as friends at home and abroad. The rebels were unwilling to credit, nay, had scouted, the possibility of the capture of New Orleans. The supporters of the Union had hoped and wished for, rather than confidently expected success. On the one side were shame, mortification, rage, hatred; on the other a lofty exhilaration, a deep and profound assurance of the ultimate if not speedy triumph of law and order. It was breaking the back-bone of the rebellion, as Porter said. It was, as the London *Times* phrased it, "putting the tourniquet on the main artery of the confederacy." It was, as a southern writer confesses, a disaster which astounded the South, shook the confidence of the world in the boasting "confederacy," and led, by unavoidable steps, to the abandonment of the great Valley of the Mississippi. And though it is true that other strong points on the Mississippi, as Port Hudson, and especially Vicksburg, were not taken for more than a year after the fall of New Orleans, yet this was the heaviest blow of all, and this demonstrated both the energy and power of the loyal states, and their settled determination to restore and preserve the integrity of the Union, at any and every cost.* **1862.**

* New Orleans was "a city which was the commercial capital of the South, which contained a population of 170,000 souls, and which was the largest *exporting* city in the world. The extent of the disaster is not to be disguised. It was a heavy blow to the confederacy; it annihilated us in Louisiana; separated us from Texas and Arkansas; diminished our resources and supplies by the loss of one of the greatest grain and cattle countries within the limits of the confederacy; gave to the enemy the Mississippi River, with all its means of navigation, for a base of operations; and finally led, by plain and irresistible conclusion, to our virtual abandonment of the great and fruitful Valley of the Mississippi."—"*First Year of the War*," p. 321.

CHAPTER XIV.

1862.

CAMPAIGN BEFORE RICHMOND: BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES.

The rebels retreat from Yorktown — Pursuit by our troops towards Williamsburg — Attack on the enemy — Victory over the enemy at Williamsburg — Advance towards Richmond — Rain and mud — Capture of Norfolk — Destruction of the Merrimac — Fortifications at Craney Island, and Gosport Navy Yard abandoned — James River, and affair at Drury's Bluff — The rebels, and line of the Chickahominy — Bottom's Bridge — Importance of — Encampment at White House — Approach towards Richmond — Views of the rebels as to holding it — Chickahominy crossed by Keyes' and Heintzelman's corps — Casey in advance at Seven Pines — Bridges to be built — Rise in the river — Porter's victory at Hanover Court House — Plans of Johnston to prevent McDowell joining McClellan — McDowell ordered to go to Banks's help — Very unfortunate for McClellan — Johnston's hopes in the attack — Violent storm — Attack, May 31st, at Seven Pines — Johnston's forces — Keyes and Casey's condition — Casey driven back — Fierce onslaught of the enemy — Sumner's opportune arrival — Night ends the conflict — Renewed early next morning, June 1st — Severe fighting for several hours — Rebels put to flight — Losses on both sides heavy — Pollard's statements — Prince de Joinville's remarks.

Early on Sunday morning, May 4th, 1862, McClellan entered Yorktown, and the flag of the Union was planted upon the vast and formidable works just abandoned by the rebels (see p. 140). It was mortifying, certainly, to have been thus kept at a stand-still for a whole month, and to have been so effectually deceived by the rebels, as that they were allowed to escape without harm or loss, and to carry off with them everything except such bulky articles as could not be moved. But the commanding general did not waste time in useless complaining. He immediately sent off all his cavalry and horse artillery in pursuit, supported by infantry. "No time," he said, in his dispatch, "shall be lost. The gun boats have gone up York River. Gloucester is also in our possession. I shall push the enemy to the wall."*

The retreating forces, it was found, had taken the direct road from Yorktown to Williamsburg, some 12 miles nearer Richmond. There was another road on the left, which crossed Warwick River at Lee's Mills, and uniting with the former made a fork near Williamsburg. At this point the rebels had erected a strong bastioned

* McClellan denounced the fiend-like behavior of those who were so constantly asserting that the Union army was a horde of savages, and the like: "The rebels have been guilty of the most murderous and barbarous conduct, in placing torpedoes within the abandoned works, near wells and springs, and near flagstaffs, magazines, telegraph offices, in carpet bags, barrels of flour, etc. Fortunately, we have not lost many men in this manner—some four or five killed, and perhaps a dozen wounded. I shall make the prisoners remove them at their own peril."

earth-work, flanked by a line of redoubts, protected in front by *abattis;* extending across the isthmus of dry land to the swamps on either side. Here the enemy remained in force, evidently determined to oppose, to the fullest extent, the advance of our troops. Stoneman, with the cavalry and four batteries of horse artillery, took the lead in the pursuit, the divisions of Hooker and Kearney following as rapidly as possible. Stoneman made an attack, with no special result. Gen. Hooker came up in the course of the night, and early the next morning, attacked the rebel works, Fort Magruder and the rest; but after a hard fight, was compelled to give way. Kearney and his division, having arrived on the field about four P.M., dashed into the battle. The rifle pits were taken; the enemy's rear was gained; and they lost the day. The victory was complete, the rebels retreating in great haste; but our loss was very heavy, there being 456 killed, 1,400 wounded, 372 missing, total, 2,228. The committee on the conduct of the war were rather tart in speaking of this battle, asserting that "there was no controlling mind in charge of the movements; there was uncertainty in regard to who was in command; each general fought as he considered best."

The miserable condition of the roads rendered pursuit by cavalry of little avail, and the commanding general found his hands full in the urging forward the bringing up supplies of various kinds, provisions, ammunition, forage, etc. This had to be done principally by water. By degrees, though slowly, McClellan advanced towards the capital of the "confederacy." Franklin's division, with others, were sent by water from Yorktown to the right bank of the Pamunkey, in the vicinity of West Point. Early on the 7th of May, when Franklin had disembarked, the rebels determined to attack him, in order to gain all the time possible for retreat, and for the strengthening the various works about Richmond. The action was continued for several hours, and the rebels were finally driven off the field.

By the 16th of May, despite the rain and mud, the different divisions of the army were concentrated at White House, on the Pamunkey, a few miles above West Point. A permanent depot was at once established at White House, with reference to future and important operations. By the 26th of May, the railroad was in working order as far as the Chickahominy, and the railroad bridge across that stream was nearly completed.

Meanwhile, an important event in Eastern Virginia had occurred, in the capture of Norfolk. Hopes had been entertained for some time that this capture would be accomplished; but as yet nothing of moment had been done. A few days after the fall of Yorktown, Gen. Wool took command of an expedition from Fortress Monroe, landing at Willoughby's Point, about eight miles from Norfolk, at daylight, on the 10th of May. The rebel troops abandoned the place, and by the telegraph of that same night, the cheering news was announced to the country, "Norfolk is ours."

Very early the next morning (Sunday, May 11th), a bright light was observed from Fortress Monroe in the direction of Craney Island, which was supposed at first to be a signal of some description from the Merrimac or Virginia.* It was closely watched from various quarters, and at half-past four o'clock an explosion took place, which made the earth and water tremble for miles round. In the midst of the flames which shot up in the distance, the timbers and iron of the monster steamer could be seen flying through the air. A naval reconnaissance being made, it was found that the rebels, in order to secure the aid of Gen. Huger with his troops (some 18,000), in the immediate vicinity of Richmond, had abandoned the powerful fortifications at and near Craney Island, destroying all they could by fire at the Gosport navy yard, the shipping, steamboats, etc., and leaving behind large quantities of powder and other articles of especial value to the secession cause.

1862.

The James River being now open, by the abandonment of the land batteries at the entrance, several United States vessels were sent to reconnoitre the river as far as was possible. Three iron-clads and two steam gun boats pushed their way cautiously up the James, and arrived, on the 14th of May, within about ten miles of Richmond. Two miles further on, at Ward's or Drury's Bluff, resistance was made to their advance by a heavy battery and obstructions in the river. After a spirited but unsuccessful engagement, our vessels gave up the contest. The gun boats continued to hold possession of the extended line of navigation below, but the advantage gained was for the present of less importance, while the York River, on the other side of the peninsula, was made the exclusive channel of communication with the advancing Army of the Potomac.

After the retreat from Yorktown, the rebels gradually withdrew within the line of the Chickahominy, with the evident purpose of making a most strenuous effort to repulse McClellan from the vicinity of Richmond. The York River and Richmond Railroad, running nearly due east and west, crossed the Chickahominy near Bottom's Bridge, about eleven miles distant from the capital of Virginia. It was on the left or southerly bank of the river, and along the line of the railroad, which separated here from the river at an acute angle, with the apex at the bridge, that several of the most important battles of the campaign were fought.

On the 15th of May, McClellan had gathered the several divisions of his army in the large plain at Cumberland, on the south bank of the Pamunkey, where a vast encampment was formed, covering some 20 square miles. White

* We have before alluded to the destruction of the Merrimac (p. 136). We may also state here, that Tatnall, the officer in command, was censured severely for his action in the matter. Pollard says that it was "unnecessary and wanton, and occasioned an amount of grief and rage in the confederacy such as had not yet been exhibited in the war." "The vessel was destroyed in great haste by Commodore Tatnall, who, in the dead hour of the night, aroused from his slumbers, and acquainted with the decision of the pilots (that they could not carry the vessel above the Jamestown Flats), ordered the ship to be put ashore, landed his crew in the vicinity of Craney Island, and blew to the four winds of heaven the only naval structure that guarded the water approach to Richmond."—*"Second Year of the War,"* p. 27.

House, about five miles above, on the river, at the head of navigation, with a connection, by the York River Railroad, with Richmond, had been abandoned by the rebels a few days before, on the approach of General Stoneman, who took possession of the place. It thenceforward was used as a permanent base for the landing of supplies during the campaign,—supplies, which, we may here mention, to the disgrace of those concerned, were furnished with a lavishness and prodigality hard to explain or excuse.

On the morning of Monday, the 19th of May, our army directed its course westward towards Richmond, the capture of which was so eagerly and, in measure, unreasonably longed for at the North, and the defence of which was so fixedly resolved upon by the rebels who held it under their sway. It was too important to their interests lightly to yield it; and hence men like Jeff. Davis, Gen. Joe Johnson, and Stonewall Jackson, gave all their ability and all their energy to devise ways and means for repelling the advancing forces under McClellan.

"Recent disaster," it is true, as Davis said, "has spread gloom over the land, and sorrow sits at the hearthstones of our countrymen; but a people, conscious of rectitude and faithfully relying on their Father in heaven, may be cast down, but cannot be dismayed." Fort Pulaski had been lost. New Orleans was captured. Norfolk and Yorktown had been abandoned. The Merrimac had been destroyed by their own hands. In almost every direction gloom and despondency seemed to preponderate; but Davis and his aiders and abettors were not disposed to yield an inch. Davis declared "that if, in the course of events, Richmond should fall—the necessity for which he did not see or anticipate—that would be no reason for withdrawing the army from Virginia. The war could still be successfully maintained on Virginia soil for twenty years."

The left wing of the army, formed of the corps of Keyes and Heintzelman, led the way, as above stated, on the 19th of May, toward the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge; the centre, Sumner's corps, followed the line of the railroad; and the right, consisting of Franklin's and Porter's corps, pursued a course to the northwest. Stoneman, with his cavalry, was in the advance. The bridge over the Chickahominy was partly destroyed, but there was no resistance made to the crossing of Stoneman, who reconnoitred the country above, preparatory to the right wing's advance. On the 20th, the centre and left were at the Chickahominy, near the railroad bridge, and the next day the right encamped at Coal Harbor, where McClellan established head-quarters, about three miles from the river, at New Bridge.

On the 25th of May, Keyes' and Heintzelman's corps had crossed the river, while on the right an important reconnaissance, followed by the capture of the place, had been pushed to Mechanicsville, a village near the Chickahominy, five miles west of Coal Harbor, and about the same distance from Richmond. The corps of Keyes on the left held the advance beyond the Chicka-

hominy, being encamped on both sides of the railroad, in the vicinity of Seven Pines and Fair Oaks, and the corps of Heintzelman was in their, rear also along the railroad, in the neighborhood of Savage's Station.

In the advance in this quarter, Casey held the front, with his division, about 4,000 men, nearly all raw troops. His force was stationed, the last week in May, in the immediate presence of the enemy, within six miles of Richmond, his pickets extending to within five miles of that city. Couch s division of Keyes' corps was next behind on the railroad. A line of pickets was extended across the narrow angle made by the railroad and the river, the general lines of the left and right wings of the army to the vicinity of New Bridge, the distance across between railroad and river being about three miles. To secure the communication between the two wings, a large number of the troops skilled in such labors, were actively engaged in building bridges across the Chickahominy, which separated the two portions of the army. The labors in this service were excessive, and pursued under peculiar difficulties, from the uncertain nature of the stream, liable to sudden increase from rains, and always embarrassing from the swamps and quicksands in which the structure must be built. The weather was bad, the roads muddy in proportion, and the water was, for the season, unusually high in the river.*

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Everything, however, was pushed on diligently, and only the completion of the bridges was waited for in order to secure a perfect co-operation of the whole army, and thus bring the enemy to a decisive engagement. A general order was issued by McClellan, on the 25th of May, requiring the troops beyond the Chickahominy to hold themselves in readiness for battle at a moment's notice. Just on the eve, however, of the approaching great contest near Richmond, McClellan received information respecting a rebel force in the vicinity of Hanover Court House, which might seriously endanger our communications, or interfere with McDowell's expected, and anxiously looked for junction. By the commanding general's direction, Fitz John Porter set out, early on the morning of the 27th of May, to dislodge or defeat this force, said to consist of North Carolina troops from Newbern, under the rebel General Branch. Near Hanover Court House Porter drove the rebels, who, having been reinforced, made an attack on the rear of our force. Porter then faced about and routed them completely.* The rebel force was estimated at 8,000, of which more than 200 were killed and between 700 and 800 made prisoners. Our loss was reported at 53 killed and 300 wounded and missing. McClellan spoke in the highest terms of Porter's success, as not only having dispersed Branch's division, but more especially as clearing and entirely relieving the right flank of the army.

* McClellan, in his report, says: "In view of the peculiar character of the Chickahominy, and the liability of the bottom lands to sudden inundations, it became necessary to construct, between Bottom's Bridge and Mechanicsville, eleven new bridges, all long and difficult, with extensive log-way approaches."

* The railroad bridge over the South Anna was destroyed by our men on the 27th of May. This was on the direct line of communication between Fredericksburg and Richmond.

McClellan had felt all along, very keenly, the being deprived of McDowell's support, (see p. 138), and he was now hoping every day to have that general's aid and co-operation in view of the direct assault to be made upon Richmond.* The government, on the 17th of May, ordered McDowell, with Shields's division taken from Banks, to move toward Richmond and join McClellan; at the same time he was to keep careful watch, and be ready to meet any sudden dash or attack upon Washington. The rebel General Johnston and his advisers seemed to understand the position of affairs very well, and they knew that it was of the utmost importance to them that McDowell should be kept at a distance from Richmond. With great shrewdness, they resolved to dispatch Jackson for the purpose of making a bold and rapid raid upon Banks, being assured, apparently, that this would so frighten the authorities at Washington that McDowell's further advance would be immediately stopped, and McClellan's calculations, based upon his co-operation, rendered void.

The rebel plan was well laid. On the 24th of May, McDowell was ordered to hasten to the help or rescue of Banks. He obeyed of course; the same day he wrote: "the president's order has been received, and is in process of execution. *This is a crushing blow to us.*" Mr. Lincoln sent him word that "every thing now depended on the celerity and vigor of his movements," to which McDowell answered, plainly expressing his doubt as to the success of the proposed movement.

President Lincoln, in virtue of his office, was commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States; and though he had no acquaintance with military or naval science, yet he was full of anxious care on the subject. He was eager in urging forward matters, and was greatly distressed in regard to military movements in Virginia, just at this time. There was a sort of terror hanging over him and others at Washington, lest the capital should be suddenly assaulted and taken by the rebels, and notwithstanding his deep regard and respect for McClellan, he did not trust to the judgment of the commanding-general, and his positive assurance that, if McDowell came at once to his assistance, Richmond was sure to fall. On the 25th of May, Mr. Lincoln sent to McClellan, saying: "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond, or give up the job, and come to the defence of Washington." McClellan gave every assurance of his readiness and determination to go forward, greatly vexed and disappointed though he was at McDowell's withdrawal. He was making all his preparations to fight the enemy with such force as he had, and the bitter struggle was now at hand.

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* The Prince de Joinville's remarks on the grievous mistake in preventing McDowell's advance are werth quoting:—"It needed only an effort of the will; the two armies were united, and the *possession of Richmond certain!* Alas, this effort was not made. . . . the fatal error was on the point of being committed. Not only did not the two armies unite, but the order came from Washington to burn the bridges which had been seized. This was the clearest way of saying to the Army of the Potomac and to its chief that in no case could they count on the support of the armies of Upper Virginia."

Hardly had Porter and his brave band returned from Hanover Court House, when the right bank of the Chickahominy became famous for the hard-fought battle of the Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks, so called because of the localities at two important stages of the conflict, its beginning and its end. On the rebel side were the divisions of Hill, Longstreet, Huger and Smith; and on ours, were the corps of Keyes and Heintzelman, with a portion of that of Sumner. Johnston, well aware of the critical position of affairs, and anxious to strike a blow which should be felt, took note of the advance of Casey's division (see p. 164) at and beyond Seven Pines; and probably supposing that the corps of Keyes, to which it belonged, was the only one which had yet crossed the Chickahominy, he thought by massing his forces in one furious onset, to break the Union lines, and destroy this section of the army before a junction could be made, by the completion of the bridges, with the troops on the other side of the stream. On the night of the 30th of May, there was one of the most violent summer rainstorms known to the country. Torrents of rain drenched the earth, and the lightning and thunder were fearfully grand. From their beds of mud, and the peltings of the storm, our men rose to fight the battle of the 31st of May.

In this state of things, the roads converted into mud, the swamps flooded, and the river threatened with an unusual rise, it appeared to be a comparatively easy thing for the rebels to destroy the exposed wing of the divided army. Accordingly, orders were given by Johnston to his several division commanders, to move to the assault at daybreak, on the day appointed. With every facility of communication with Richmond, and with the various divisions occupying the roads commanding the Union position, had the rebel plan of attack been effectively carried out, backed, as it was, by a greatly superior force, it could hardly have failed of entire success. The heavy rains, however, which aided their purpose in one way, hindered it in another. If reinforcements could not be readily brought across the river to the Union lines, neither could the enemy take the field as early as was intended. The divisions of Smith, Hill, and Longstreet, however, were in position to commence operations by eight A.M. Hûger, entangled with his artillery in the mud and swamps, was not at hand, and Longstreet, who had the direction of operations on the right, was unwilling to go into action without his co-operation; hence the attack was deferred till early in the afternoon.

Meanwhile, Keyes had not been unobservant or inactive. Expecting an attack at any moment, he watched earnestly the indications of hostile movements brought to him on the morning of May 31st. Cars had been heard coming out from Richmond, and an aid of Johnston's had been taken prisoner by our pickets. About eleven A.M., a body of the enemy was reported approaching. Casey prepared for immediate action; and at one o'clock was assaulted by the rebels with tremendous force and energy. They endeavored to crush his division utterly before help

could be brought, and the troops fell back upon the second line, held by Couch's division. Couch tried hard to regain the lost position; but without success; and he was driven back towards Fair Oaks.

Our troops, with rare exceptions, behaved excellently well, and a sort of line of battle being formed across the woods, perpendicularly to the road and the railroad, assault after assault was steadily resisted. Our left was protected by the morasses of the White Oak Swamp, but our right ran the risk of being surrounded. A strong column of the enemy advanced against the right, and if it had succeeded in getting between Bottom's Bridge and our troops who held beyond Savage's Station, the left wing would have been lost. But at this moment, six P.M., Sumner, who had been ordered by McClellan to be ready to move to the scene of action, appeared, and effectually put a stop to rebel progress. Instead of merely preparing to move, this brave commander advanced directly, and saved an hour of time. He succeeded in crossing the river, and marched upon Fair Oaks, where he found Couch with his men. The rebels made a fierce assault upon Sumner's command; but they were repulsed, and fled, thus closing the contest for that day. Night put an end to the battle; but dispositions were made for its early renewal on Sunday morning, June 1st. Before sunrise, the rebels were pressing forward the attack. They appeared in large force from the woods in front, opened a heavy fire of musketry at short range along the whole line, and seemed determined to carry all before them by one sweeping blow. The attack was met by our troops with steadiness and unflinching determination. Notwithstanding the fierce onslaughts of the enemy, renewed again and again, our men stood nobly to their posts. Led on by brave and experienced officers, and freely using the bayonet, toward midday they finally and entirely repulsed the rebel force. These fled in confusion and haste; but unhappily, if we may rely on McClellan's opinion, the state of the roads prevented any effective pursuit on our part. All that was accomplished at the time was the re-occupying the lines held previous to the battle. 1862.

The losses on both sides were very heavy. McClellan reported a total loss of 5,737; a few days afterwards he reported that the number would be at least 7,000. The total rebel loss was, according to their reports, nearly 7,000. Pollard's statement for the rebels is: "We had taken ten pieces of artillery and 6,000 muskets, besides other spoils; our total loss was more than 4,000; that of the enemy is stated in their own newspapers to have exceeded 10,000, an estimate which is no doubt short of the truth." *

* Prince de Joinville's remarks on the battle of Seven Pines may here be quoted: "Such is the history of this singular battle, which although complicated by incidents superior to human will, must not be taken otherwise than as a type of American battles. The conflict was a bloody one, for the North had lost 5,000 men, the South at least 8,000; but the results were barren on one side as on the other. Although the losses of the enemy were much greater than those of the Federals, the result was especially distressing to the latter. They had lost a rare opportunity of striking a decisive blow. These occasions did not return, and therefore, in the circumstances in which they were placed, the result was against them."

CHAPTER XV.

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BANKS AND FREMONT IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

Banks takes command — Bridges over Shenandoah protected — Jackson driven out of the Valley — Doubts as to his further intentions — Effect of Banks's movements — Position of our forces in Virginia — Jackson assumes the offensive — His plan to capture Banks — Kenly's disaster at Front Royal — Banks's position and danger — One of three courses before him — Determines to retreat to Winchester — Affair at Middletown — Activity of the rebels — Battle at Winchester — Retreat to Martinsburg and thence to the Potomac — Saved by crossing the river — Losses on the retreat — Success of Jackson's plans — President calls for more troops — The Mountain Department and General Fremont — His labors there — Movements at Monterey, Romney, Lewisburg — Fremont ordered to go to Banks's help and to cut off Jackson if possible — Fremont's plan — Crosses the mountains — Advance comes up with enemy near Strasburg — Ewell's attack on Harper's Ferry — Jackson's sudden retreat — Fremont a day too late — Jackson's policy as to fighting — Rebels retreat through Woodstock, etc. — Encounter at Harrisburg — Ashby killed — Battle at Cross Keys, losses, etc. — Jackson's position critical — Colonel Carroll and his advance movement — Attack of the rebels in force on Shields's advance — Battle of Port Republic — Success of the rebel plans — Fremont and Shields retire — Army changes — Fremont resigns.

In a previous chapter (see p. 136) we have spoken of Gen. Shields's active movements in Virginia, and his success over Stonewall Jackson near Winchester. This was towards the close of the month of March. Gen. Banks, who was in command of the army corps which comprised his own and Shields's divisions, arrived on the battle-ground just before the close of the engagement described on p. 137. The rebels continued their retreat, and, whenever possible, burned the bridges on the road. At Edenburg, a halt was made by the advance under Shields, so as to allow time to build the bridge over the creek there. Ashby's cavalry gave occasion for some sharp skirmishing; but Banks, on the 17th of April, entered Mount Jackson, pursuing the enemy beyond to New Market, of which he took possession the following day.

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On the 19th of April, Banks went in force to see to the protection of the bridges on the south fork of the Shenandoah in the Masanutten Valley. He succeeded in his purpose, although the rebels made vigorous efforts to destroy the bridges; from such information as he could collect, he was of opinion that Jackson had left this valley. On the 22d of April, Banks wrote to Washington, announcing that "the rebel Jackson has left the Valley of Virginia permanently, and is on the way to Gordonsville, by the way of the mountains." Two days after, a reconnaissance was made towards Staunton; the town was entered without opposition. The Shenandoah divided Jackson's rear guard from our forces at Strasburg and other points of the valley, and, apparently, the troublesome enemy had taken his final departure.

The position of affairs was not, how-

ever, without its anxieties. It was very difficult to get any reliable information. The "contrabands" here, as elsewhere, were useful in this respect, and from them and some refugees it was learned, that Jackson was posted eighteen miles from Harrisonburg on the other side of the south fork of the Shenandoah. His force, including Ashby's cavalry, was thought to be more than 8,000, and among other reinforcements, Ewell's brigade was said to be on its way to join him. With some 10,000 men in hand, well supplied with artillery and cavalry, it was quite probable that Jackson would speedily assume the offensive.

Banks's success thus far was of no material value. He was expected to occupy Staunton, and, at least, threaten the enemy on the line of the Virginia Central Railroad; but from necessity or policy, early in May, his main force fell back to Strasburg, whence a large portion of his command was withdrawn for the reinforcement of the army in Eastern Virginia. The Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, had, as we have seen (p. 137), embarked for the Peninsula; while Fredericksburg had just surrendered to the forces of McDowell, who, having been detained for the defence of Washington, and wishing to co-operate directly with McClellan, had pushed his corps to the Rappahannock, where he was ready for either movement.

The rebels, meanwhile, were not inactive. Ewell was gathering his men for service in the eastern part of the valley, while Jackson further south crossed the western boundary of the valley, attacked Milroy in Highland County, and compelled him and Schenck to retreat to Franklin with great haste and much loss. At Franklin, however, by the aid of Gen. Fremont, a successful stand was made. Towards the latter part of the month of May, Jackson commenced more directly aggressive movements, having in **1862.** view, no doubt, the important end to which allusion has been made on a previous page (see p. 165). He determined by a bold dash to attempt the capture of Gen. Banks and his entire force. Accordingly a heavy column was sent up the valley, between the Blue Ridge and Massanutten Mountain range to Front Royal, where the Manassas Railroad crosses the Shenandoah, twelve miles from Strasburg. The plan was to capture Col. Kenly, with a force of about 1,000 men, and then pushing on to Winchester, to get in the rear of Banks.

On the 23d of May, the enemy were found to be advancing in force, and our men had the alternative either to run away, or attempt a stand against overwhelming numbers. Kenly chose the latter, and for two hours fought bravely against the rebels. He then fell back across the Shenandoah, destroying one of the bridges; before the larger one, however, could be burned he was flanked by the rebels in great numbers and crushed entirely.

That same evening, at Strasburg, Banks received the news of Kenly's loss. He speedily ascertained by scouts, that Jackson was advancing with at least 15,000 or 20,000 men, and divining at once that the rebel commander must be intending to occupy Winches-

ter and cut off all supplies and reinforcements, and thus compel his surrender, he promptly decided upon his line of action. One of three courses was open to him : either a retreat across Little North Mountain to the Potomac, or an attack upon the enemy's flank on the Front Royal road, or a rapid movement direct upon Winchester. The two former were out of the question ; so there was no alternative but to start at once, and if possible occupy Winchester in advance of Jackson.

The advance guard was called in long before daylight, May 24th. The disabled men, left by Shields, and the wagon train were ordered forward to Winchester. Gen. Hatch, with the cavalry and artillery, undertook the defence of the rear, and between nine and ten o'clock the column was on the march. Our men had marched only a few miles when the enemy attacked the train in front, instead of the rear. The troops were ordered to the front, and encountered the rebels in force at Middletown, thirteen miles from Winchester. Our men fought bravely, and drove the enemy back. This episode, with the change of front, occupied nearly an hour, but it saved Banks's column. Had the enemy vigorously attacked the train while at the head of the column, it would have been thrown into such dire confusion as to have made a successful continuation of the march impossible.

Various and energetic efforts were made by detachments to join the main column, but in every case they were prevented by the enemy, who pressed steadily and vigorously upon our men. At five o'clock P.M. the advance guard reached Winchester, where the strength and purpose of the enemy became more fully known to Banks. Jackson's force was probably not less than 25,000, and it was expected that an attack would be made at daybreak. Banks determined to test the strength of the enemy, and ordered the men to prepare for battle, his entire force being only about 6,000. About four o'clock on the morning of the 25th of May, the artillery opened fire, which was continued to the close of the battle. The enemy's force was massed apparently on Banks's right, and their manœuvres indicated a purpose to turn him upon the Berryville road; but the steady fire of our lines held them in check for several hours.

The large force of the enemy rendering it unwise to attempt further fighting, the retreat was continued, in the direction of Martinsburg, in three parallel columns, each protected by an efficient rear guard. The enemy kept up the pursuit promptly and vigorously; Banks's movements, however, were rapid and without loss. At Martinsburg the column halted two and a half hours, and arrived at the Potomac at sundown, forty eight-hours after the first news of the attack on Front Royal. It was a march of 53 miles, 35 of which were performed in one day. Fortunately the enemy did not appear. The single ferry over the river was occupied by the ammunition trains, and the ford by the wagon trains. Several boats belonging to the pontoon train, brought from Strasburg, were launched and given up to the use of the soldiers, and the crossing was achieved with entire

success. "There never were more thankful hearts," says Banks, with true feeling, "in the same number of men, than when, at midday on the 26th of May, we stood on the opposite shore."

Our loss in killed, wounded, etc., was short of 1,000. All the guns were saved; the wagon train, nearly 500 in number, was almost all saved, and the greater part of the supplies were preserved.

The retreat of Banks, in face of the serious difficulties in his way, was held to evince talent of a high order, and he received the warm thanks of the government for what he had done. Jackson had made special efforts to capture Banks.* He did not indeed accomplish that; but the other and more important part of his scheme was entirely successful. As we have seen (see p. 165), McDowell, on the 24th of May, was ordered to march to the help of Banks, and of course to deprive McClellan of his expected aid on the eve of assaulting Richmond. He obeyed the order so positively given, and the authorities at Washington were startled and almost terrified at finding the rebels under Jackson once more on the banks of the Potomac.

The governors of the loyal states were urgently called upon for more troops, and in order to facilitate their transportation, the president, by authority of Congress (p. 149), took military possession of all the railroads in the United States. This

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was on the 25th of May. The governors of the states responded promptly to the call of the president, and set to work at once to furnish the troops required.

It will be recollected, that President Lincoln, by his war order, March 11th, (p. 132), had created a new military department,* called the Mountain Department, and had placed Gen. Fremont in command. It included the entire range of Western Virginia and a part of Tennessee. Fremont, it was hoped and expected, would be of material service, as occasion offered, in outflanking the rebels in Southern Virginia, in cutting off the Richmond communications, or in occupying important points in Eastern Tennessee; but the raid of Jackson turned his energies in a different direction.

Two months were passed in preparing and organizing his corps, under serious difficulties, owing to the insufficient provision made for the new department. The first movement was in Highland County, where Milroy, at Monterey, had a sharp skirmish with a body of rebels who attacked his camp. A few days latter, April 23d, a party of our men from Romney, had a sharp encounter with a body of guerrillas; and on the 8th of May, a sharp fight occurred twelve miles beyond Monterey. After

* Jackson, at Winchester, on the 28th of May, issued a general order characterized by his usual peculiarities, and lauding the troops which had "finally driven the boastful host which was ravishing our beautiful country into utter rout."

* Mr. Swinton speaks with great but not undeserved severity of the folly and violation of the first principles of war, in having, as was now the case in Northern Virginia, three distinct armies, planted on three separate lines of operation, under three independent commanders. "One hardly wishes to inquire by whose crude and fatuitous inspiration these things were done; but such was the spectacle presented by the Union forces in Virginia; the main army already held in check on the Chickahominy, and these detached columns inviting destruction in detail."—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 123.

a march of three days, they reached Franklin, having lost, in killed and wounded, 233. On the 20th of May, Col. Crook, in command at Lewisburg, made a successful dash through Covington to the Virginia Central Railroad, burning the bridge at Jackson River. He was attacked by Heath, with a large force, but routed him entirely.

It was on the night of May 24th, that Fremont received, at Franklin, the president's order to march to the relief of Banks, in the valley of the Shenandoah. His entire force, numbering 11,500 men, consisted of Blenker's division, the brigades of Schenck and Milroy, and a light brigade of Ohio and Virginia troops, under Col. Cluseret, a French officer in the service. Fremont's army at this time was by no means in a good condition to move. They were in a region cut off from proper supplies, and their *morale* was anything but encouraging. Fremont was unwilling, however, to lose a moment's time in the present emergency,* and the troops, promptly and cheerfully, took the road to Petersburg the next morning. Furnished only with ammunition and rations for three days, they pursued their way through Moorefield, by forced marches over mountain roads, rendered unusually difficult by the inclement season. In the course of a week the advance, under Col. Cluseret, came up, near Strasburg, with Jackson's forces, already having begun their hasty retreat up the valley.

On Banks's retreat to the Potomac (p. 170), Gen. Saxton was put in command of the forces sent to Harper's Ferry to maintain that position. Sharp skirmishes occurred, but without advantage to the rebels. On the night of the 30th of May, Jackson ordered Ewell with his men to storm our position. The attempt was made about dark, and continued for an hour; and again about midnight; but to no purpose.

The next day, Jackson was in full retreat up the valley, which it was Fremont's design to intercept when he crossed the mountains at Strasburg. Ewell followed and joined Jackson, June 1st. Fremont came upon the enemy's rear the same day, near Strasburg, on the road to Winchester. Jackson declined all offers of battle; his policy was to avoid fighting; and so he pushed on through Strasburg, and succeeded in passing between McDowell's advance on the one side and Fremont's on the other. Thus the rebel general proved himself too active for his pursuers.

Fremont was joined at Strasburg by a body of cavalry, under Gen. Bayard, which formed a portion of McDowell's corps, and came very opportunely to his aid. Pursuing the rebels through Woodstock, Edenburg and Mount Jackson, they making every resistance possible, burning bridges, etc., Fremont crossed the Shenandoah, June 5th, on a pontoon bridge, and came up with them beyond New Market. A sharp encounter attended the arrival of our advance the next day at Harrisonburg, and

* Fremont has been criticised with some severity for not marching to Harrisonburg instead of taking the course he did. If he could have done so, which has been pronounced by some as impossible, he might have got so far in Jackson's rear as effectually to have cut him off. The distance from Franklin to Harrisonburg was about 60 miles, while Strasburg was 100 miles distant.

the enemy were driven from the town. During the afternoon, severe skirmishing was kept up with varying fortune on both sides. After dark, the rebels continued their retreat. Their loss was estimated to be very severe, and during the evening many of them were killed by shells from a battery of Stahl's brigade. Ashby, of the rebel cavalry, who was especially serviceable to Jackson on the present occasion, was among the killed.*

Very early on the morning of Sunday, June 8th, Fremont left Harrisonburg, with about 10,000 men, in pursuit of Jackson. Having advanced some seven miles on the road to Staunton, he found the enemy at Cross Keys, in a well selected position in the woods to the left and front. Jackson, it appears, had thought it best to fight at this point, and thus check Fremont's pursuit.† An extended line of battle was formed, skirmishing having commenced about nine o'clock, and the whole line moved forward at noon. Schenck had command on the right, Stahl on the left, and Milroy in the centre. Blenker's and two other brigades formed the reserve. The battle soon became general, and was fiercely contested for several hours. Without going into details, we may mention that, along our whole line, the artillery was served with great vigor and precision, and the final driving of the rebels back was largely due to its effect. Fremont's forces encamped that night on the field of battle, with the expectation of renewing the fight at any moment. The night, however, passed without further conflict, and in the morning the march against the enemy was renewed, when they were found to be in full retreat for Port Republic, five miles distant, where the bridge is by which the south fork of the Shenandoah is crossed.

The loss on both sides was severe. Fremont estimated his loss at 125 killed, and 500 wounded. The rebels give 300 as the number of their killed, wounded and missing, asserting at the same time, with singular untruthfulness, that "they (the Unionists), stated their loss to be 2,000."

Jackson's position was now somewhat critical. He must secure the bridge over the Shenandoah, nullify Fremont's further efforts by destroying all means of crossing the river, and then defeat and drive back Shields from Port Republic. Jackson's main body arrived opposite Port Republic on the night of Saturday, June 7th, and the next morning he ascertained that Shields's advance was rapidly approaching the town. Col. Carroll, with his brigade of about 1,600 men, soon after appeared, and his cavalry, with two pieces of artillery, dashed into the town and took position at the southern

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* Pollard in speaking of Ashby can hardly find words of laudation strong enough for his purpose. He was the "young Paladin of the South;" on one occasion he is said to have cut his single way through 300 Vermont men, repeated the operation, seized the flag and taken 75 prisoners with his own hand; "he combined the virtues of Sir Philip Sydney with the dash of Murat;" his life "was a beautiful poem, a sounding oration, a sufficient legacy to the virtue of his country men."—"*Second Year of the War*," pp. 55–58.

† According to rebel accounts only a part of Jackson's army was at this battle. Ewell with some 5,000 men was left to check Fremont's advance, while Jackson with his main body purposed to march to Port Republic, cross the river, defeat Shields, and then rejoining Ewell to fight with Fremont.

entrance of the bridge.* Most unfortunately, Carroll did not, or could not, immediately set to work to destroy the bridge, and thus cut off Jackson's only mode of escape. The astute rebel commander took steps at once to secure this important bridge. He ordered a large force, on Sunday, June 8th, to charge directly upon Carroll's men holding the bridge; this was done, and our troops were driven back some two miles. Being reinforced by Tyler's brigade, making our force about 3,000 in all, a spirited stand was made, and the next morning the battle of Port Republic was fought, one of the most sanguinary of the war. The rebel troops largely outnumbered ours; they charged fiercely upon our men; after a terrible conflict and loss of life, they captured the chief battery; and they finally succeeded in compelling Tyler to retreat to the main body of Shields's division up the valley.

Fremont, meanwhile, followed Jackson and his retreating force. Ewell, having done his work, as above stated, viz., kept Fremont in check at Cross Keys, on Sunday, June 8th, rejoined Jackson, and the entire rebel army crossed the Shenandoah on Monday morning. Fremont, just too late, reached the river during the afternoon of the same day, June 9th; the bridge was destroyed; and any attempt at further pursuit was useless.* The campaign was ended. There was nothing left now for Fremont but to retire, which he did almost immediately, to Mount Jackson, and subsequently to Middletown. Gen. Shields also fell back to New Market.

It is rather mortifying to be compelled to confess it, yet it is evident that Jackson outgeneralled the distinguished Union commanders who were in pursuit of him, and obtained advantages for the rebel cause of incalculable value. "Without gaining a single tactical victory Jackson had yet achieved a great strategic victory, for by skilfully manœuvring 15,000 men, he succeeded in neutralizing a force of 60,000. It is not perhaps too much to say that he saved Richmond." † Esten Cooke, speaking of the closing contest at Port Republic, says: "It was the final and decisive blow struck at the Federal campaign in the valley. It crushed, inexorably, in a few short hours, the hopes and aspirations of the two leaders who had so long and persistently followed Jackson. It disembarrassed the confederate commander of his adversaries in that direction, and enabled him

* Esten Cooke tells a curious and marvellous story in regard to the hero of his book. It appears, that when our cavalry and artillery had taken possession of the bridge over the Shenandoah, Jackson and his staff were on the south side, his army being on the north side. Jackson's audacity alone saved his being caught. Cooke says: "He rode toward the bridge, and rising in his stirrups, called sternly to the Federal officer commanding the artillery placed to sweep it: 'Who ordered you to post that gun there, sir? Bring it over here!'" Mr. Cooke goes on to say, that this remarkable specimen of an officer actually bowed, limbered up the piece and prepared to move. Jackson and his staff seized the lucky moment, and dashed across the bridge before the gun could be brought to bear to any effect upon them.

* "Fremont appeared on the northern bank of the Shenandoah, and is said to have been furious at the manner in which he had been outwitted and Gen. Shields defeated. The bridge had been burned, and as the Shenandoah was greatly swollen, it was utterly impossible for Gen. Fremont to come to the assistance of his coadjutor."—Cooke's "*Life of Jackson*," p. 191.

† Swinton's "*Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*," p. 128.

to make his swift march against the right flank of Gen. McClellan on the Chickahominy," (see p. 165). Fremont, in an address to his troops, endeavored to make the most of what had been done by them; but it was rather useless under the circumstances. Though they had punished the rebels severely on the road, yet they had missed catching and making prisoners of Jackson and his men.

Various changes at this time were made. On the 26th of June, Gen. Pope was called to the command of the Army of Virginia, including Fremont's, Banks's, and McDowell's corps. Unwilling, for various reasons relating to military etiquette, and the like, to be placed in this subordinate position, Fremont requested to be relieved from his command, and his resignation was accepted.

CHAPTER XVI.

1862.

MITCHEL IN TENNESSEE: EVACUATION OF CORINTH: FORT PILLOW, AND MEMPHIS.

Halleck at Pittsburg Landing — Beauregard at Corinth — Mitchel's movements — Starts southerly with 10,000 men to cut railroad communications of rebels — March towards Huntsville — Place taken by surprise — Effective strategy of Mitchel — Enemy's efforts against him — Bridge over the Tennessee at Decatur destroyed — Affair at Bridgeport — Crossing of the Tennessee secured — Mitchel not reinforced — Effect — Halleck prepares to advance against Beauregard — State of the troops — Large army gathered — Distinguished officers — Advance of the army — Slow progress on account of roads, nature of the country, etc. — Siege determined upon — Affair at Farmington — Progress of the siege — Corinth evacuated by Beauregard, May 29th — Halleck's dispatch — Colonel Elliott sent to Booneville — Success — False charge against him — Sherman's congratulatory address — Beauregard pursued by our men — Halleck's statement of Pope's doings — Beauregard resents it — Pope and Halleck leave the West — Cumberland Gap — Com. Foote sets out to attack Fort Pillow or Wright — Capt. Davis takes command — Rebel attack upon our flotilla — Result in our favor — Fort Pillow abandoned by rebels — Col. Ellet with his rams in advance — Arrives near Memphis — Naval battle on the 6th of June at Memphis — Lasted an hour or more — Rebels defeated — Memphis surrenders — Position of affairs in Arkansas — Expedition up the White River — Batteries taken — Curtis's expedition to mouth of Arkansas River — Success — Troops at Helena — Curtis leaves the department.

Turning our attention again to operations in the West and South, we resume the narrative at an interesting point. It will be recollected that early in April (see p. 146), the hotly contested battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing was fought, with important results, both to the cause of the Union, and the weakening the rebellion. Gen. Halleck, towards the close of the month, arrived at Pittsburg Landing, and took command of the army, which numbered at that time over 100,000 men. Beauregard had retreated to Corinth, a village in Northern Mississippi, some twenty miles from the battle-ground at Shiloh. Situated at the junction of the Mobile and Ohio

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and Memphis and Charleston Railroads, it was a point of strategic value which required to be secured as speedily as possible by our army. Nashville, on the one hand, was endangered so long as the rebels held Corinth; on the other hand, while this state of things existed, operations against Memphis could not be undertaken to any purpose. Halleck, therefore, saw at once that he must give this matter his earliest attention.

Previously to this, however, and as greatly assisting the purposes of Halleck, we must note the active and energetic movements of Gen. Mitchel. This noble specimen of a loyal general had, on the departure of Buell from Nashville, (March 28th,) proceeded with his division of about 10,000 men, by the direct southerly line towards the main stations of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, in Northern Alabama. The valuable points of the route in this direction were at Stevenson or Bridgeport, on the east, and Decatur on the west, at each of which places the line crossed the Tennessee River in its winding course. With the destruction of the two bridges, the communication of the rebels with the eastward would be effectually stopped. As the enemy had destroyed extensively the railroad and other bridges on the line of his march, and as it was necessary to keep open communication for obtaining supplies, Mitchel's force was employed, as he proceeded, in reconstructing the bridges. Having built 1,200 feet of heavy bridging in ten days, he reached Shelbyville, on the 9th of April, fifty-seven miles from Nashville and about the same distance from Huntsville, Alabama. Using extraordinary activity, and with the hearty co-operation of his men, Mitchel, in two days' march, arrived, on the evening of the 10th of April, within about ten miles of Huntsville. Preparations were made with great care to capture the city before the morning dawned. By three o'clock in the morning the whole column was in motion, advancing silently but rapidly, and not long after they marched into the city. The greatest consternation prevailed; men, women and children were suddenly roused out of their sleep, to find the dreaded and hated "Yankees" in possession. For a time the excitement is said to have been indescribable.

On the 11th of April, Mitchel telegraphed to the war department his brilliant success in "cutting the great artery of railroad communication in the southern states." Stevenson and Decatur were both entered the next day. The bridge at the latter place, which had been set on fire by the rebels, was saved. From Decatur, our troops advanced by the road and occupied Tuscumbia. Hence, "in three days," as Mitchel said in an address to his soldiers, on the 16th of April, "you have extended your front of operations more than 120 miles, and your morning gun at Tuscumbia may now be heard by your comrades on the battle-field recently made glorious by their victory before Corinth."

The extension of Mitchel's lines in order to hold the railroad, rendered his situation somewhat precarious. The enemy began to gather in force and threaten him at various points. Colo-

nel Turchin held Tuscumbia till the 24th of April, when he retired to Jonesborough, a station on the railroad near Decatur, in the face of a strong body of the rebels, advancing from the direction of Corinth. It was the enemy's expectation to capture a large quantity of supplies — a 100,000 rations—sent by Halleck, by way of Florence, a few miles distant on the Tennessee River, under convoy of a gun boat. A considerable portion of these was burned, the rest was saved. Turchin crossed the bridge over the Tennessee at Decatur. It was a costly structure, 2,200 feet in length, and while it was burning, the rebel cavalry appeared on the opposite bank. As this was the only crossing of the Tennessee east of Florence and above the head of navigation, and west of Bridgeport near Chattanooga, its destruction was a severe blow to the rebel purposes in that quarter.

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On the 27th of April, Decatur being evacuated, our troops returned to Huntsville, and hastened to Bridgeport, where the rebels were now making a stand at the bridge. Col. Sill with the advance brigade, crossed the creek beyond Stevenson by means of cotton bales and planks fastened together. He was joined by Lytle's brigade, and on the 29th of April, Mitchel took command in person. Having ascertained the position of affairs, he ordered an attack upon the enemy and drove them back upon the Bridgeport road. They attempted to blow up the bridge, but failed, and our men secured its possession. Having now control of the crossings of the river from Chattanooga westwardly, the whole length of his line, with communication by railroad, while the only enemy to be apprehended were on the southern side of the river, Mitchel closed his report to the secretary of war, under date of May 1st, saying: "This campaign is ended, and I now occupy Huntsville in perfect security, while in all of Alabama, north of the Tennessee River, floats no flag but that of the Union."

During the month of May, several expeditions were sent out by Mitchel against the enemy, and did good service; but the want of reinforcements, none of which were sent to him, prevented Mitchel accomplishing very important results; such as securing and keeping possession of Chattanooga, advancing to Gunther's Landing, and thence proceeding to Rome, in the northwestern part of Georgia, and destroying the large and valuable foundries and armories of the rebels there. Blows like these would have told with terrible severity upon the insurgents, and had the government promptly furnished Mitchel with the men necessary, he would almost certainly have hastened on the doom of rebellion. As it was, after various encounters during May and June, our troops were compelled to retire from the outposts of which they had so resolutely taken possession, yet were not able to continue to hold.*

While Mitchel was thus cutting off the rebels at Corinth from their

* Gen. Mitchel was raised to the rank of major-general of volunteers. In July, 1862, he was relieved of his command, Gen. Rousseau succeeding him; on the 17th of September following, he was appointed commander of the department of the south, where he was making preparations for the campaign, when he fell a victim to the yellow fever.

eastern communication, Halleck was busily engaged in making his preparations for an advance on Beauregard at Corinth. The troops were not in the best condition, many of them being sick and suffering from exposure in the late series of battles. Halleck, therefore, sent for Pope and his men at New Madrid (p. 143), and summoned available forces from every portion of his wide department. The army being thus strengthened and re-organized, Halleck gave orders, April 27th, that it should hold itself in readiness for immediate movement. Pope, with his division, was on the left, Buell held the centre, and Grant, with his force, was on the right. Besides these, there were other distinguished officers, holding different positions under Halleck, such as Gens. W. T. Sherman, Thomas, McClernand, Lewis Wallace, J. C. Davis, etc. The entire army occupied a semi-circular line of six miles, and numbered over 100,000 men. The force of the rebels was estimated to be about the same in number.*

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On the 29th of April, the army began its advance, gradually but steadily. Day after day, a division or brigade moved forward, and our outposts were extended. Gen. Sherman took possession of Monterey, May 1st, a place about midway between Pittsburg Landing and Corinth. A few days previously, the rebels at Purdy, some twenty miles west of Pittsburg Landing were dislodged, and the railroad bridge connecting Corinth with Jackson was destroyed.

Halleck continued his advance steadily toward Corinth, and on the 3d of May was within about eight miles of the beleaguered city. His army now amounted to 108,000 men; the forces in the field were newly organized; the command of the army corps on the right was given to Thomas; Buell continued to hold the centre, Pope the left, while the reserve was assigned to McClernand. Grant was second in command under Halleck. From the nature of the ground, the roads were in a wretched condition; progress was slow and toilsome; and Halleck moved cautiously. His plan was to approach the works on the front by regular siege, securing, as he advanced, all available points, and send out movable forces to cut the railroads on the enemy's flank and rear.

Pope advanced his forces on the left, some ten miles, by extraordinary exertions, and ordered, May 3d, a reconnaissance towards Farmington, a commanding position, four miles to the east of Corinth, on the edge of the swamp. The rebels were found to be between four and five thousand in numbers, with artillery and cavalry, occupying a strong position near the town. They were driven out by assault; on the 9th, the rebels retook the town; but a few days afterwards they were again expelled.

Halleck commenced regular siege

* Beauregard's real anxiety at the state of things in the South was shown in a brief address to the planters, published in the Memphis papers, April 27th: "The casualties of war have opened the Mississippi to our enemies. The time has therefore come to test the earnestness of all classes, and I call on all patriotic planters owning cotton in the possible reach of our enemies to apply the torch to it without delay or hesitation."

operations, on the 20th May,* investing Corinth on the north and east at about four miles distant, the interval being gradually narrowed by second and third parallels, until our forces, on the 27th, well protected with batteries and heavy guns were within 1,300 yards of the rebel works. On the 28th, a general reconnaissance was made, feeling the enemy's position, and unmasking his batteries.

The next morning, Pope opened his heavy batteries upon the enemy's entrenchments, and soon drove them from their advanced battery. Sherman established another battery in the afternoon of the same day, within 1,000 yards of the rebel works,† and skirmishing parties were sent out at daybreak the next morning. On the 30th of May, Halleck communicated several times, by dispatch, with Washington, stating that the rebels had fallen back to the Mobile and Ohio Railroad; that our advanced guard was in Corinth; that the enemy's works were very strong in front of the town; that they had destroyed an immense amount of public and private property, stores, provisions, etc.; and that some 2,000 prisoners and deserters had been captured.

On the same day that Corinth was evacuated, an expedition, under Col. Elliott, was sent by Pope to Boonesville, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. By forced marches, he reached the place, and destroyed the track both south and north of the town, together with the depot, locomotives, cars, supplies, etc. The enemy's attempts to prevent his movement were wholly unsuccessful.* On the 30th of May, Sherman issued a congratulatory order to his troops, which, which among other things, pointed out unsparingly how far short the enemy had fallen of their boastful and defiant proclamations, in hastily leaving Corinth, as they did. "The whole country from Richmond to Memphis, and Nashville to Mobile, rung with their taunts and boasting as to how they would immolate the Yankees if they dared to leave the Tennessee River. . . . . We yesterday marched unopposed through the burning embers of their destroyed camps and property, and pursued them to their swamps, until burning bridges plainly confessed that they had fled and not marched away for better ground."

The pursuit of the enemy was immediate and active. The cavalry were especially diligent. Gen. Granger left Farmington, May 30th, on the Booneville road, and the same day came up with the rebel rear guard at Tuscumbia

* On the 13th of May, Halleck issued an order, enjoining commanders of army corps and divisions "to see that their camps are cleared of all unauthorized hangers on," under the severest of penalties. The newspaper correspondents protested publicly against this, but Halleck was not to be moved; he had suffered from spies, and he would have no civilians of any sort in the camp.

† For various interesting and valuable details, see Gen Sherman's official report, quoted in Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. ii., pp. 440–442.

* Col. Elliott was charged by Beauregard with cruelly destroying four sick persons in a building he fired at Boonesville. Gen. Granger, who led the pursuit from Corinth with a body of cavalry, pronounced the charge an infamous falsehood. He stated that Col. Elliott found 2,000 sick and convalescent, who were in a most shocking condition; the dead and the dying lying side by side; neither surgeons nor nurses; and without water or food for more than a day. Col. Elliott had them all removed to places of safety, by his own men, and then set fire to the depot and cars (26 in all), as, said Gen. Granger, can be proved by hundreds of witnesses.

Creek, eight miles south of Corinth. The retreat and pursuit were continued for several days, with sharp skirmishing at various points. Halleck wrote to the secretary of war, June 4th, that Pope, with 40,000 men, was thirty miles south of Corinth, pushing the enemy hard, and that he reported already 10,000 prisoners and deserters from the enemy, and 15,000 stand of arms captured.*

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On the 10th of June, Baldwin and Guntown were occupied by our troops, and further pursuit was given up. The rebels fell back to Tupello, some fifty miles by railroad from Corinth. Buell remained in Corinth till the 10th of June, when he moved along the line of railroad towards Chattanooga. Soon after, he found it necessary to move on Louisville, in order to counteract Bragg's designs in Kentucky. Grant with his army occupied the line of West Tennessee and Mississippi, from Memphis to Iuka, protecting the railroads from Columbus south, which were at that time their only channels of supply. Toward the close of June, Pope left the West to take command in Virginia. Halleck also resigned command of his department in July, and on the 23d, by order of the president, assumed the duties of general-in-chief of the army of the United States. Cumberland Gap was occupied by Gen. G. W. Morgan, on the 18th of June, and held by him until the autumn, when, Kentucky being invaded, he was compelled to retire.

Commodore Foote, who had done excellent service at Island No. 10 (p. 143), left New Madrid, April 12th, and proceeded down the Mississippi with his mortar boats and transports following. His purpose was to attack Fort Pillow or Wright, which was situated at the Chickasaw Bluff, near Islands Nos. 33 and 34, and about seventy miles above Memphis. A combined attack was purposed to be made by Foote with Pope's aid, but the latter was called away, as we have seen (p. 178) to assist in operations against Corinth. The fleet remained, however, watching the enemy, with almost daily firing on and from the fort; Commodore Foote, who was suffering from a severe wound received at Donelson, was relieved of his command, May 9th, by Captain C. H. Davis.

On the following morning, the rebel gun boats and ram made an attack upon our flotilla, lying at the time tied up to the bank, three on the eastern and four on the western side of the river. The ram advanced to run down the gun boat Cincinnati, Capt. R. N. Stembel, giving her a severe blow on the starboard quarter, and apparently uninjured by the broadsides of the gun boat. The engagement became general. The ram succeeded in damaging the Cincinnati so greatly that she soon after sunk. The other vessels did excellent service. After an hour at close quarters, one of the rebel boats being sunk

* Beauregard calls Pope a lying braggart, and affirms that he must have dreamed, or worse, when he said he had taken 10,000 prisoners and 15,000 stand of arms. Beauregard declares that less than 200 prisoners or stragglers, and some 500 damaged muskets were all that Pope got. The arithmetic of the generals is curiously at fault in this; 10,000 versus 200; 15,000 versus 500.

and two being blown up, the enemy retired hastily and in bad condition under the guns of the fort. Capt. Stembel was dangerously wounded, our total loss consisting in four wounded.

The fleet now took a nearer position, and were preparing to make a vigorous attack upon Fort Pillow, when it was found that, on the night of the 4th of June, the fort was evacuated. The operations of Halleck before Corinth, and the evacuation of that place, had compelled the withdrawal of the rebel forces from their advantageous position at Fort Pillow. The works here were of the most formidable and extensive character; but the rebels had left nothing which they could destroy, when they fled down the river towards Memphis.

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Lieut.-Col. Ellet, with a fleet of rams, led the advance, in pursuit of the enemy. At Fort Randolph, twelve miles below, he caused the Union flag to be raised, the place being entirely abandoned, guns dismantled, etc. Everywhere cotton was seen floating on the water, it having been thrown into the river to prevent its capture. On the 5th of June, the squadron arrived within two miles of Memphis, and anchored for the night, awaiting the decisive engagement which was to take place with the rebel gun boats the next day.

Soon after daylight, on the 6th of June, the battle began. Our fleet consisted of five gun boats, Capt. Davis in command, together with two of the ram fleet, under Col. Ellet's command. The rebels had more vessels, but a less number of guns; all of their gun boats were fitted to be used as rams as well as for other purposes. In an hour's time, however, it was plain that the rebels were defeated, and that Memphis must be given up to the control of the United States authorities.*

Captain Davis demanded the surrender of the city, which was ungraciously made by Mayor Park. Col. Fitch took military possession, a provost marshal was appointed, and the city was as quiet and orderly as could be expected, under the circumstances.

This was the third stage in the progress down the Mississippi, Memphis having followed the fortunes of New Madrid, Columbus and Fort Pillow. Having now the control of the Mississippi, as far down as Vicksburg, the way was open for our forces to attack the enemy in Arkansas, by means of the principal rivers, viz., the White River, descending in a south-easterly course from Missouri, and the Arkansas, penetrating its central portions. The battle at Pea Ridge in March (see p. 119), had given the Union troops under Curtis a firm footing in the north-western quarter. The army, some 14,000 strong, left Batesville, on the upper waters of White River, on the 24th of June, with twenty days' rations, and passing through Jacksonport, Augusta and Clarendon, by a series of adventurous forced mar-

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* Col. Ellet was the only one wounded or injured in any way, in the portion of the fleet under his command. He was shot by a musket ball above the knee, which was not at first considered alarming, but proved fatal. He was carried to Cairo, where he died on the 21st of June. Eminent for scientific attainments, and one who had successfully carried to a completion his long cherished views as to the value and importance of steam battering rams, his death was a public loss, deeply to be lamented.

ches, arrived at Helena, on the Mississippi River on the 11th of July.

About the 10th of June, an expedition was fitted out at Memphis to descend the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas, and thence up to the White River, clearing it of obstructions, to Batesville. The expedition consisted of the gun boats St. Louis, Lexington, Conestoga and Mound City, under Capt. Kilty's command, and an Indiana regiment under command of Colonel Fitch. The fleet reached the mouth of White River, 170 miles below Memphis, on the 14th of June, and, cautiously ascending the stream, on the morning of the 17th, came upon the rebel works, on a high bluff on the south side of the river, in the vicinity of St. Charles, about 85 miles from the Mississippi. The Mound City and St. Louis received the fire of the first battery without injury; when, passing on to another bend of the stream, they encountered a second battery, which proved of a more formidable character. Col. Fitch landed two miles below, so as to take the batteries in the rear. At this juncture a shot from the battery struck the Mound City on the port side, and passing through the iron-lined casemate, entered the steam drum.

The explosion and its effects were fearful, large numbers being scalded to death, and but few escaping by plunging into the river through the portholes. Meantime, Col. Fitch reached the rear of the upper battery, and carried the works at the point of the bayonet. Six field pieces and three heavy siege guns were taken, together with a number of prisoners. After the action a part of the fleet proceeded up the river, but was soon obliged to return by the low state of the water. Thus the expedition was unsuccessful, and failed to open communication with Curtis.

We may mention in this connection, that Curtis, towards the close of July, started with a body of troops on transports to look after a rebel force under Price, which it was reported were crossing the Mississippi between Napoleon and Vicksburg. On the 27th, he destroyed the steam ferryboat at Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas River, together with 16 other ferry and flat boats which had been withdrawn up the White River. The expedition returned soon after to Helena. In September, Curtis was appointed to the command of the Department of Missouri, containing the states of Missouri and Arkansas and the adjacent Indian Territory. Helena continued to be occupied by our troops, but active military operations were suspended. This closed the campaign of Gen. Curtis.

D. G. Farragut

CHAPTER XVII.

1862.

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF: NAVAL AND MILITARY EVENTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Gen. Butler in New Orleans — State of affairs — Butler's proclamation — Feeling of the people — Proclamation, how printed — The poor of the city — Necessity of providing for — General order on the subject — Further steps of Butler to cleanse the city, etc. — Mode of raising funds — Trouble with the consul of the Netherlands about $800,000 — Result — Conduct of the women in New Orleans — The famous order No. 28 — Its effect — Vile sense put on the order — Anger of the rebels and others — Fierce tirades — Execution of four persons for burglary, etc. — Butler's activity and zeal — Farragut on the Mississippi — Visits Baton Rouge and Natchez — Arrives at Vicksburg — Strength of the place — Farragut passes the batteries — Butler's scheme for isolating Vicksburg — Rebel ram Arkansas — Reaches Vicksburg despite the fleet — Farragut repasses the batteries and tries to destroy the Arkansas — Baton Rouge attacked by Breckenridge in August — Gen. Williams killed — Rebels defeated — Ram Arkansas destroyed near Baton Rouge by Porter — The Lafourche district — Expedition into, in October — Weitzel's success — Butler recalled — Banks his successor.

IN giving an account of the capture New Orleans (see p. 154, etc.), it was stated that Gen. Butler with his forces took possession of the city on the 1st of May. The position in which he was placed was not one to be envied. The impertinent language of Mayor Monroe to Commodore Farragut (p. 157), the insulting conduct of the great mass of the people, the prevalence of mob rule, the wretchedly reduced, almost starving, condition of the poorer classes, and the malignant, unquenchable hatred towards Butler and the United States authority, which the wealthier rebels exhibited, all these afforded indications, not to be misunderstood, that it would be no easy task to maintain the authority of the government and provide for the necessities of the case, as they were certain to rise. Evidently, it required a man of special qualifications to fill this position; a man of nerve as well as sagacity; a man quick to act and determined in his action; a man who could and would crush insubordination or revolt at a blow; and, at the same time, a man who both knew and would respect the rights and privileges of all. Butler who was in command of the Department of the Gulf, New Orleans being his headquarters, had now an opportunity to prove his fitness for ruling such a city and its surroundings as was the Crescent City of the South in May, 1862.

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The first step of the commanding general was to issue a proclamation, clearly stating the position of affairs, and his determination to restore order, maintain public tranquility, and enforce peace and quiet under the laws and Constitution of the United States. It was a business-like document, concise, and straightforward in its meaning. "The sum and substance of the whole," as Butler said, in reading it at his headquarters at the St. Charles Hotel, to the

mayor and several others, "is this: I wish to leave the municipal authority in the full exercise of its accustomed functions. I do not desire to interfere with the collection of taxes, the government of the police, the lighting and cleaning of the streets, the sanitary laws, or the administration of justice. I desire only to govern the military forces of the department, and to take cognizance only of affairs committed by or against them. Representing here the United States, it is my wish to confine myself solely to the business of sustaining the government of the United States against its enemies."

This conciliatory view of the position of affairs and of the determination of Butler to be the ruler in his place, according to his ability, was by no means acceptable to the mayor and inhabitants of New Orleans. They pretended to call themselves "unconquered;" they were, they said, merely submitting to "brute force;" they were accustomed to having their own way, and indulging in riot and disorder, with the attendant drunkenness and street murderings; they were, in fact, savage in their fury at being put under constraint, in not being allowed to insult, spit upon, or assassinate our men; and in having a muzzle put upon the rampant, seditious newspaper press, which, day by day, was striving to "fire" the southern heart.

In this latter respect, immediate action was called for. On sending to the several papers of the city to print the proclamation, they all refused; something must be done at once; the gentlemen owning and publishing newspapers must be taught a salutary lesson; so a guard was sent to the office of the *True Delta;* they took possession of the place, and some half dozen of their number being printers, they speedily put the proclamation in type and printed it off. There was no interference with the office or its affairs, except for the business on which they came, and when that was accomplished they quietly retired.

The most pressing duty which fell upon Butler was to provide food for the starving population of a city containing 150,000 inhabitants, nearly half of whom knew not where to-morrow's bread was to come from, or whether to-morrow might not be actual starvation. The business of the city, being mostly in connection with the cotton trade, was virtually dead; the mechanics and working classes were without occupation; the wealthy rebels, with hearts of stone as it seemed, would not contribute one cent to the relief of the poor, but were studying all the time how they might give aid to rebel bands outside the city; and Butler saw and felt, that immediate action must be taken; the poor must be fed, and the rich must contribute towards doing it. The weather was hot; the streets were extremely filthy; the terrible yellow fever might soon be expected; and not a day's delay could be justified. Hence, the commanding general, on the 9th of May, issued a general order, which gave evidence of his spirit and purpose in the existing state of affairs. Speaking in deservedly severe terms of the hard-heartedness of the wealthy rebels, and their indif- 1862.

ference to the sufferings of the poor, he announced that, to the extent possible within his power, he would see that the hungry were fed and the distressed relieved with provisions.*

Finding that the city government was intentionally neglectful of the streets and the general sanitary condition of the city, Butler determined to take steps by which the poor should have work and the city be purified. Col. Thorpe, appointed city surveyor, at once employed 2,000 men—1,000 more were afterwards added—in sweeping the streets, purging the canals, repairing the levee, removing nuisances, and in every kind of work which could render New Orleans clean, decent and fit to live in, despite the threatened yellow fever, which, the rebels declared, with much apparent satisfaction, would make short work of their hated oppressors.

The question immediately arose, where were the funds to come from to support the thousands of men, with families dependent on them, thus set at work by authority of the commanding general? Butler's plan was bold and ingenious; it was set forth in a general order, issued August 4th, in which he declared, that "those who have brought upon the city this stagnation of business, this desolation of the hearth stone, this starvation of the poor and helpless, should, as far as they may be able, relieve these distresses." Certain persons, subscribers to the million and a quarter loan, in the hands of a committee of public safety, for rebel defence of New Orleans against the United States, were assessed in proportion to their subscriptions, this assessment yielding nearly $313,000. Certain cotton brokers, who had advised planters not to send cotton to New Orleans, were assessed $29,000; making in all, for this charitable necessity, $342,000.*

It appears, that there were some $800,000 in specie, at the office of the consulate of the Netherlands. On the 10th of May, Butler ordered the money to be seized, on the alleged ground that it was placed there, and held under cover of a foreign consulate, in order to aid and benefit the rebels. The consul, M. Couturié, took high ground as to inviolability, freedom from search, and such like; but as he refused to give up the key of his vault when it was demanded by the United States officer, it was forcibly taken out of his pocket; the vault was opened, and there were found to be, beside a number of other things which had no business there, 160 kegs, each containing 5,000 Mexican dollars. They were removed, and placed the next day in the United States mint building. Immediately all the consuls in New Orleans (except the Mexican), nineteen in number, prepared a strong protest

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* Butler, desirous to do well by the working men, was gratified by the result. Despite the impertinent protests of the Spanish, French, Belgian, and one or two other consuls, against requiring an oath of allegiance to the United States from all who desired protection, not less than 14,000 of the bone and sinew of New Orleans took the oath of allegiance within a month after Butler's arrival. Thirty-five thousand persons, too, were daily fed, through Butler's management, of whom only some 3,000 were natives, and out of more than 10,000 families thus kept from starving, less than one-tenth were Americans.

* In December, 1862, the funds were exhausted. Butler renewed his general order, and the same assessments were laid upon the same persons, much, we may well believe, to their indignation and disgust.

against Butler's action, as a violation of treaty rights, etc. The reply was somewhat sharp and decisive in tone, and gave these gentlemen to understand that they must mind their own proper business, and not undertake to give aid in any way to the rebel cause. M. Couturié wrote to Washington, and the Netherlands minister made loud complaint as to the indignity to which the consul had been subjected; whereupon Mr. Seward sent the Hon. Reverdy Johnson to New Orleans, as a special commissioner, to investigate the whole matter. On his report the money was given up to those who claimed it as foreign property, and Gen. Butler had a great deal of trouble with very little satisfaction. The consuls generally in New Orleans made themselves thoroughly disagreeable; but they soon found that Butler was a man who would put up with no nonsense or proclivities towards rebellion.*

The intensified bitterness of feeling on the part of the New Orleans rebels, and the daily mortification which came upon their pride and haughty boastings, we have before alluded to. This feeling cannot, in fact, be described; it can hardly be imagined. Open acts of violence, as they occurred, were promptly punished; and the men for the most part, abusive as they might show themselves, had to satisfy their hatred by mutterings and a sort of sullen blackguardism. The women, however, especially the women in good circumstances, the well dressed young girls, the women of old wealthy families, these manifested such spitefulness of temper, and behaved themselves towards our officers and men in such wise as that it speedily became altogether intolerable. No indignity that could be thought of by these New Orleans "ladies" was left untried; such as insulting gestures, upturned noses, minute rebel flags on their persons, even at last spitting in the faces of the Union soldiers and upon their uniforms. Of course, such a state of things could not be allowed to continue; it must be stopped at once, and that effectively.

But *how* to do it, was not so easy to determine. The women could not be subjected to the same or similar punishments with the men; and Butler, after considerable study, prepared his general order, No. 28, which, as it became somewhat famous afterwards, we give to the reader in full: — "As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered, that hereafter, when any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult, or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded, and held liable to be treated, as a woman of the town plying her avocation." That is, every woman of the town, behaving as every such miserable being does, was liable, according to the laws of New Orleans, to be arrested, imprisoned for the night in the calaboose, and next morning to be fined

* Mr. Parton gives a long and interesting chapter, with documents, respecting the foreign consuls and their conduct in New Orleans. See Parton's "*Gen. Butler in New Orleans*," pp. 354–406.

$5 by the magistrate. No decent woman would for a moment expose herself to such degradation. Whatever may be thought of Butler's choice of phraseology, the effect of the order was immediate; and its success complete. Thenceforward, the "ladies" of New Orleans found it best to confine the evidences of their feelings of enmity within bounds, and to behave themselves in the streets and in public with tolerable propriety.*

Unfortunately, as it turned out, there was a bad, vile sense which could be put upon the language of the latter part of the order, by such as wished to do so, as if Butler had deliberately ordered his officers and troops to commit the grossest outrage which can be conceived of. The order became famous all over the country; Mayor Monroe was immediately horrified, and wrote in the greatest haste to Gen. Butler;† others joined with him, for the purpose of getting the order rescinded; which resulted in the sending his Honor, and others like him, to Fort Jackson, and placing the city under martial rule. Beauregard seized upon the opportunity, and almost surpassed himself in the proclamation which he issued; the governor of Louisiana discoursed upon so stirring a theme as guarding "the chastity of our women," and "recoiling in horror from the panderer to lust and desecrator of virtue;" in various parts of the North, Butler was sharply and bitterly criticized; and even our very neutral friends in England felt bound to call the order "infamous," and to sneer expressively at "the model Republic."*

On a previous page (see p. 157), we mentioned the execution of Mumford for an act of daring outrage upon the United States flag, on the 27th of April. The execution took **1862.** place on the 7th of June, and it is noteworthy as the first instance in the history of the government, of a military trial and conviction for such an offence. This severe meting out of justice was followed, a few days afterward, by the execution of four persons, named Clary, Roy, Crage and Newton. Clary had been second officer of a United States transport, Crage had been first officer of the ship City of New York, Newton had been a private in the army, and Roy belonged to New Orleans. These men, with several others, formed an organized gang of thieves, who, under pretended forged authority of Gen. But-

* It deserves to be stated, in this connection, that in no instance was the order misunderstood on the part of the troops, and not one arrest under Order No. 28 was ever made.

† Butler's note addressed to the mayor requires, as a matter of justice, to be quoted:—"Sir—There can be, there has been, no room for misunderstanding of general order No. 28. No lady will take any notice of a strange gentleman, and *a fortiori* of a stranger, in such form as to attract attention. Common women do. Therefore, whatever woman, lady or mistress, gentle or simple, who, by gesture, look or word, insults, shows contempt for, thus attracting to herself the notice of my officers and soldiers, will be deemed to act as becomes her vocation of common woman, and will be liable to be treated accordingly. This was most fully explained to you at my office. I shall not, as I have not, abated a single word of that order; it was well considered. If obeyed, it will protect the true and modest woman from all possible insult. The others will take care of themselves. You can publish your letter if you publish this note, and your apology."

* Pollard's language is unusually violent about "the Beast," the "vulgar and drunken Butler," the "order which stigmatized as prostitutes the ladies of New Orleans," the infamous plundering, lying, harlotry and the like, by our officers and soldiers, etc., etc.—"*Second Year of the War*," pp. 17–21.

ler, and disguising themselves in uniforms of United States soldiers, entered and searched various houses, and stole all the money, jewelry and everything else they could lay hands upon. On being arrested, they were tried and convicted, and Butler sentenced them be hung. The sentence was carried into execution on the 16th of June. The effect was salutary upon the minds of both rebels and Union men in New Orleans.

Abating none of his zeal, Butler was diligent in enforcing the confiscation act of Congress, July 17th; he seized upon 6,000 arms of various descriptions in private hands; and he made numerous efforts to benefit the blacks—respecting whom the government had not yet adopted a definite line of policy—by enlisting many of them into the United States service, etc. Outside of the city, and in other parts of the department of the Gulf, he strove to accomplish something; but the lack of reinforcements, and the reverses to our arms in Virginia during the summer, prevented his doing all that he purposed.

It will be remembered that Commodore Farragut, immediately after the capture of New Orleans and its occupation by Butler (see p. 158), availed himself of the desired opportunity to advance up the Mississippi. He sent detachments of his squadron to take possession of the principal places, and to clear the way for the opening of the river throughout its entire course. This was to be accomplished by co-operation with Commodore Davis, who was advancing from above Memphis towards Farragut's fleet below.

At Baton Rouge, 140 miles above New Orleans, the national flag was raised, with expressions of Union feelings on the part of a portion of the inhabitants, and the arsenal and other public property were taken possession of by Capt. Palmer of the Iroquois, on the 8th of May. On the 12th, Natchez was visited, but as it was a position of no military importance no steps were taken to occupy it. About a week later, Commander Lee, with the advance of the squadron, arrived near Vicksburg, and under orders from Commodore Farragut and Gen. Butler, demanded the surrender of the place and its defences. This was peremptorily refused by the city authorities. Farragut arrived shortly after, with a body of troops under General Williams, and was followed by an additional naval and military force, including Porter's mortar flotilla, which had been withdrawn from its proposed theatre of operations on the Gulf. The fortifications at Vicksburg, consisting of an extensive range of batteries on the heights, the town being built on a bluff rising to a considerable elevation above the river, were not very readily to be assailed by the guns of the squadron. In fact, the reduction of the place, which was capable of easy reinforcement from its railroad connections with the interior, was speedily ascertained to be an undertaking of no slight difficulty.* 1862.

* Butler's scheme, by which the Mississippi was to be turned from its course and Vicksburg made an inland town, was a failure. Vicksburg, it will be remembered, is situate opposite a peninsula, on the other side of the river, some three miles long by a mile wide, formed by the Mississippi doubling on its own course. Butler's plan was to cut a canal across this peninsula and persuade the river into a new channel; but the

Farragut determined to pass the batteries at Vicksburg. Accordingly, on the 28th of June, he did so, early in the morning, and eight out of the ten vessels under orders reached a part of Davis's fleet above, at the mouth of the Yazoo River. Davis joined Farragut at once above Vicksburg. The rebel ram Arkansas had been carried up the Yazoo River in May, and Col. Ellet went to look after and if possible destroy her; but he was unsuccessful. On the 15th of July, the Arkansas, completely iron-clad, and with ten guns, steamed down the Yazoo, dashed in among our gun boats and other vessels, and finally arrived in safety under the fortifications of Vicksburg.

Annoyed at this, Farragut the same evening, repassed the batteries, intending to bombard the Arkansas in passing; but the darkness prevented his carying out his plan. As the water in the Mississippi was falling, Farragut dropped down the river and reached New Orleans, July 28th. Davis sailed up the river, and in conjunction with Gen. Curtis, made a successful expedition up the Yazoo River.

For the present, at least, nothing further could be done with Vicksburg, and the rebels determined to regain possession of Baton Rouge. The ram Arkansas was to attack our few gun boats at the place, while Breckenridge from Camp Moore was to assault it by land. Our force at Baton Rouge, at the beginning of August, was weak, not more than 2,000 effective men, Gen. William's being in command.

Aware of the approach of the enemy, on the 4th of August, Gen. Williams placed his troops in position outside the town, and the next morning the rebels appeared. The ram Arkansas, having repaired damages, was a short distance above, expecting to take part in the encounter. The attacking force was estimated at 6,000 men; Williams had only about one-third that number in good condition, but many of those on the sick list joined their comrades on the field, and fought with their accustomed bravery. Our limits do not admit of giving details; suffice it to say, that for five hours, under a blazing sun, the battle raged, and with the aid of the gun boats the rebels were defeated. Exhaustion and the intense heat rendered it impossible to pursue the enemy to any purpose. Gen. Williams was killed in the thickest of the fight, and our entire loss was reported to be nearly 300.

The ram Arkansas, part of her machinery being out of order, did not engage in the fight; but the next morning, Commander W. D. Porter, in the Essex, determined to make another effort for her destruction. Accordingly, as he writes in an off hand way to Farragut:—"This morning (August 5th) I steamed up the river; and at ten A.M. attacked the rebel ram Arkansas, and blew her up. There is not a fragment of her left. Her engines having given way, the ram was backed on shore and set on fire, and the crew, to the number of about 200, escaped."

The district of Lafourche, southwest

soil of tough clay and the low state of the water showed that the plan was impracticable. Vicksburg therefore remained as it was, a formidable rebel post, requiring immense effort and labor to subdue.

of New Orleans, which has been termed the garden of Louisiana, for its richness, was occupied by staunch secessionists, who hated the United States heartily, and utterly detested the commanding general of the Gulf department and his doings. In the month of May, Col. Kinsman visited Lafourche district, and gave the people significant warning of what was in store for them if they resisted the authority of the United States. Col. Keith, at a later date, was in the same region, hunting after those wretches known as guerrillas, and by his promptitude in administering justice, repeated the warnings previously given. In the latter part of October, it was determined by Gen. Butler to send an expedition into this region and bring it directly under his control. General Weitzel was placed in command of the forces, a brigade of infantry and the requisite artillery and cavalry. By rapid movements, a spirited and successful action at Labadieville, and some less important combats, Weitzel obtained, in some four days, complete possession of the entire district. Butler, with his usual promptitude, applied the confiscation act of July, 1862, to the Lafourche district, and by this, as well as other measures, caused the United States authority to be felt and respected by the inhabitants. 1862.

For some reasons never made public, but not difficult to imagine, the government had determined, early in November, to recall Gen. Butler, and place Gen. Banks in command, adding Texas to the department of the Gulf. Butler, unaware of this, was as busy as ever, hoping and praying for reinforcements; but on the evening of December 14th, Gen. Banks arrived at New Orleans, and made known to Butler that his services were no longer required in the department. On the 24th, Butler left New Orleans and returned to the North; Banks having entered upon his duties on the 16th of December.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1862.

DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH: PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

Hunter in command of the department of the South —Smallness of his force — His proclamation — Excitement produced — Perplexities of the question — President Lincoln's views — Repudiation of Hunter's proclamation — Treatment of the blacks — Robert Small's exploit — Subject of arming the negroes — Diversity of opinion and action — Military operations attempted against Charleston — Some fighting, but with no success to the Union cause — More troops wanted — Mitchel succeeds Hunter — His zeal in his work — Several expeditions projected — Sickness in the army — Death of Gen. Mitchel — Closing proceedings of Congress — Act authorizing additional issue of treasury notes — Three important bills acted upon, the Homestead, the Pacific Railroad, and the one condemning and punishing polygamy in Utah — Navy arrangements as to the grades of officers, etc. — Confiscation act — Its significance — Congress adjourns.

GEN. HUNTER, on the 31st of March, took command of the department of the South, comprising the states of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. His force was insufficient for any aggressive measures against the rebels, and he was principally occupied in watching their movements. This officer, being considerably in advance of public sentiment on the perplexing question of slavery and what to do with the negroes in the insurrectionary states, issued an order from Hilton Head, in which he said, "slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three states, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared *forever free*."

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Public attention was at once aroused. Hunter's course was applauded by some, and denounced by others. Some rejoiced at the prospect of the speedy extinction of slavery; others, secession sympathizers at the North especially, were enraged at this bold interference with the rights of property, especially property in slaves.

As for the government, its position was by no means an easy one. The president and his cabinet were distressed and even anxious on this subject. The pressure upon Mr. Lincoln from almost every quarter was exceedingly severe and constant. He did not know what to do or say, so as to satisfy his own conscience and deal justly with the several parties concerned. Sincerely desirous to do what was right, the president for a long time urged the gradual emancipation of the slaves, the compensating the owners for making them free, and also the sending them away out of the country, to South America or elsewhere. But the necessity of some definite line of policy was pressing heavily upon the government; the question could not much longer be delayed, in the midst of our mighty struggle for the supremacy of law and order. Loyal men differed widely on

the subject. Some urged the president to take decisive steps at once; while others opposed and denounced any such course in strong, even fierce language. Mr. Lincoln had repudiated Fremont's attempt in 1861 (see p. 87), to emancipate slaves in Missouri. The president dared not, as yet, to go to the length which Fremont and Hunter had gone. It may be doubted, indeed, whether or no the country would have sustained him just then. At all events, whatever the future might develop, he felt called on to issue a proclamation, under date of May 19th, in which he expressly disclaimed the action of Hunter, and refused to pronounce any decision upon the vexed question of freeing the slaves in the rebel states, at the present.*

Although the president had seen fit thus to decide upon Gen. Hunter's order in regard to the slaves in the department of the South, he did not interfere with various efforts which were being made to improve the condition of the negro, and render him available for service to the cause of the Union against the rebellion. Hunter was certain that the blacks would make good soldiers, if properly instructed, and he bestowed much attention upon giving them the opportunity of fitting themselves for the work sooner or later before them.

On the 13th of May, a slave, named Robert Small, who had been acting as pilot for some time on board the steam tug Planter, in the harbor of Charleston, succeeded in bringing the vessel out from under the batteries of the forts, and delivering to the Union blockading squadron a rebel gun boat which was employed in military service in the bay. The Planter was a high-pressure side-wheel steamer, armed with two guns, and had on board four large guns under way for Fort Ripley, in the harbor. Small, who had the entire management of the matter in his hands, embraced the favorable moment when the officers had gone on shore, and taking with him 8 men, 5 women and 3 children, all negroes, he passed Fort Sumter very early in the morning, giving the proper signal, and steaming rapidly out of range of the guns. The rebel colors were hauled down, a white flag was raised, and Small and his company were soon under the protection of the stars and stripes. In accordance with the recommendation of Commodore Dupont, Congress passed an act, giving Small and his companions the benefit of their having transferred the rebel steamer to the Union authorities. One half of the value of the Planter and the property on board of her, as per appraisement, was apportioned among them, they, for the present, receiving the interest, until such

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* Mr. Lincoln pleaded earnestly, in this same proclamation, for the policy of emancipation. "You cannot, if you would," he said, addressing the people of the border states, "be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above partisan and personal politics." On the 12th of July, he held a conference with the members of Congress from Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Missouri, and begged of them to press the subject upon the attention of their constituents. The measure recommended by the president in such earnest terms was discussed in the states just named, but not adopted by any one. We may mention in the present connection, that at a later date, September 22d, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation, in which was plainly foreshadowed the conclusion at which the government arrived, at the close of the year 1862, upon the subject of emancipation. See McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 227–228.

time as it might be expedient to pay the principal sum.

The subject of arming the negroes excited no little attention among the people generally, as well as in Congress. Hunter, in reply to a resolution of inquiry, said that this arming of the blacks was "a complete and even marvellous success." The loyal portion of the community were evidently tending to the view which finally prevailed, viz., that the necessities of war required the employment of the negro in helping to put down the great rebellion. Various precedents were, on search, found for such employment; in the revolution, in the war of 1812, in Jackson's New Orleans' campaign, etc. The governors of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, on the new call for 300,000 men, caused the blacks to be enrolled in these states. The governor of Ohio, however, refused to accept their services; and in the army generally, there was a dislike to the bringing in the blacks and placing them by the side of white soldiers. In fact, the question was beset with peculiar difficulties, and it required not only a modification of popular feeling but especially time to bring it to anything like a settlement.

As we have before stated, Hunter's force was too limited in number for any military movement of importance. An attempt was made, however, in June, in the direction of Charleston. Gradual approaches in this quarter along the coast had been made by various naval reconnaissances, and by the occupation of Edisto Island under Gen. T. W. Sherman's command. In May, circumstances appeared favorable for an attack upon Charleston. The information brought by the pilot Small, of the state of the fortifications, the troops, and means of defence in and around the harbor, encouraged the attempt, and an approach to the city seemed practicable from below by the Stono River. Accordingly, on the 20th of May, several gun boats were sent by Commodore Dupont to that river; occupation was taken of the inlet by the squadron, and preparations rapidly made to lodge a force on James Island, with a view of gaining possession of its batteries, and, in case these were successfully overcome, pushing to the Ashley River, where Charleston might be assailed out of reach of the powerful forts in the harbor. On the 29th of May, an unsuccessful effort was made to destroy the rebel line of communication by the Charleston and Savannah Railroad at Pocataligo. On the 2d of June, Hunter and Benham were landed on James Island, waiting the arrival of Gen. Wright with cavalry, artillery and additional infantry from Edisto Island. Severe storms, bad roads, and insufficient means of crossing the river, delayed operations materially, and gave the rebels an opportunity to obtain reinforcements. During a week or more, sharp skirmishes were frequent; and on the 16th of June, an attack was made by order of Benham, upon the entrenched works of the enemy. Our troops fought gallantly, but after a severe struggle failed of success, having lost some 700 in killed, wounded and missing. The forces on James Island soon after returned to their quarters at Hilton Head.

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Hunter having been relieved, at his own request, Mitchel was sent as his successor, and arrived towards the end of September at Port Royal. Immediately on his arrival he entered with great zeal upon his duties. Although unable, from lack of reinforcements, to attempt any movements of importance, Mitchel projected a number of minor expeditions, the details of which need not here be given. The climate soon began to tell upon the health of the troops. The sick list in several of the regiments was increasing to an alarming degree. As the month wore on, cases of the yellow fever occurred at Port Royal. Several of the officers fell victims to the disease, and Mitchel, sickening, was removed to Beaufort, where, as we have before noted, he died, on the 30th of October, a noble specimen of a brave and skilful officer, as well as a true patriot and Christian.

The principal proceedings of Congress, during its present session, have been detailed on previous pages (see p. 148). We may, however, here briefly notice its further action until the adjournment. On the 11th of July an act was passed authorizing an additional issue of $150,000,000 of notes not bearing interest, similar to those before described, of which $35,000,000 might be of less denominations than five dollars, but none of the fractional part of a dollar. The legal tender clause in this, as in the former act (see p. 149), met with much opposition in the protracted discussion on the bills in Congress; but the demands of the war were urgent, and it was adopted as the only practicable method of meeting the public necessities. Gold, as a consequence, rose in value, and the price of gold regulated the price of commodities in general. The facilities, however, given to trade and credit, lightened, for a time, at least, the financial difficulties produced by the war.

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To provide internal revenue, to support the government, and to pay interest on the public debt, a voluminous tax bill was passed and approved on the 1st of July. It embraced a comprehensive system of excise duties, licenses, special tax on articles of luxury, as carriages, yachts, billiard tables, and plate; a widely extended system of stamp duties, legacy and inheritance duties, and an annual tax of three per cent. on all gains, profits or income, of every person residing within the United States, exceeding the sum of $600. Incomes exceeding $10,000, and those of citizens residing abroad, were taxed five per cent.

Besides the several acts heretofore noted, there were three bills which may be mentioned as important at this period of our national legislation. On the 20th of May, was passed "An act to secure Homesteads to actual settlers on the Public Domain." By this act any loyal person, a citizen of the United States, or one who has legally declared his intention to become such, or of the age of 21, was given the privilege of entering upon 160 acres of land, the full title to which would be secured by five years' residence and cultivation. This measure looked to a future increase of emigration, by which the wealth of the great West had been largely develop-

ed, and which at the time was proving an important aid in maintaining the the war.

A second important step taken by Congress was the passing, July 1st, "An act to aid in the construction of a Railroad and Telegraph Line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure to the Government the use of the same for Postal, Military and other Purposes." For the details relating to this great undertaking, which is allowed until July, 1874, for its completion, we must refer the reader to the act itself.*

The third of the measures alluded to above, was in relation to a state of things which had been existing for some time to the shame and disgrace of our country, and its civilization and religion. We mean the passing, July 1st, "An act to punish and prevent the Practice of Polygamy in the Territories of the United States, and other Places, and disapproving and annulling certain acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah." By this act the crime of bigamy, in a territory or other place within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, was to be punished by a fine not exceeding $500, and by imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years. Certain specified ordinances and all other acts of the legislative assembly of the territory of Utah were disapproved and annulled, so far as they establish, protect or countenance "the practice of polygamy, evasively called spiritual marriage, however disguised by legal or ecclesiastical solemnities, sacraments, ceremonies, consecrations, or other contrivances."

In order to put the navy on its proper footing, especially as regarded the rank of its officers, Congress, on the 16th of July, passed "An act to establish and equalize the Grade of Line Officers of the United States Navy." This law provides that the active list of the officers of the United States navy shall be divided into nine grades, taking rank according to the date of their commission in each grade, as follows:—1. Rear-Admirals. 2. Commodores. 3. Captains. 4. Commanders. 5. Lieutenant-Commanders. 6. Lieutenants. 7. Masters. 8. Ensigns. 9. Midshipmen. The act further provides that the relative rank between officers of the navy and the army shall be as follows, real rank only to be considered: rear-admirals to rank with major-generals; commodores with brigadier-generals; captains with colonels; commanders with lieutenant-colonels; lieutenant-commanders with majors; lieutenants with captains; masters with first lieutenants; ensigns with second lieutenants. The number of rear-admirals on the active list was limited to nine; of commodores to 16; of captains to 39; of commanders to 90; of lieutenant-commanders to 144.

The act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, and to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, was passed on the last day of the session.* This, with other action of Congress, showed that the people,

* See the "*National Almanac,*" for 1863, pp. 255–257

* For the president's message in regard to this important act, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia for* 1862," p. 374; and M'Pherson's "*History of the Rebellion,*" p. 197.

through their representatives, were steadily advancing towards a practical solution of certain difficult questions, which were earnestly and ably discussed, and which, as we shall see, were in due time disposed of. The second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress was closed on the 17th of July, 1862.

CHAPTER XIX.

1862.

THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLES: RETREAT FROM THE PENINSULA.

McClellan's hopes and expectations — Obstacles in the way — Rebel activity under Lee — Stuart's cavalry raid — Boldly planned and executed — Jackson's flank movement — McClellan daily expecting a battle — Advance movement — Oak Grove — Critical state of affairs — Repulse of rebels at Mechanicsville — Alternatives before McClellan — His choice, change of base, prudent, if not bold — Position of Porter and his men — Necessity of fighting the enemy — Attacked by the rebel army in large force — No reinforcements from south bank of the river — Porter nearly cut to pieces — Saved by opportune help and darkness — Rebel exultation — The Chickahominy crossed and bridges burned during the night—McClellan's skill in masking his plans — Crossing the White Oak Swamp by the different corps — Lee sets out in pursuit — Magruder repulsed at Savage Station — Jackson stopped by our batteries at White Oak Swamp — Battle at Glendale or Turkey Bridge — Severe and bloody contest — Our troops withdrawn during the night — Lee determines on a general engagement — McClellan's position at Malvern Hill — The rebels completely defeated in this battle — Our troops reach Harrison's Bar on the James River — Heavy losses — McClellan's generalship — Southern views and feelings — McClellan's Fourth of July words of promise and encouragement.

In a previous chapter (see p. 167), we have given an account of the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, which was fought on the 31st of May and 1st of June. It was marked by great loss of life on both sides, but yielded little if any advantage, either to the rebels or to our army advancing to the capture of Richmond. McClellan seems to have meditated an immediate movement upon the enemy. Writing to the secretary of war, the day after the battle, he said, "I only wait for the river to fall, to cross with the rest of the force, and make a general attack. Should I find them holding firm in a very strong position. I may wait for what troops I can bring up from Fortress Monroe. But the *morale* of my troops is now such that I can venture much. I do not fear for odds against me. The victory is complete, and all credit is due to the gallantry of our officers and men."

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It soon became evident, however, that these eager aspirations of McClellan were doomed to disappointment. The roads and the ground generally were totally unfit for active movements; the water in the Chickahominy continued so high that he could not transport the whole of his army across the river; bridges had to be built; encampments and entrenchments had to be formed in the swampy woods; and above all, probably, there was considerable uncertainty as to being able to maintain, in safety, the necessary connection with

his basis of supplies at the White House. Added to this, the midsummer sun, with its intense heat, told severely upon the health of the troops, and inflamed the pestilential influences of crowded camps and noxious marshes into active and virulent diseases; and during the long weeks of inactivity in what was called the siege of Richmond, not only thousands sickened of fever and died, but the very name of the Chickahominy, with its deadly swamps, became, to the country at large, associated with suffering in its most dreaded forms.

The rebels, meanwhile, were strengthening their forces in and about Richmond, under the command of General Robert E. Lee, who had succeeded Johnston, and whose name became somewhat famous in the further efforts and struggles of the rebellion. They also entertained hopes and expectations of speedily assuming the offensive, and crushing McClellan and his entire army.* A bold and dashing expedition was set on foot, for the purpose of penetrating the Union lines and making a full and thorough reconnaissance of the position and strength of our army. It was successfully carried out, and among other things it helped to demonstrate the danger, just now alluded to, of the position of McClellan with regard to his supplies.

The expedition was undertaken by Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, with some 1,500 cavalry, selected especially for this service. Leaving Richmond on the 12th of June, Stuart took the Charlottesville turnpike, bivouacked for the night at Ashland, and at the dawn of day cautiously approached and penetrated the Union lines. Near Hanover Court House a small force of our cavalry was met with, and speedily put to flight; and the rebels, having excited alarm and wonder by their appearance, dashed forward and destroyed all that they could from Ashland to Tunstall's Station on the York River Railroad. Stores of various kinds were seized and burned, and some prisoners and horses were secured. A train of cars coming up at the station was fired into, but it made its escape with trifling loss. Having sent a detachment to destroy whatever could be found at the landing on the Pamunkey, Stuart assembled his force at New Kent Court House, and halted till midnight. Not daring to venture a return by way of Hanover Court House, Stuart took a road by which he was not likely to be pursued, and making his way across the Chickahominy, near Forge Bridge, within five miles of our pickets, he succeeded, on the 15th of June, in reaching safely the rebel lines near White Oak Swamp. About 165 prisoners were taken, together with some 300 mules and horses, etc. Stuart had thus passed entirely round and in the rear of our army, having accomplished a cavalry raid which not only astonished

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* In a dispatch from Secretary Stanton, June 11th, he used the following strong language, to encourage and cheer McClellan in the difficult position in which he was placed:—"Be assured, general, that there never has been a moment when my desire has been otherwise than to aid you with my whole heart, mind and strength, since the hour we first met; and whatever others may say for their own purposes, you have never had, and never can have, any one more truly your friend, or more anxious to support you, or more joyful than I shall be at the success which I have no doubt will soon be achieved by your arms."

the army and people by its audacity, but also set the example for future exploits of a similar character.

The condition of affairs was fast becoming such that it was felt on all hands that something must be done; Richmond must be captured, or if that were not possible, the Army of the Potomac must be extricated from its present dangerous embarrassment. The enemy were gaining in strength, and Lee determined to avail himself of the services of Jackson, who had obtained distinguished success in the Shenandoah Valley. He resolved to do this, too, so secretly and quietly that the first announcement of Jackson's withdrawal from the valley should be the blow struck upon the Army of the Potomac. Accordingly, on the 17th of June, his force being now about 25,000 men, Jackson began his march, and so skilfully was it managed that no one of our generals knew of his approach till he was within striking distance of the right wing of the army. Lee intended, by this movement, to open the way for crossing the Chickahominy to join Jackson's column, and then to sweep down on the north side of the river, toward the York, and lay hold of McClellan's communications with the White House.

The commanding general, expecting again the co-operation of McDowell, was looking forward to a battle which might occur on any day. The bridges had now been built in sufficient numbers to connect readily the two wings of the army; our lines had been pushed forward, defensive works had been erected to secure safety in case of a repulse; and there was an earnest wish in the army generally to be led into action. On the 18th of June, McClellan wrote to the president, "A general engagement may take place at any hour. . . . We await only a favorable condition of the earth and sky, and the completion of some necessary preliminaries." A week later, he said, "the action will occur to-morrow, or within a short time," etc.

On the 25th of June, Heintzelman holding the advance before Fair Oaks, was ordered to push forward his pickets, and drive the enemy from the woods in his front, and in this way to relieve his men from an unwholesome position in the swampy ground, and to bring them to an open, clear space beyond. The movement was preliminary to the general action which McClellan had now resolved upon. Hooker's division bore the brunt of this encounter, and found their advance was sharply contested in the woods. McClellan came upon the field, about noon, and personally directed this movement at Oak Grove, which in the course of the afternoon was entirely successful. 1862.

Apprehending the possible approach of Jackson with his force, and warned of danger by the successful raid of Stuart in his rear, McClellan had already been contemplating a change of base from his present position to the James River, and had, with a view of future events, ordered a number of transports with stores and supplies to the James River. Being assured of Jackson's arrival at or near Hanover Court House, and divining Lee's plan and purpose in concentrating on the north bank of the Chickahominy, he hastened at once to

the camp of Fitz John Porter, who was in command of the right wing of the army, and a part of whose corps held the strongly entrenched position of Beaver Dam Creek.

During the afternoon of the 26th of June, the rebels crossed in several columns, in the vicinity of Mechanicsville and Meadow Bridge, and attacked McCall, who was in position at Beaver Dam Creek. Our troops were concealed by earth works, commanding the Mechanicsville road, on which the rebel divisions under Longstreet were advancing; and when the enemy had approached within short range, they opened a very destructive fire of artillery and musketry in the faces and on the flanks of the foe, driving them back in great confusion. The slaughter was terrible, the rebels having lost between three and four thousand, while the Union loss was inconsiderable. Another effort was made by the enemy in the morning, but without success; Jackson, meanwhile, having passed Beaver Dam Creek above, turned the position, and, of course, rendered it untenable for our troops.*

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It now became a question requiring immediate decision on the part of McClellan, what was to be done; whether to cross with his entire army and fight the rebels on the north bank of the Chickahominy, or to concentrate his troops on the south bank and march direct upon Richmond, or to transfer the right wing to the south bank and make a change of base to the James River. The first course just named was too full of risk, and in case of repulse the entire army would be destroyed. Some critics, like Mr. Swinton, are of opinion that the second of these alternatives was both bold and brilliant, in fact too much so for McClellan,* and that it might have been tried with good prospect of success. The last, the change of base, was judicious, and though attended with serious difficulty and danger, was probably the safest under all the circumstances. The distance from Fair Oaks to the James River was about seventeen miles, and there was only a single road by which baggage and stores could be moved; but the activity and steadiness of our troops were such, that the purpose of the commanding general was nearly completed before it was at all comprehended by the rebels. The wagons and heavy guns were withdrawn during the night of the 26th of June, and united with the train which was to set out the next evening for the James River. At the same time Stoneman proceeded with a flying column to the White House, which depot, all the stores along the railroad having been re-shipped or destroyed, was evacuated. Stoneman having successfully accomplished his work, fell back upon Yorktown. The

* It is a curious question why McDowell, who was remaining inactive at Fredericksburg, did not make a demonstration along the Richmond road. Had he done so, of which Lee was afraid, Jackson's flank march would have been entirely impracticable. The authorities at Washington, with their insane terror in regard to rebel assaults upon the city, will, if ever the history of the rebellion is fully written, have much to answer for.

* "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 147. Mr. Swinton also quotes from the report of Magruder, who says: "I considered the situation of our army as *extremely critical and perilous*. The larger part of it was on the opposite side of the Chickahominy, the bridges had been all destroyed, but one was rebuilt, and there were but 25,000 men between his — McClellan's—army of 100,000 men and Richmond."

rear guard of McCall's division, consisting of Seymour's brigade, was attacked by the enemy, who, being sharply repulsed, did not attempt further to molest the movement of our men.

Under the circumstances, with the rebels threatening various parts of the centre and left, it was felt to be impossible for Porter to cross to the south bank of the Chickahominy by daylight. Jackson had turned the position of the right wing at Beaver Dam Creek, and McClellan deemed it absolutely necessary to engage him with Porter's corps and with whatever reinforcements could be sent from the south bank. The enemy were so close upon Porter that there was no alternative. He must be met and repulsed; for, in any event, the abandonment of Porter's position at that time would have placed the right flank and rear of our army at the mercy of the foe. It was a case of necessity to fight the rebels where our men stood, and to hold the position, at any cost, until night (this was the 27th of June), and in the meantime to perfect the arrangements for the change of base to the James River.

The position now occupied by Porter, between Coal Harbor and the Chickahominy, was well chosen, and his force was so arranged as to make an effective resistence to the attacks of the enemy. About two P.M., on the 27th of June, A. P. Hill, with the advance of Lee's column, began the attack. Jackson, who was to form the rebel left, had not yet come up, and Longstreet awaited his arrival before going into action. Hill's attack, though furious and persistent, was met with the greatest firmness on the part of our men, and after several hours' desperate efforts he was compelled to retire in the greatest disorder and with heavy loss. Longstreet now began an attack on the left of the Union position, and Jackson's corps having come up, a general advance from right to left was made at six o'clock. Porter had called for reinforcements, and had received in response only Slocum's division, making his entire force about 35,000 men.*

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The assault now made was fierce and tremendous. Our right held its ground, and repulsed the enemy with great steadiness and bravery. Our left showed equal valor, but being worn down by fighting nearly all day, and furiously charged upon by Hood's Texan troops, it gave way; confusion and derangement ensued, and great disorder from the commingled cavalry and infantry; Jackson carried the height on the left by a rush, capturing 14 pieces of artillery; and defeat, if not destruction, seemed to have fallen with crushing weight upon Porter and his men. Happily two brigades, sent across the river by Sumner, appeared just in time, and under the influence of their vigorous and spirited help, the stragglers were stopped, and the troops finally rallied and were reformed. The darkness fast coming on prevented Lee from pushing his advantage. He did not yet

* Swinton, speaking of the position of matters at the time, says that Magruder's "great show and movement and clatter," kept all our commanders occupied, and they declared that, no troops could be spared "And thus it happened that while on the north side of the Chickahominy 30,000 Union troops were being assailed by 70,000 Confederates, 25,000 Confederates on the south side held in check 60,000 Union troops."—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 151.

comprehend McClellan's plans, and he and his officers exulted in the thought that now our army would be inevitably captured or destroyed.

During the night the final withdrawal of the right wing across the Chickahominy was completed, without difficulty and without confusion, a portion of the regulars remaining on the left bank until the morning of the 28th. Early on that morning the bridges were burned, and the whole army was thus concentrated on the right bank of the Chickahominy. The loss on the Union side, though severe, was never accurately estimated; the rebel loss was probably not short of 10,000.

In striving to secure his change of base to the James River, McClellan displayed much skill and ability. He masked the retreat of his troops by holding the line of works on the south side of the Chickahominy, and completely deceived Magruder and Huger respecting what was going on. It was not, in fact, till the night of the 28th of June, that Lee, having ascertained what had taken place on the York River, and disappointed in his expectations as to supplies, etc., in that direction, fully divined the purpose of McClellan, who, meanwhile, had gained 24 hours, which were of very great value and importance to him in his difficult undertaking.

In the course of the night of the 27th, Gen. Keyes was ordered to cross the White Oak Swamp with the 4th corps, and take up a position to cover the passage of the trains. Measures were also taken to increase the number of bridges across the swamp. The trains were set in motion at an early hour, and continued passing night and day until all had crossed. There was the long train of 5,000 wagons and 2,500 beef cattle, which all traversed the morass in safety by the single narrow passage provided. On the 28th, Porter's corps was also moved across the White Oak Swamp, and on the morning of the 29th, took up a position covering the roads leading from Richmond towards White Oak Swamp and Long Bridges. Durthe night of the 28th and 29th, the divisions of Slocum and McCall were ordered across the White Oak Swamp, and were placed in position to cover the passage of the remaining divisions and trains. In the course of the same night, the corps of Sumner and Heintzelman and the division of Smith were ordered to fall back so as to cover Savage Station on the railroad. They were ordered to hold this position until dark, and then to retire across the swamps and rejoin the rest of the army.

Lee, on the morning of June 29th, hastened to set out in pursuit of the retreating army. Magruder and Huger were to take the Williamsburg and Charles City Roads; Longstreet was to cross the Chickahominy at New Bridge and move down near the James, so as, if possible, to intercept the retreat; and Jackson, passing over Grape Vine Bridge, was to make his way down the south bank of the Chickahominy.

Sumner, having ascertained that the rebels were crossing the Chickahominy and marching toward Savage Station, moved his troops from Allen's Field to that place, and united with Smith's division. Heintzelman, who was on Sumner's left, fell back entirely, and

crossed White Oak Swamp. This left the brunt of the attack by Magruder to be borne by Sumner at Savage Station; and bravely was it borne. Jackson did not arrive to aid Magruder, in consequence of having to rebuild the bridge over the Chickahominy; and Magruder impetuously attacking Sumner, met with a bloody repulse. During the night, the second corps and Smith's division crossed the swamp in safety, with all their guns and material, and brought up the rear of the wagon train.

The pursuit undertaken by Lee was made in two columns, Jackson proceeding by way of the White Oak Swamp, and Longstreet by the roads skirting the James River, so as to cut off our column on its march. Jackson, delayed by the necessity of restoring the bridge, found, on attempting to cross the swamp, that our batteries effectually stopped his passage. Consequently, he was unable to advance and join Longstreet in the battle at Glendale or Turkey Bridge, which took place on the afternoon of June 30th. Longstreet, on reaching the intersection of the New Market and Quaker Roads, by which latter the army and its trains were hurrying towards the James River, found this important point covered by McCall's Pennsylvania troops, supported by Sumner and Hooker on the left, and Kearny on the right. About three P.M., the fighting was begun by Longstreet and Hill, who made desperate efforts to force the position, but were repulsed by the terrible fire of artillery and musketry on the part of our men. The brunt of the attack fell upon the division of McCall, who was taken prisoner, and the battle was continued until night brought it to a close.

The rebels having been thus severely handled, left our men free to act without molestation until the following day. Accordingly, the last of the trains reached Haxall's Landing during the evening, and under cover of the night the troops quietly withdrew, and arrived in safety at an early hour the next morning, to occupy a new and very strong position on Malvern Hill. Lee, finding this to be the case, determined to attack McClellan on the 1st of July, not without hope that an army which had gone through what the Army of the Potomac had, day after day for nearly a week, could be beaten in a general engagement. But the result showed how greatly he erred in his calculation. McClellan promptly placed the army in position to meet the enemy, should he again attack the left of our line; a brigade was posted in the low ground to the left of Malvern Hill, watching the road to Richmond; and the line of our troops then followed a line of heights nearly parallel to the river, and bending back through the woods nearly to the James on our right. The attack by the rebels was fierce and determined; but it was met with heroic steadiness by our troops, and our artillery fire was fearfully destructive to the enemy. Late in the evening, the rebels fell back and gave up the battle.

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It being necessary that the army should, as soon as possible, reach its supplies and a place of rest, McClellan left Malvern Hill, and the troops retired, during the night of the 1st and 2d of July, to Harrison's Bar, on the

James River. Lee, having ascertained that McClellan was too strongly posted to make it safe to venture further attack, took up his march some three or four days after, and returned to Richmond.

The losses in killed, wounded and missing, in these Seven Days' Battles were, on the Union side, over 15,000; on that of the rebels, considerably greater, being, according to some authorities, more than 19,000

There was much of disappointment and grief in the loyal states at the failure of the campaign against Richmond, and the disastrous retreat to the James River. At the same time it was freely admitted that McClellan displayed generalship of a high order in this retreat, and accomplished successfully one of the most difficult and hazardous of the operations of war, and that the heroism of the army was worthy of perpetual memory. In his report, under date of July 15th, McClellan avows himself willing to abide by the candid decision of competent and trustworthy judges. "To the calm judgment of history and the future, I leave the task of pronouncing upon this movement, confident that its verdict will be that no such difficult movement was ever more successfully executed; that no army ever fought more repeatedly, heroically, and successfully against such great odds; that no men of any race displayed greater discipline, endurance, patience, and cheerfulness, under such hardships. My mind cannot coin expressions of thanks and admiration warm enough, to do justice to my feelings toward the army I am so proud to command."

Pollard, as representing the state of feeling in the rebel states, is quite jubilant over the enforced retreat of McClellan; yet, at the same time, he is compelled to acknowledge the ability and energy displayed by both the commanding general and all under his direction, and to confess that little real advantage was gained to the cause of secession by all that Lee and his army accomplished. If McClellan and his army could have been routed utterly, then the rebellion might have entertained hopes of ultimate success; but as he parried the blows of Lee with great skill, and dealt equally severe blows in return, effecting finally the transfer of his force in safety to the banks of the James River, it is evident on reflection, that the advantages obtained were more apparent than substantial, and that whatever might be the feelings of the moment, the loyal states would not yield to disappointment, but would prosecute the war to the complete crushing of the rebellion.*

On the 5th of July, Davis, at Richmond, issued an address for the purpose of rousing the energies of his followers and of the troops under his control. Gen. McClellan also, on the national holiday, July 4th, in an address to the "Soldiers of the Army of the Potomac," uttered words of encouragement and promise. "On this, the nation's birthday, we declare to our foes, who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of the so-called Confederacy; that our National Constitution shall prevail; and that

* "*Second Year of the War*," pp. 73–76. Pollard is very severe on the blunders and bungling work of those in command at the time in Richmond.

the Union, which can alone insure internal peace and external security to each state, 'must and shall be preserved,' cost what it may, in time, treasure, and blood."*

* Mr. Swinton, remarking upon the close of the Peninsular campaign, justly says: "For the commander to have extricated his army from a difficult situation, in which circumstances, quite as much as his own fault, had placed it, and, in presence of a powerful, skilful, and determined adversary, transfer it safely to a position where it could act with effect, was, of itself, a notable achievement. For the army to have fought through such a campaign was creditable, and its close found inexperienced troops transformed into veteran soldiers. And, if alone from the appeal which great sufferings, and great sacrifices always make to a generous people, the story of that eventful march and arduous retreat, when, weary and hungry and footsore, the army marched by night, and fought by day, through a whole week of toil, and never gave up, but made a good fight and reached the goal, cannot fail to live in grateful remembrance."—*"Army of the Potomac,"* p. 165.

CHAPTER XX.

1862.

GENERAL POPE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA.

Army of the Potomac at Harrison's Landing — McClellan's views and plans as to operating against Richmond — Adverse influences — Pope's and Halleck's opposition — McClellan ordered to leave the Peninsula — Remonstrance of no avail — Gen. Pope put in command of "Army of Virginia" — Concentrates his force — Pope's address to the officers and army — His several orders in July — Plans of the rebels on McClellan's retirement from the Peninsula — Pope reinforced — Jackson crosses the Rapidan — Battle at Cedar Mountain — Result — Pope on the Rappahannock — Lee attempts to cross — Stuart's raid on Catlett's Station — Manœuvring — Jackson's march — Stuart at Manassas Junction — Destruction of supplies — Pope abandons the line of the Rappahannock — Determines to cut off Jackson — Action at Kettle Run — Jackson's perilous position — Gives Pope the slip — Blunder of Pope — Serious injury resulting — Jackson attacks King's flank — Sharp contest — King retires — The way left open for Longstreet to join Jackson — Sigel's attack on Jackson at Groveton — Aided by Reno, Hooker, Kearney — Result — Pope's condemnation of Porter's course — Doubts as to its justice — Porter court-martialed and cashiered — Pope unwisely tries another battle — The second Bull Run or Manassas battle — Terrible struggle — Losses not known, but very heavy — Lee's course — Jackson's further attempt at Germantown — Stevens and Kearney killed — The army withdrawn and placed within the defences of Washington — Fredericksburg and Aquia Creek evacuated — Brief estimate of Gen. Pope and his campaign.

In the preceding chapter, we have given as full a narrative as our limits admit, of the movements of the Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, up to the beginning of July, 1862. Being now in comparative security, the troops were permitted, during the ensuing month, the repose so much needed, and the opportunity of recuperating, and of being fitted in due time for active operations against the enemy. The position which they now occupied was advantageous in a military point of view; they were protected by batteries on the adjacent heights, while the depth of water in the James River afforded every facility to prompt support, if needed, from the gun boats, and a ready access to the transports. 1862.

In effecting a "change of base," it

appears to have been McClellan's design not only to save the army from defeat and ruin, but also, as soon as the troops were in proper condition and suitable reinforcements had been obtained, to undertake operations against Richmond, by crossing the James and advancing by way of Petersburg. With the aid of the navy to keep the river open as a line of supplies, McClellan felt convinced that by the projected route, he could most effectually threaten the communications of the rebel capital and prevent Lee from aggressive movements northward. Consequently, he called earnestly and constantly for reinforcements to carry his plans into effect. He had brought with him to Harrison's Landing nearly 90,000 men, and he besought the government to furnish him with 50,000, or at least 30,000 more; with this force he was certain that Richmond could be taken, and the military power of the so-called "confederacy" completely broken up.

Writing to President Lincoln on the 12th of July, McClellan says:—"I am more and more convinced that this army ought not to be withdrawn from here; but promptly reinforced, and thrown again upon Richmond." Again, on the 18th of July, he telegraphed, "it appears manifestly to be our policy to concentrate here everything we can possibly spare from less important points to make sure of crushing the enemy at Richmond, which seems clearly to be the most important point in Rebeldom." To the same effect, at the end of the month, only still more urgently, he begged the decision of the authorities at Washington, and persisted in the hope that they would reinforce his army at once.

There is good reason to believe that the president not only favored, but would have heartily supported, McClellan's views in regard to the advance on Richmond by the route he proposed; but there were several adverse influences bearing upon the question, which ere long completely nullified all the aspirations and plans of McClellan. There was, as usual, the fear lest the capital might be exposed to danger of assault, and some dashing rebel, like Jackson, might suddenly pounce down upon it. Besides this, it is to be noted, that the commander of the newly formed "Army of Virginia," Gen. Pope, confident of being able to march upon Richmond, by an overland route, and to put the enemy to flight as readily as, he affirmed, he had been in the habit of doing in the West, scouted the idea of reinforcements to McClellan where he now was. Halleck, too, who had recently been placed in the position of general-in-chief, the duties of which he assumed July 23d, was decidedly opposed to McClellan's views, and insisted upon the withdrawal of the army entirely from the Peninsula.

The "pressure" consequently became too great for Mr. Lincoln. He had been quite willing for McClellan to take 20,000 men from Burnside's and Hunter's command, and make an aggressive movement, as he desired; and McClellan, hoping that his plan might prevail, had gone so far as to make a reconnaissance in force with Hooker's and Sedgwick's divisions, driving the enemy from Malvern Hill and reoccupying it,

on the 4th of August; but he was not allowed to proceed further. The policy of Halleck was adopted. On the 3d of August, McClellan received a telegram, stating that the decision had been made; the army was ordered to withdraw from the Peninsula to Aquia Creek, and to unite with Pope.*

McClellan strove to have this order rescinded. He wrote to Halleck, August 4th: "to withdraw this army to Aquia Creek will prove disastrous to our cause. I fear it will be a *fatal blow*. . . . . Here, directly in front of this army, is the heart of this rebellion; it is here that all our resources should be collected to strike the blow which will determine the fate of the nation. . . . . I do now, what I never did in my life before, I *entreat* that this order may be rescinded." Halleck sent a long reply, giving his views quite at large, and stating his determination to unite the divided portions of the army into one. Of course there was no alternative, and McClellan proceeded at once to obey the orders he so thoroughly disliked. The needful steps were taken directly; the sick and wounded were sent off as rapidly as the means of transportation allowed; and the entire army having left Harrison's Landing, crossed the Chickahominy, marched to Williamsburg and Yorktown, and on the 20th of August, embarked for Aquia Creek, some forty miles from Washington. In his report, McClellan speaks of the various services he was called on to render afterwards, in connection with Pope's movements, and claims that all the way through, "he left nothing in his power undone to forward supplies and reinforcements to Gen. Pope."*

It will be remembered by the reader that, in various operations in the West (see p. 142), Major-Gen. John Pope had shown himself possessed of zeal, energy and perseverance to a high degree, and while acting under Halleck's command, had been very successful in his attacks upon the enemy. The qualities which he displayed seem to have struck the attention and won the applause of the directors of military affairs at Washington. The president, it is true, was a warm personal friend and admirer of McClellan, and would probably have been both willing and glad to have let him have control of warlike movements against the rebels; but there was a strong opposition to McClellan from the beginning, and his policy was sharply criticised, subjected to ridicule, and condemned in no measured terms by those who had the management of the army operations. When, then, McClellan failed in the peninsular campaign, it was determined to put him

* It is interesting as well as instructive to note the fact, that Lee was watching with great anxiety the probable course which McClellan would pursue, and he took every available means to lead him to withdraw his army and free Richmond from any danger of attack by way of the James River. So long as it was probable that McClellan would be reinforced and enter on a new campaign, Lee dared not move, he could not undertake elsewhere operations of any account. It is curious to see, in this instance of forcing the Army of the Potomac away from its present position threatening Richmond, how fully Halleck was in accord with Lee; how—most strangely—they were both eager for the same thing.

* On the other hand, Pope, in his report, affirms, that a "small fraction of 20,500 men was all of the 91,000 veteran troops from Harrison's Landing which ever drew trigger under his command, or in any way took part in that campaign" which he conducted

one side, and to try some other commander; it was determined to seek out a general who should show a more active, aggressive, "go-a-head" spirit than McClellan had ever manifested, and who should not fail to march straight into the rebel capital. Pope seemed to be the very man, and Pope's bold style of talking, his open censuring of McClellan's course, and his avowing a purpose of conducting the war in Virginia in a way quite different from that heretofore employed, gave rise to great expectations as to what it was that he said he was about to do.

Pope had been sent for in June, and was directed to assume command of the "Army of Virginia." The force thus named was made up of the corps of Fremont, Banks and McDowell, numbering in all about 38,000. The cavalry, an arm of the service, as the country was effectually taught, too much neglected in these operations in Virginia, did not exceed 5,000, and was for the most part badly mounted and armed, and in poor condition for service. Pope was enjoined by the government to have special regard to covering the city of Washington from any attack from the direction of Richmond, to secure the safety of the Shenandoah Valley, and to operate against the enemy's lines of communication in the direction of Gordonsville and Charlottesville. The rebel commander being just now, at the close of June, fully occupied in the defence of Richmond, where McClellan was operating, Pope was at liberty to place his troops in position such as he might think best for the next campaign. He accordingly brought his troops together into such a position as that, if the enemy descended the Valley of the Shenandoah, he thought he could interpose between their advance and main army and cut off the retreat.

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McClellan's plan of operations on the line of the James River having been condemned, it was resolved to strengthen the Army of Virginia as much as possible, by reinforcements drawn from the Army of the Potomac and elsewhere. There was also now an opportunity afforded to Pope not only to cope with the astute rebel chief, Lee, and to drive him before him, but also to test the worth of his bold words and assurances.

On the 14th of July, Pope issued an address to the army, which was noted for its inflated style, its bad taste, and its boastfulness of tone, and which, as a matter of course, on the close of his brief campaign, brought down upon its author a full measure of ridicule and scorn. "I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the *backs* of our enemies—from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when found—whose policy has been attack and not defence. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. . . . . Meantime, I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat, and of bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas.

The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy. Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves. Let us look before, and not behind. Success and glory are in the advance. Disaster and shame lurk in the rear."

Several orders, dated July 18th, indicated the manner in which Pope proposed to conduct the campaign. He announced, that henceforth the troops should subsist on the country in which they were operating, compelling the people to furnish supplies. In order to put a stop to the guerrilla mode of warfare, he declared that the people in the vicinity should be held responsible for any damage done to railroads or trains; that they should be compelled to repair all such damage; that if a soldier were fired upon from a house, such house should be rased to the ground; and that any person detected in these outrages should be shot without waiting civil process. By another order, dated July 23d, he directed com-
1862. manders to arrest all disloyal male persons, and if they refused to take the oath of allegiance, to conduct them south beyond our lines, and to warn them that if found within them at any time, they would be subjected to the severest punishments.*

When the rebels became satisfied that McClellan and his army would give them no further trouble by way of the Peninsula, they were much elated, and resolved, by a rapid and energetic movement, to march upon Pope, crush him and his force by sudden and overwhelming blows, and then invade Maryland, preparatory to a general invasion of the loyal states. Never before had so advantageous an opening been presented, and Gen. Lee was not the man to let it slip away without using it to the fullest extent.* Steps were taken directly for the advance, and as the entire rebel force in and about Richmond was now probably not less than 150,000 men, it is evident how fiercely and confidently the assault would be made upon Pope and his army, the only obstacle in the way of removing the battle-ground from the soil of Virginia, and of carrying fire and sword into the loyal states.

In this condition of affairs, it was all-important to strengthen Pope immediately and as greatly as possible. Burnside, on the 1st of August, left Newport News with his troops, and reached Aquia Creek on the 3d. Gen. Cox was also ordered from Western

* These orders were supposed to allow, and were certainly followed by, extensive pillaging and various disgraceful outrages. The ire of the rebel authorities was greatly roused, and on the 1st of August, they not only used the stereotyped language about "the unjust and aggressive warfare hitherto waged with savage cruelty against an unoffending people," but they threatened the fullest retaliation. Pope and his officers were not to have any benefit of exchange, in case of being made prisoners, and further it was declared, that if any person or persons suffered under Pope's orders, one or more of our imprisoned officers was to be hung instanter.

* Mr. Swinton quotes a passage from Lee's report, which is worth noting:—"The corps of Gen. Burnside had reached Fredericksburg, and a part of Gen. McClellan's army was believed to have left Westover (Harrison's Landing) to unite with Pope. It therefore seemed that active operations on the James were no longer contemplated, and that the most effectual way to relieve Richmond from any danger of attack from that quarter would be to reinforce Gen. Jackson and advance upon Gen. Pope."—See note on p. 206.

Virginia for the same purpose, leaving, for the time being, the line of the Kanawha open to invasion by the enemy. McClellan also was urged and pressed by Halleck to hasten forward reinforcements from the Army of the Potomac, and to afford every assistance in his power to the general in command of the Army of Virginia.* With his army thus strengthened, and numbering between 50,000 and 60,000, Pope took the field in person, at the close of July. The forces of Banks and McDowell were pushed forward beyond the Rappahannock, and on the 7th of August, numbering about 28,000, were assembled along the turnpike from Sperryville to Culpepper. Gen. Buford's cavalry, five regiments, covering the front, was advanced to Madison Court House, with his pickets along the Rapidan on the right; and Gen. Bayard's cavalry, four regiments, was extended on the same river on the left.

Jackson, who was at Gordonsville, having been reinforced by Lee on the 2d of August, crossed the Rapidan on Thursday the 7th, at Barnett's Ford, and advanced towards Culpepper and Madison Court House. Bayard, who was guarding the fords, fell back slowly, delaying the enemy's advance as much as possible. The forces of Banks and Sigel, and one of the divisions of McDowell's corps, were rapidly concentrated at Culpepper during Friday and Friday night, Banks's corps being pushed forward five miles south of Culpepper, with Ricketts's division of McDowell's Corps three miles in his rear. The corps of Sigel, which had marched all night, was halted in Culpepper to rest for a few hours. On Saturday, Aug. 9th, the enemy advanced rapidly to Cedar Mountain, the sides of which they occupied in heavy force. Banks was instructed to take up his position on the ground occupied the previous day, and also to defend it against the enemy's assaults. 1862.

About five o'clock, P.M., the rebels pushed forward a strong force in the rear of their own skirmishers, and Banks advanced to the attack. By six o'clock, the engagement became general, and for an hour and a-half was furious and unceasing; but Banks, though at great sacrifice, was able to hold his position. Darkness put an end to the contest, although the artillery fire was continued at short range, without intermission, until midnight. Our troops rested on their arms during the night in line of battle; but the action was not resumed. For, at daylight the next morning, the rebels fell back two miles, and retired further up the mountain. Owing to fatigue and excessive heat, the men were allowed to rest and recruit on Sunday, Aug. 10th, and the next day was spent principally in burying the dead. On Monday night, Jackson retreated from the field, not being strong enough to remain where he was; whereupon Buford was sent with a cavalry and artillery force in pursuit; he followed the enemy to the Rapidan, over which they passed about ten o'clock the next morn-

* On the 4th of August, by direction of the president, it was ordered, that a draft of 300,000 militia be immediately called into the service of the United States, to serve for nine months, unless sooner discharged. The call was responded to with the usual readiness and zeal of the loyal states.

ing. Our loss in killed, wounded and missing was about 1,800, besides a 1,000 or more stragglers; the rebel loss was not reported, but was probably fully equal to that on the Union side.

A few days after Jackson's retreat to Gordonsville, he was joined by the van of Lee's army, under Longstreet, with Stuart's cavalry. Pope, having received considerable reinforcements, held the line of the Rapidan, with Sigel on the right, McDowell in the centre, at Cedar Mountain, and Reno on the left. Banks's shattered corps was at Culpepper. It being presently ascertained that the enemy were advancing in greatly superior numbers, Pope retired with his forces, on the 19th of August, to the north bank of the Rappahannock, in the vicinity of Kelly's Ford and Rappahannock station, on the railroad. "This," says Mr. Swinton, "was a judicious measure on the part of Gen. Pope; but it was not carrying out his own principles. In expounding before the war committee, a month before this time, what he proposed doing, he held the following language: 'By lying off on their flanks, if they should have only forty or fifty thousand men, I could whip them. If they should have seventy thousand or eighty thousand men, I would attack their flanks, and force them, in order to get rid of me, to follow me out into the mountains; which would be what you want, I should suppose. They would not march on Washington with me lying with such a force as that on their flanks.' Now, though the force which Lee had at this time did not exceed the smallest of these hypothetical numbers, and the force with which Pope proposed this operation had been increased by the addition of Reno's command, he did not attempt to carry it out, finding Lee less impressed than he should have been with the apparition of Pope 'lying off on his flanks.'" *

Lee, having advanced his forces to the Rappahannock, attempted to cross the river, but Pope covered the fords effectually, and prevented this movement. An artillery fire was kept up for two days, the 21st and 22d, across the river, but to no material purpose. Lee then left Longstreet opposite the fords, in order to make a turning movement by Jackson on Pope's right by way of Warrenton.† Pope thereupon determined to recross the Rappahannock, and "fall furiously, with his whole army," upon the flank and rear of the enemy's long column which was passing up the river. A severe storm, however, on the night of the 22d, prevented this projected attack; and the head of Jackson's column, which had crossed at Sulphur or Warrenton Springs, on the 22d of August, was compelled to recross the Rappahannock, which was done the following night, the bridges being at the same time destroyed.

* "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 176.

† On the night of the 22d of August, Stuart, with a body of 1,500 horsemen, managed to cross the river above, and to reach Catlett's Station on the railroad, despite the storm which was raging, and the intense darkness. Here he surprised the guard, who appear to have been shamefully negligent of their duty, cut the railroad communication, captured 300 prisoners, together with Pope's official papers and effects. Having effected his object, and proved the truth of Pope's words, that "disaster and shame lurk in the rear," Stuart and his band, soon after daylight on the 23d, returned to Warrenton.

The advance of McDowell's corps occupied Warrenton on the night of the 23d of August, and on the morning of the 24th, Sigel, supported by Reno and Banks, crossed Great Run, and occupied Sulphur Springs, under a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries on the south side of the Rappahannock. The bridge was rebuilt as soon as possible, and Sigel pushed forward, with the force sustaining him, in the direction of Waterloo Bridge.

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Jackson having been directed by Lee to get between Washington and Pope's army, and to break up his railroad communications with the capital, made a *détour*, on the 25th, for that purpose; he crossed the upper Rappahannock at Hinson's Ford, and after a forced march of thirty-five miles, bivouacked at Salem, on the Manassas Gap Railroad. The next day, passing through Thoroughfare Gap, he crossed Bull Run Mountain, and before night of the same day, reached Bristow Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Having broken up the track as extensively as possible, he sent Stuart with a body of cavalry and infantry to Manassas Junction, seven miles nearer to Washington. Besides several hundred prisoners and eight guns, Stuart obtained possession of a very large amount of commissary and quartermaster's stores, there being at the Junction supplies valued at not less than $1,000,000. The rebels set fire to the buildings, and the next day our men found only smoking ruins in place of the abundant supplies gathered there for the support of the army.

Pope, finding that his right was turned by Jackson's movement, determined, on the 26th of August, to retire from Warrenton, abandon the line of the Rappahannock, and throw his whole force in the direction of Gainesville and Manassas Junction, in order to crush the enemy who had passed Thoroughfare Gap, and place his army between Lee and Jackson. Pope had received additional troops from the Army of the Potomac, and was in a condition to strike a decisive blow. On the morning of the 27th, he ordered McDowell to move rapidly forward on Gainesville by the Warrenton turnpike, with the troops under Sigel and Reynolds, some 40,000 in all. Reno and Kearney were ordered to move on Greenwich to support McDowell; and Pope himself took the line of railroad towards Manassas, with Hooker's division. Porter's corps was also to follow from Warrenton, as soon as he was relieved by Banks, and to march on Gainesville.

On the afternoon of the 27th of August, a severe engagement occurred between Hooker's force and Ewell's division of Jackson's troops. It was fought near Kettle Run, a few miles west of Bristow Station. Ewell was driven back along the railroad, with a loss of 300 men in killed and wounded. During the night he moved off entirely, to rejoin Jackson at Manassas Junction.

McDowell's column reached Gainesville that night, the 27th; Reno and Kearney also arrived at Greenwich the same night. Apparently, there was now no escape for Jackson; Lee was two days' march distant; his position was critical and perilous; and Pope exulted in the prospect of being able to catch

and destroy that shrewd commander who had done so much injury to the Union cause. "If," Pope said to McDowell, in his order of the 27th, "you will march promptly and rapidly at the earliest dawn upon Manassas Junction, we shall bag the whole crowd." Jackson, fully alive to his danger, had his choice to retire by the same way by which he came, through Thoroughfare Gap and Gainesville, or northwardly by Centreville. He preferred the latter on every account, and during the night of the 27th, and morning of the 28th of August, he moved by Sudley Springs road across the Warrenton turnpike, and took position on the high timber land north and west of Groveton, in the neighborhood of the battle ground so famous at the opening of the rebellion.

Pope's order to McDowell, just spoken of, to move eastward upon Manassas Junction, was a positive blunder; for he ought to have held the line of the Warrenton turnpike at every hazard, and not by retiring from it to allow Jackson, by a move from Manassas Junction to the north of the turnpike, the opportunity of forming a junction with Lee's advance. Consequently, when Pope felt sure of catching Jackson, he found that the rebel chief had given him the slip; and Longstreet, on the evening of the 28th of August, reached Thoroughfare Gap, and the next day effected a junction with Jackson. Pope, in his report, lays the blame upon his officers, and accuses a number of them not only of negligence and want of activity and spirit, but of disobedience of orders, and he is confident that if they had followed his directions, Jackson would have been utterly defeated.

On finding that Jackson had retreated from Manassas Junction, Pope, on the 28th of August, tried to correct his mistake, by calling back McDowell and directing him to march on Centreville. But, unhappily, much time had been lost, and it was not till late in the afternoon that King, of McDowell's division, regained the Warrenton turnpike, and advanced toward Centreville. Jackson attacked King on the flank with great impetuosity. The contest was sharp, severe and bloody, attended with heavy loss on both sides. During the night King withdrew his troops, by which course he left the Warrenton turnpike open for Jackson to retire, or Longstreet to advance. Ricketts's division also, which had been detached to watch Thoroughfare Gap, withdrew to Manassas.

Sigel, who was in the neighborhood of Groveton, was ordered to attack Jackson at daylight on the 29th. Jackson was strongly posted, but Sigel began the attack with spirit and determination, and in the course of the forenoon he was joined by Reno's, Hooker's and Kearney's troops. These latter arrived just in time, when both wings of our army were about to be turned, and Sigel's force had suffered very severely. The fight raged furiously, and continued through the day. At eight P.M., the larger portion of the field was occupied by our army, and night put an end to the battle. 1862.

Pope is unqualified in his condemna-

tion of Porter's course. He states, in his report, that he ordered Porter to advance upon Gainesville, early on the 29th of August, and turn Jackson's right, which was of the utmost importance in the plans of Pope. But, as it turned out, before this could be done, Longstreet's corps had come up, and as early as ten o'clock in the morning he had so arranged his troops as to stop Porter's march upon Gainesville. Porter, as he affirms, acting under McDowell's order, remained for the rest of the day in the position he had taken, Morell's division being deployed against the foe, the other divisions being massed. At half-past four P.M., Pope states, that he sent express orders to Porter to assail the right flank and rear of the enemy. The order reached Porter about dusk; but it was then too late to attack, and, more than this, there was now no chance for a turning movement, since Longstreet had, as early as noon, taken position directly in Porter's front. The attack under such circumstances would have been futile, and was not attempted.

Pope, in his official report, made Jan. 27th, 1863, asserts, in the most positive manner, that there was no reason why Porter should not have turned Jackson's right flank, and thus secured the victory. On the other hand, it is only fair to remind the reader that, the statements made above being correct, Pope labored under grave error, and has done great injustice to an officer who had always heretofore, as the record shows, been found active, diligent and faithful in the discharge of his duties.*

Pope, supposing that the rebels were retreating, determined, not very wisely, to try another day's struggle with Lee's forces, under the notion, as he phrases it, that "at least he would lay on such blows as would cripple the enemy as much as possible, and delay, as long as practicable, any further advance toward the capital." Estimating his available force at this time at 40,000 men, Pope undertook, on the afternoon of the 30th of August, to fight the second battle of Bull Run or Manassas. We need not enter into details. The rebels were superior in numbers and in the general effectiveness of their force; and the day's struggles and contendings resulted in fearful slaughter and vain efforts to drive back the foe. Hour after hour the battle raged. The rebels attacked Pope's left flank with tremendous force and effect,* intending to seize the War-

* We have neither time nor space to enter into the questions in dispute between Pope and Porter. Our aim is to give the narrative truthfully and accurately, and we believe that we have done so, irrespective of persons or parties. Mr. Swinton, in a valuable note (see p. 186), quotes freely from rebel documents, published since the rebellion was put down, and establishes the fact that, by noon, Longstreet had his forces in position so as completely to bar Porter's advance, as ordered by Pope. To obey such an order, at the time it was received, was virtually impossible. Gen. Porter, however, a number of months subsequent to this campaign, (in Jan. 1863), after having been in command of the defences of Washington, and sharing with his corps in the battle at Antietam, was tried by a court martial at Washington for alleged disobedience of Pope's orders while under his command. The court brought in a verdict of guilty, and Porter was dismissed from the service of the United States. See the record of this trial, and Porter's defence read to the court.

* Owing to a movement of Lee in making this attack, Pope got the notion that the rebels were retreating from the field. He accordingly sent a telegram to Washington, announcing that Lee and his army were "retreating to the mountains;" this at once became public property, by means of the wires, throughout the loyal states; but the brief gratification was speedily followed by mortification and disappointment.

renton Turnpike and cut off our army's line of retreat. Towards the close of the afternoon, our troops began to give way, and only by the firmness and spirit of some battalions of regulars were they enabled to escape from rout and entire defeat. Night came on, welcome now more than ever, and under cover of the darkness the dispirited, half-starved troops made their way across Bull Run, by the Stone Bridge, and took up position on the high ground at Centreville. Lee did not attempt any pursuit that night.

As no official record was ever made of the killed, wounded and prisoners on the part of Gen. Pope in this campaign, or on that of the rebel commander, the severe losses on both sides can be estimated only approximately. Our loss was probably not short of 20,000 men, and it may be doubted whether the rebels did not suffer an equally heavy loss;—a sad commentary on the agonizing trial which rebellion had brought upon our native land.

The next day, Sunday, Aug. 31st, Pope asked for a truce to gather the wounded, which Lee refused. He was eager and anxious to follow up his present advantage, and accordingly sent Jackson forward toward Little River turnpike, to turn Pope's right and cut off his retreat. Pope, aware of this movement, fell back; and Jackson, delayed by a heavy storm, did not reach Pope's right till late in the afternoon of September 1st, at which time he made his appearance at Oxhill, near Germantown. Jackson immediately began an attack, despite the storm and approaching night; it was met by the troops under Reno, Hooker and Kearney. The fight was not long, but while it lasted it was very sharp and fierce; the rebels were finally driven back with severe loss. In this engagement Gen. Stevens was killed. Gen. Kearney also, by accident in the dark, when reconnoitring at a critical moment, came near the enemy's pickets and was shot. Both were brave and excellent officers; the latter especially was noted as one of the most chivalrous and effective in the whole army.

Fredericksburg was evacuated by Burnside on the 1st of September; Aquia Creek was also evacuated;* and the day following, by Halleck's orders, the army fell back within the defences at Washington. Pope's career in Virginia was ended, and Lee, giving up the direct pursuit, made preparations for an invasion of Maryland.

Pope, unhappily, began his campaign by foolish boasting; he thought himself competent to meet and overcome the ablest generals of the rebels; and in his self-confidence, he imagined that he could sweep the whole field before him. But he failed to sustain his pretensions by the expected success; his campaign ended ingloriously, in loss and confusion. It would be unfair to lay the entire blame upon Pope himself. His officers, many of them at least, did not entertain that respect for him personally, or for his abilities, which was requisite to anything like zealous

* McClellan, in a telegram to Halleck, on the night of the 31st of August, uses very sharp language respecting Pope and his movements: "To speak frankly, and the occasion requires it, there appears to be a total absence of brains; and I fear the total destruction of the army."

and hearty co-operation with him; and so far as the army generally was concerned, he was not the man to inspire them with enthusiasm or spirit needful to give a commanding general full control over his troops. In one thing at least, he showed good sense, for at the earliest moment, Sept. 3d, he asked to be relieved of his command; and, in a few days, he left Washington, and retired to the more congenial regions of the North-west.

CHAPTER XXI.

1862.

INVASION OF KENTUCKY BY THE REBELS: WESTERN TENNESSEE: BATTLES OF IUKA AND CORINTH.

Position of our forces in department of the Mississippi — Guerrilla warfare — Murfreesborough captured by Forrest—Morgan's raid into Kentucky—Taking of Cynthiana—Pursuit of Morgan by G. C. Smith—Other places attacked—Kirby Smith enters Kentucky—Union defeat at Richmond—Legislature hastens to leave Frankfort—Gov. Robinson's proclamation—Kirby Smith's also—Excitement at Louisville and Cincinnati—Gen. Wallace and citizens of Cincinnati—Bragg's projected invasion of the North-west—Gen. Buell's movements and plans—McCook murdered by guerrillas—Clarksville and Gallatin—Morgan's victory—Guerrillas very bold—Instances—Bragg enters Kentucky—Affair at Munfordsville—Bragg's proclamation and address to the people of the North-west—Tone and effect of it—Gen. Morgan's retreat from Cumberland Gap—Gen. Buell at Louisville — Troops there — Buell sets out after Bragg — Battle at Perryville—McCook's corps—Bragg retreats—Efforts to secure his large spoils—Fruitless pursuit of him—Invasion a failure—Gen. Grant and Western Tennessee—Attempts of the rebels—Plans of Price against Grant and Buell—Iuka taken—Plan of attack by Grant and Rosecrans—How carried out — Battle of Iuka—Rebels defeated—Van Dorn's and Price's attack on Corinth — Bloody battle — Our victory—Washburn's cavalry expedition—Dickey's march and success—Rebel raids—Grant's position and public expectations.

IN a preceding chapter (see p. 179), we gave an account of the evacuation of Corinth by Beauregard and his forces, the capture of Memphis, and other operations in the South and West. The narrative was brought down to the close of the month of June and early part of July, when Gen. Pope was called to the East to take command of the "Army of Virginia," and Halleck was elevated to the position of general-in-chief of the armies of the United States. Following upon these changes, military affairs in the department of the Mississippi were so arranged as that Gen. Buell was in command of the main body of the army, to the east of Corinth, moving towards Chattanooga; Gen. Grant held the line from Memphis to Iuka; Gen. Curtis commanded the forces in Arkansas, and Gen. Schofield in South-western Missouri. The rebels having largely increased their forces by conscription, were resolved not only to reoccupy Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee and Kentucky, but to invade Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, as their co-workers, under Lee, were doing in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

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In carrying out their plans they purposed employing extensively the guer-

rilla system of warfare, a system so lawless and so utterly unscrupulous as to indicate a desperate condition of affairs among those making use of it. In fact, this mode of fighting for or against a cause was denounced as a species of land piracy and highway robbery, and the men who made themselves prominent and notorious in it—the Morgans, the Forrests, the Ashbys, and the like—were looked upon as leaders of bands who hesitated not to murder as well as plunder in every direction. War, under any circumstances, is a terrible scourge, and with all the restraints placed upon a regular, organized army, there has ever been room enough for acts of outrage and wrong; but the guerrillas, bound by no law, and under no restraint, carried fear and trembling wherever they went. At one time they would dash into a town or village, seizing horses, cattle, and stores, shooting Union men and dragging away whom they pleased; at another, they would attack railroad trains, plunder the mails, burn the bridges, or fire from ambush upon wagons; though frequently dispersed they would suddenly reappear, and, being men of desperate characters and fortunes, no man felt safe while they were near; the friends of secession sometimes met with no better treatment than those who remained steadfast in their loyalty. By the rapidity of their movements and suddenness of their attacks, these guerrilla bands were able to inflict vast injury upon the Union cause in Kentucky and other portions of the South and West, and they gave great trouble to our generals and commanders on many occasions.

The months of July and August were marked by efforts of guerrilla parties along the borders of Tennessee and Kentucky, and even in the heart of the latter state. Raids and assaults of this particular description became quite common. At day-break, on the morning of July 13th, an unexpected attack was made upon the Union brigade, under command of Gen. T. T. Crittenden, in charge of Murfreesborough, by a cavalry force over 3,000 in number, led by N. B. Forrest, a fit compeer of Morgan in these flying expeditions. The Union effective force at the place was only about eight hundred. The surprise was complete, and after some weak fighting, our men were compelled to surrender. The prisoners, including Gen. Crittenden, were carried to Chattanooga, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores was brought away or destroyed. Considerable excitement was caused at Nashville by the news of this capture, and though the expedition retired to Chattanooga, whence it had come, the vicinity continued to be much harassed by guerrillas. 1862.

At the same time that Murfreesborough was thus surprised, there came a fresh raid into Kentucky, headed by the noted John H. Morgan. Having crossed into Kentucky from Knoxville, with about 900 men, he issued, on the 10th of July, at Glasgow, a proclamation to the inhabitants, and called upon them to give him their aid and countenance. His proclamation was full of highly wrought appeals, and the usual stuff about "northern tyrants," "the

Hessian invaders," the "foreign hordes," etc., and he evidently expected the people to "rise, one and all, and to clear out dear Kentucky's soil of its detested invaders." Morgan pushed rapidly forward to the centre of the state and took possession of Lebanon, where he freely helped himself to supplies from the abundant government commissary stores, and the property of the towns-people. Having destroyed, to a considerable extent, the railroad communication with Cincinnati, Morgan, on the 17th of July, at the head of a motley force of about 2,000, with two pieces of artillery, fell upon a body of 340 men at Cynthiana, in Harrison county—volunteers and home guards, for the most part poorly armed and undisciplined, under command of Lieut.-Col. Landrum. This officer disposed his little force to the best advantage, placing a number of his men at the bridge over the Licking River, and his single artillery piece, a brass 12-pounder, in the public square, commanding the different approaches. The rebels came in by every road, street, and by-path; the force at the bridge was soon dislodged, and a furious cavalry charge having been made into the town it speedily fell into the hands of the enemy.*

A body of mounted infantry was immediately gathered at Lexington and its vicinity, and placed under Gen. Green Clay Smith, who set out at once in pursuit of the raiders. On coming up with Morgan's cavalry near Paris, he defeated them, retaking the cannon and horses captured at Cynthiana, with a considerable portion of the stolen property. Morgan, though pursued by Smith, made his escape into Tennessee, at the close of July, boasting of his great success in his expedition.

Henderson, on the Ohio, was also occupied by guerrillas at this same date, who crossed over into Indiana and plundered a hospital at Newburg. Russelville, the capital of Logan County, southwest of Bowling Green, was also taken by guerrillas, on the 29th of July; and the same day, Mount Sterling, east of Lexington, was assailed by a body of rebels. These, however, were driven off by the citizens, and pursued to a considerable distance.

Toward the close of the month of August, a large division of the rebel troops in Tennessee threatened an invasion of Kentucky. Gen. E. Kirby Smith, having his headquarters at Knoxville, in East Tennessee, began his advance on the 22d of August. After a very difficult and fatiguing march, Smith entered Kentucky without opposition, and on the 29th, appeared before Richmond, the capital of Madison County, forty-eight miles southeast of Frankfort. Gen. Manson was in command of the Union troops, which, mostly raw and undisciplined, numbered about 6,500 men. Smith's force was estimated to be very much larger, and, on the 30th of August, after nearly a whole day's fighting, in which our loss was very severe,

* Cincinnati, though sixty miles distant, was somewhat excited by the news of this capture of Cynthiana, and apprehensions were felt for the safety of the line of the Kentucky Central Railroad. Col. Burbank, of the U.S. army, took military command of the city, and volunteer companies were organized. Martial law was proclaimed at Covington, and every effort was made to hasten the sending troops into the field for the protection of the state.

he succeeded in completely defeating Manson and his troops.

The legislature of the state was at this time in session at Frankfort, and so alarmed were the members by this success of Kirby Smith, that, on Sunday evening, the 31st of August, they passed resolutions to adjourn at once to Louisville. The archives of the state, and about $1,000,000 from the banks of Richmond, Lexington and Frankfort, were transferred during the night to Louisville. A proclamation was also issued by Gov. Robinson, who had recently succeeded Gov. Magoffin, and the people of Kentucky were urgently appealed to in the existing critical state of affairs. "To arms! to arms!" he said; "and never lay them down till the stars and stripes float in triumph throughout Kentucky."

The rebel general, having occupied Lexington and Frankfort without opposition, deemed it proper to issue a proclamation, September 2d, disclaiming entirely any purpose of invasion for the purpose of coercion or control, and asserting that they were come, not as invaders, but liberators.

There was, naturally, not a little excitement in Louisville and Cincinnati in the present threatening aspect of affairs. In the former city, citizens, at the call of the mayor, enrolled themselves for home guards; martial law was declared in the county, and the legislature cooperated with the military authorities in measures for the defence of the state. At Cincinnati, where the danger appeared more pressing, the most vigorous measures were taken for defence. Gen. Lewis Wallace assumed command of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport on the 1st of September. Martial law was declared, and the citizens entered with enthusiasm upon the work of defence and preparations to meet the advancing rebels. So industriously did they labor that, in a few days, there were not less than ten miles of entrenchments lining the hills and furnished with cannon. For a while it was doubtful what move the rebels would next make. On the 10th of September, it was thought that a battle was imminent, and special activity was displayed in order to be ready for it; but the rebels, finding that there were such means of resistance, and fearing an attack from another quarter, gave up the attempt and retired. Gen. Wallace issued a congratulatory address, but warned the people to be prepared for future emergencies. 1862.

It was not long after the failure of Kirby Smith's attempt upon Cincinnati, that a more serious danger presented itself. This arose out of the projected invasion of the North-west by the main army of the rebels in Tennessee, under command of Bragg. Corinth, in Mississippi, it will be remembered, was evacuated by Beauregard, at the end of May (see p. 179), the retreat being continued as far as Tupello, in the same state. Gen. Buell, who had been left by Halleck in command of the Army of the Ohio, after much effort and difficulty, extended his lines eastward along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, to Huntsville, Alabama, where he established his headquarters. The rebel general, anticipating a further movement in this direction on Buell's part,

sent a portion of his force to Chattanooga, thus outflanking Buell, and, with Eastern Tennessee already in possession, securing an open route in the rear of Nashville to Kentucky.

Finding the guerrilla warfare particularly annoying, in interfering with his communications, in destroying railroad bridges, and in various other ways, Buell felt compelled to abandon his line of defence in Northern Alabama, and withdraw his divisions under Nelson, Wood, McCook, Crittenden and Thomas from their several stations to Murfreesborough and the line of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad.*

On the 19th of August, Clarksville, Tennessee, on the Cumberland River, was surrendered by the officer in command, Col. R. Mason, to an inferior force and without firing a gun. In another direction, to the north-east of Nashville, the famous John Morgan, on the 12th of August, made a dash with his guerrillas upon Gallatin, capturing Col. Boone and four companies of a Kentucky regiment. The place was retaken directly afterwards, and the damage done to the railroad, the bridges, etc., was repaired. On the 22d, Gen. R. W. Johnson, with about 800 men, attacked Morgan and his raiders near Gallatin, the result of which was, that Johnson was taken prisoner and, to their disgrace, more than half his force was killed or captured.

Successes like these, in various directions, emboldened the guerrillas, and they became more troublesome than ever. Travel ceased to be safe, even near the capital; the mails were robbed; Union men were seized and dragged off; and quite frequently small detachments of Union troops were suddenly set upon and killed or made prisoners. The state of things became intolerable, and in the western part of Kentucky, they resolved to hang every guerrilla that was caught. In addition to the men who served under Morgan, Forrest, and such like, there was a class of marauders who followed or accompanied them, a desperate band, who spared neither sex nor age, and who plundered and ravaged all alike. The same process of guerrilla warfare was carried on against boats on the Mississippi, who were signaled to come near the shore, as if for passengers or freight, and then fired into from ambush, or seized and plundered. At Randolph, on the Mississippi, an outrage of this kind was perpetrated, which led Gen. Sherman to send a force from Memphis and completely destroy the place.

The movement of the Army of the Ohio was now in a northerly direction, parallel with the advance of Bragg through Middle Tennessee toward Kentucky.* Bragg leaving Chattanooga on the 21st of August, followed up the

* On the 5th of August, Gen. R. L. McCook was murdered by a body of guerrillas near Salem, Ala. He was sick at the time, and travelling in an ambulance, one regiment of his brigade being in advance and the remainder some distance in the rear. Over a hundred guerrillas, lying in ambush, waited the favorable moment of his being at a distance from his men, and rushing upon him, shot him down in cold blood. An able and excellent officer, his death was sincerely lamented by all who knew him, especially the men under his immediate command.

* The principal object of the present rebel invasion was to obtain supplies of meat, the deficiency of which the disloyal states were feeling already very keenly. It was hoped also, that by means of a large military force within her borders, Kentucky might be coaxed or compelled to cast in her lot with secession and rebellion.

Valley of the Sequatchie to Pikeville, thence to Sparta, threatening Buell's army, and pursuing his route by Carthage, entered Kentucky the first week in September, just after Kirby Smith had gained possession of Frankfort. At Glasgow, on the 18th of September, Bragg issued a proclamation, in substance the same as those issued by Morgan and Kirby Smith, making the same pretensions and asking the same returns.

A few days before this, there was a sharp engagement between the advance of Buckner's division of Bragg's army, and the Union troops, 3,000 in number, stationed at Munfordsville, on Green River, where the Louisville and Nashville Railroad crosses. The rebels demanded the surrender of the place, which was refused by Col. Wilder, the commander of the troops. An attack was made at daylight, which was repulsed with considerable slaughter. The fight was renewed two days later, and continued till the close of the day. As Bragg was near with his main force, Col. Dunham, then in command, surrendered the place, on the 17th of September; his force amounting to about 4,500 in all, together with 10 guns.

Bragg next advanced to Bardstown, where on the 26th, he issued another proclamation addressed to the people of the North-west. In this document, which was a curious mixture of argument, entreaty and threatening, Bragg gave expression to the sentiments which were largely entertained by the rebel leaders at the time. It was an elaborate effort to stir up sectional strife and division, begging them to put a stop to the war, as they had the power, and to refuse to let the East grow rich by tariffs and the like, imposed on them as well as on the South. Very possibly, Bragg and his fellow laborers in a bad cause, may have thought that the inhabitants of the North-west might be persuaded to aid them in their designs by appealing to motives of self-interest and narrow and unworthy prejudices; but, if so, they were grievously disappointed. On the contrary, the loyal supporters of the Union were nerved to fresh and determined efforts to put down the rebellion.

Gen. Morgan, who held the important post at Cumberland Gap (see p. 180), was cut off from his usual sources of supply by the invasion of Kentucky under Bragg. During two months from the date of the occupation of the Gap, Gen. Morgan had bravely maintained his position; but apprehension of famine, and of being finally compelled to surrender, induced him, while he had opportunity, to make good his retreat. Accordingly, on the 17th of September, he gave orders for the evacuation. The military buildings, and all the stores which could not readily be carried away, were burnt. The escape of Morgan and his troops along a wild mountain track of 250 miles, through the counties of Eastern Kentucky, by way of Manchester, Hazel Green, West Liberty and Grayson, to the Ohio at Greenupsburg, where they arrived on the 3d of October, was one of the most perilous adventures of the war, beset, as they were, by the enemy, by Marshall's and Smith's divisions, on whose flank they

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were moving. Much suffering and privation, from want of water and supplies of food, were cheerfully undergone, and having saved their cannon, which were dragged the whole of the distance by oxen and mules, 10,000 men, with 28 pieces of artillery and 400 wagons, marched in safety to the Ohio.

Buell, leaving Nashville in charge of Gen. Negley, had followed Bragg's invading force closely on its route into Kentucky, and re occupied Munfordsville. While the rebel general was making his way toward Frankfort, Buell marched by the main road into Louisville, where the advance arrived on the 25th of September. Here, in and around the city, he found a considerable body of raw troops, hastily gathered from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, under the command of Gen. Nelson, who, it may here be mentioned, was shot a few days afterwards in a rencontre with Gen. J. C. Davis.

Some confusion and trouble arose for a while, out of the bringing together of troops, and the apparent conflict of authority between officers belonging to the armies of Ohio and Kentucky. In due time matters were brought to a settlement; Kentucky was withdrawn from the department of Ohio, and the army of Gen. Buell was organized in three corps, under the command respectively of Gens. A. McD. McCook, T. L. Crittenden and C. C. Gilbert. Gen. Thomas was second in command of the whole. On the 1st of October, Buell left Louisville with an army of about 100,000 men, in pursuit of Bragg and his army of invasion. On the 4th, he reached Bardstown, which had been evacuated by Bragg the day before, and on the 6th, he arrived at Springfield, sixty-two miles from Lexington. There were frequent skirmishing and contests with the rebel army's rear guard, Bragg being twenty-four hours in advance of our troops and steadily gaining. Buell learned, on the 7th of October, that the enemy were in force at Perryville, forty-two miles south of Frankfort. He determined to surround the enemy, if possible, and accordingly ordered the three army corps which were marching upon Perryville by different roads, to advance without any delay. McCook and Gilbert continued their march without interruption, but Crittenden lost half a day in searching for water.

Bragg had already begun his retreat from Perryville, but hearing of Crittenden's delay on the march, he resolved to fight McCook and Gilbert and defeat them, and then fall upon Crittenden. Accordingly, Hardee's corps was recalled to Perryville, and McCook, wholly unexpectedly, on the morning of the 8th of October, found the rebels in front of him, prepared for an assault. Taken by surprise, with raw, inefficient troops, McCook's corps was, in a few hours, badly cut up and compelled to fall back nearly a mile. Reinforcements were promptly ordered up; but night coming on, the fight ceased. Crittenden's corps arrived in the evening, and early the next day, it was ascertained that Bragg had retreated. The loss in killed and wounded, in the battle of Perryville or Chaplin's Hills, was severe, numbering, according to Buell's report, about 4,000. The rebel

loss, so far as known, was fully as severe as ours.

Bragg having now some 60,000 men, it was expected that he would make a stand at Camp Dick Robinson, on Dick River. Buell's plan was to make a feint of attacking in front, while the real attack was to be made on the flanks. Crittenden was to advance in front, and McCook and Gilbert to approach by different roads so as to cut off Bragg's escape, and compel him to fight or surrender. Bragg seems to have divined Buell's purpose, and on the night of the 11th of October, evacuated Camp Dick Robinson, having as spoils which he was anxious to secure, 4,000 wagons with the mark "U. S." upon them, and some 5,000 head of cattle, 1,000 mules and as many sheep. So soon as Buell learned the fact of Bragg's retreat, he ordered immediate pursuit by the army encamped near Danville. The rebels, however, possessed such superior knowledge of the country, and were so skilful in availing themselves of every advantage, that the rear guard of Bragg was able to hold in check the advance of our troops and prevent their doing any material injury to the retreating army. Bragg kept the road toward Cumberland Gap, and retired in the direction of Crab Orchard. On the 14th of October, our army set out early for this latter place, but were delayed by sagacious manœuvres of the enemy, and their advance hindered for several hours. Crittenden's corps, with W. S. Smith's division, urged on the pursuit as rapidly and as well as the difficult way, often passing through narrow defiles, admitted; it was kept up on the direct road as far as Loudon, and on the branch road to Manchester. Further than this it was deemed, by Buell, inexpedient and useless to continue the pursuit.

The invasion of Kentucky was certainly successful in the matter of obtaining a large amount of supplies and stores of various kinds; but in other respects it was a failure. The Kentuckians did not rally around the rebel standard, and evidently preferred to remain in their true and proper place in the Union. Pollard, angered at the "abject attitude" of those who "dragged the names of Maryland and Kentucky in the dust," cannot but admit "that the South was bitterly disappointed in the manifestations of public sentiment in Kentucky, and that the exhibitions of sympathy in this state were meagre and sentimental, and amounted to but little practical aid of our cause."* He strives to find a reason for all this, but in vain. Kentucky, as a whole, was loyal; and yet Jeff. Davis had the assurance to claim this state as a member of his so-called "confederacy."

Grant, as we have stated (see p. 180) was in charge of the department of Western Tennessee, including the region between the Tennessee River and the Mississippi. A portion of his force having been withdrawn to give encouragement and assistance to the newly-levied troops at Louisville, Kentucky, the rebels were induced to appear in strong force and threaten Grant's several lines of communication. A demonstration of this kind, by a large

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* "*Second Year of the War*," pp. 162–163.

body of rebel cavalry, under Armstrng, was made August 30th, against Bolivar, in Tennessee, for the purpose of severing the railroad at that point. They were met, when within five miles of Bolivar, by Col. Legget, with a body of Ohio troops numbering about 900. Although the enemy were estimated to be at least 4,000 strong, yet our men bravely resisted their advance, and compelled them, after a seven hours' engagement, to move off in another direction. Armstrong next attacked a detachment of our troops, on the railroad at Medon, August 31st; and again, the following day, at Britton's Lane; but in both cases he was repulsed with severe loss, and our men remained in possession of the field.

Early in September, it became evident that the rebels, under Sterling Price, were preparing to advance and break the line of communication between Grant and Buell, in order that, having crossed the Tennessee, they might operate to advantage on the flank of Buell's army, in concert with the advance of Bragg to Kentucky. Iuka, a small town on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, twenty miles southeast of Corinth, had been seized upon by the rebels, and was now occupied by Price in force. This led to steps at once, on the part of Grant and Rosecrans, who, in dislodging Price from his position, resolved to make a double attack. It was decided that a column of 18,000 men, under Grant and Ord, should move by way of Burnsville, and attack Price, while Rosecrans, moving by way of Jacinto with part of his corps, was to attack the enemy on the flank, and push forward the balance of his column on the Fulton road, so as to cut off Price's retreat, in case he should attempt it. With this understanding, on the morning of September 18th, the army began its movement. Stanley's and Hamilton's divisions, under Rosecrans, left Clear Creek, amid a drenching rain, and after a fatiguing march, bivouacked that night at Jacinto. At dawn the next day, they were again on the march, and about ten o'clock, the advance of Hamilton's division came upon the pickets of the enemy at Barnett's Corners. A sharp skirmish ensued, which resulted in driving them six miles toward Iuka.

The entire column having now arrived at Barnett's Corners, Rosecrans waited, according to previous understanding, for the sound of Grant's artillery, as the signal for him to move forward; but after the lapse of two hours, he received a dispatch from Grant, then only seven miles from Iuka, that he was waiting for Rosecrans to commence the battle. Immediately the column was moved forward until within two miles of Iuka, where the enemy were discovered posted on a broad ridge commanding the country for some distance. A sharp fire was opened upon the skirmishers as they advanced, under which Hamilton's division came up and formed in line. The engagement speedily became general, and continued for two hours, when darkness prevented a continuance of the fight. It was a fierce contest, and brought out the bravery and spirit of the troops, who

lay on their arms, expecting the next morning to renew the battle. During the night, however, the rebels evacuated Iuka, and, though pursued actively, made good their escape to Bay Spring. The troops under Grant and Ord, which left Corinth at the same time when Rosecrans marched, reached Burnsville in the afternoon. The next day, they pushed forward until they came up with the rebel pickets; but no attack was made. The morning following, September 20th, a flag of truce was sent to the rebel camp, which did not return until late in the day; and thus Grant's troops did not engage the enemy as was expected.

Having met with a repulse at Iuka, the rebels now determined to make a vigorous onset on Corinth, where were Rosecrans's headquarters, and where he was anxiously expecting their advance. Price, it was understood, had marched to the vicinity of Ripley, where he was joined by Van Dorn, with all the available troops in North Mississippi. Thence the joint force proceeded northerly, and struck the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, in Tennesse, in the rear of Corinth, at Pocahontas. There they were able to menace alike Grant, at his headquarters at Jackson, and Rosecrans at Corinth; and made their advance upon the latter place by way of the Chewalla road.

Rosecrans, who was in command at Corinth, Grant being at Jackson, and Ord at Bolivar, had made his preparations for an attack, and had so arranged his defences that if the enemy could be drawn under them he was certain of their defeat. On the approach of the rebels, troops were sent out to meet them, and during the 30th of September and the 1st and 2d of October there was constant skirmishing kept up on both sides. On the 3d, the rebel force was largely increased, and our men were driven back, with great loss, to the defences of the town. Rosecrans and his staff were on the field all night, making final preparations to receive the enemy, and nothing was neglected that seemed necessary to insure victory.*

At early dawn, on Saturday, October 4th, the rebels showed themselves eager for the fight, and in the course of an hour or two the battle was begun in earnest by a force numbering nearly 40,000 men. Price led the one wing and Van Dorn the other. Price assaulted the right of our force with intense fury and determination; but so skilfully had Rosecrans arranged his batteries, and so bravely were the rebels met by our men, that Price's advance was repulsed before Van Dorn was able to come up on the left. The attempt was made to recover what was lost, and with valor worthy of a better cause Van Dorn's men strove for success; but in vain. They were beaten in the bloody struggle, and by noon of the same day began their retreat. Pursuit was undertaken as speedily as possible, the enemy taking the Chew-

* Van Dorn, it seems, like Pope, (p. 213) was rash enough on Friday evening, to send a dispatch to Richmond, announcing a glorious victory, before the battle was ended. Pollard finds it hard to excuse "an exultation so hasty and extreme." He is also very severe on "the blind and romantic generalship, which carried them (the rebels) into the jaws of destruction." —"*Second Year of the War*," pp. 164–167.

alla road, purposing to cross the Tuscumbia River, near Pocahontas. A detachment sent forward to protect the Hatchie River bridge, two miles from that across the Tuscumbia, was attacked on the 4th, the day of the battle, by our troops under Ord and Hurlbut, and defeated.

Our losses in this hotly contested battle were severe, viz.: 315 killed, 1,812 wounded, and 232 prisoners; the rebel loss was much greater, Rosecrans estimating it at some 5,000 to 6,000.

After this second battle at Corinth, the troops returned to their respective positions. No immediate advance into Mississippi was undertaken by Grant, he being content to keep open his communications with Columbus, and hold his positions at Jackson and Bolivar in Western Tennessee. At the beginning of December, he took possession of Holly Springs, on the Mississippi Central Railroad, and advanced some miles beyond to confront Van Dorn, on the Tallahatchie River. To co-operate with this movement and to act on the rebel flank, an expedition set out from Helena, Arkansas, Nov. 27th, under command of Gen. A. P. Hovey, consisting of about 6,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. The latter, commanded by Gen. C. C. Washburn, crossed the low alluvial bottom land from Delta, below Helena, on the Mississippi, and reached the Tallahatchie River at its junction with the Coldwater, the evening of the next day. Having constructed a bridge across the Tallahatchie, he pushed on towards Grenada, and early on Nov. 30th, was at Preston, sixteen miles from Grenada. Parties were sent out who destroyed several bridges, and the telegraph wires, on the Mississippi and Tennessee, and the Mississippi and Central Railroad. At Mitchell's Cross-roads he received a reinforcement from Gen. Hovey of about 1,200 men and four pieces of artillery. A few days after, he fell in with a body of Texan cavalry at Oakland, and captured a number of prisoners, horses, arms, etc. Here he received a dispatch from Hovey, recalling him to Helena, whither he returned, having in six days marched 200 miles in a hostile country, surrounded by enemies.

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About the middle of December, another cavalry expedition was undertaken by Col. T. L. Dickey, by Grant's order, against the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. It was equally successful with that by Washburn, and to use Dickey's words, "we marched about 200 miles, worked two days at the railroad, captured about 150 prisoners, destroyed thirty-four miles of important railroad and a large amount of public stores of the enemy, and returned, passing round an enemy of nine to our one, without having a man killed, wounded or captured."

Grant did not press the pursuit of the rebels beyond Grenada, in consequence of the bad roads and difficulty of getting supplies. The rebels, however, found means of annoying him, by attacks on his long line of communication through Western Tennessee to Columbus. Towards the end of December, they made successful raids upon various points, Holly Springs, Davis's Mills, in the vicinity of Jackson, Tennessee, and upon Humboldt and Tren-

ton. At Holly Springs, pillaging and plundering were the order of the day, and to the utter disgrace of Van Dorn and his men, the armory hospital was burned, and the sick and wounded treated with shocking cruelty.

The principal effect of these attacks was to keep Grant within the borders of Tennessee. Unacquainted with the peculiar difficulties in his way, public expectation had looked for the immediate reduction of Vicksburg; but that was a more serious matter than was contemplated, and was not brought about till the middle of the following summer.

CHAPTER XXII.

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LEE'S INVASION OF MARYLAND: BATTLES OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND ANTIETAM.

State of affairs after Pope's exit — McClellan called on to fill the gap — Enters on command — Lee resolves to invade Maryland — His army crosses the Potomac — Enter Frederick — Course pursued — Lee's address to the people of Maryland — How received — Miserable condition of the rebel army — Apprehensions — Action of governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania — McClellan sets out from Washington after Lee — Enters Frederick on 12th of September — Harper's Ferry held by Halleck's orders — Exposed condition — Jackson sent to capture it — Lee's order falls into McClellan's hands — Active movements in consequence — Feeble defence of Harper's Ferry — Invested by Jackson and captured — The surrender severely censured as disgraceful — Movement in advance to cross South Mountain — Conflict in forcing Turner's Gap and Crampton's Pass — Lee takes position on Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg — Judiciously chosen — Preparations for the battle — Action of the 16th and 17th of September — Burnside's failure to move forward in time — Length and severity of the battle — Heavy loss — McClellan does not renew the attack on the 18th — Lee retires to Virginia — Invasion of Maryland a failure — McClellan's and Lee's congratulatory addresses to their armies.

General Pope having made his exit, under the circumstances already narrated (see p. 214), it became a question at once of no little difficulty as well as delicacy, what was to be done? **1862.** Affairs were in such a position that delay and inaction threatened the most serious consequences, and, on Pope's removal, it seemed almost of necessity that McClellan should again be called to the place he had filled, a month or so before, as commander of the Army of the Potomac. There was, in fact, hardly a choice in the matter. Among all the officers of merit and high standing there was no one especially suited to the emergency, except McClellan. For he, however the directors of military operations at Washington may have acted towards him, however much also he may have failed to accomplish what was expected of him, was certainly immensely popular with the army. If any man could rouse them afresh, and nerve them to a spirited renewal of the contest against the rebels, now flushed with victory and threatening to carry fire and sword into the loyal states, it was McClellan; and, therefore, the president and his advisers turned to him in their present perplexities and trials. It deserves to be

remembered, to McClellan's credit, that he promptly met the call of the government, and devoted his best energies to the important work before him.

Halleck, on the night of the 31st of August, wrote to McClellan, in camp at Alexandria, entreating his help: "I beg of you to assist me in this crisis, with your ability and experience. I am entirely tired out." On the 2d of September, the president and Halleck called upon McClellan, then in Washington, and placing before him the fact that Pope's army was in full retreat, that the road was filled with stragglers, etc., required of him to take command of the fortifications, and of all the troops for the defence of the capital. This he at once did, and endeavored as rapidly as possible to restore the *morale* of the troops, by effective drilling and disciplining for service against the rebels at the earliest moment.

The success of Lee in routing Pope, as he did, seems to have persuaded the rebel authorities that it would be safe and wise to seize the present moment for invading, or, as they called it, delivering Maryland. When Lee left Richmond there was no purpose of the kind had in view, for it could hardly have been imagined what a termination of the campaign would be made by Pope, and how completely, by the abandonment of the Peninsula added to this, the way would be open for an advance into the loyal states. But the opportunity was now at hand, and though it was something of a venture, still Lee acted with promptitude and decision. He had his choice, either to make an assault upon Washington, or to cross the Potomac higher up, and so invade Maryland. The former was not to be thought of, as being entirely beyond Lee's capacity. He accordingly adopted the other alternative. Having advanced from Leesburg to the river, on the 4th of September, he managed, in two or three days, to cross his troops by fords near Point of Rocks.*

The advance of Lee's army, under Hill, skirting the eastern slope of Catoctin Mountains, marched toward Frederick, the capital of the state, a town of some importance, forty-four miles northwest of Washington, and sixty west of Baltimore. Much alarm was felt in Frederick, and many of the inhabitants hastily departed; the rebel troops, however, quietly entered the town and took possession on the 6th of September. Col. B. T. Johnson, a strong Maryland sympathizer in the rebel army, was appointed provost-marshal, to maintain order and to keep the hungry and ragged invaders within due bounds. Foraging parties were sent out for live stock and provisions, and large purchases were made of drugs, shoes, clothing and other articles, from shopkeepers of the town; but to the tradesmen's infinite disgust, payment was made in the worthless confederate

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* The rebel Congress, on the 12th of September, praised Gen. Lee in the highest terms not only for his brilliant victory, but also for his "masterly movement" in crossing the Potomac. Most of the members were filled with lofty expectations as to what was to be accomplished by Lee, and Jackson's opinion was quoted as decidedly in favor of an invasion of the North (see p. 150). Here and there a member pointed out the impolicy and danger of an attempted invasion; it was also noted that the entering Kentucky for a similar purpose turned out a failure (see p. 222); but remonstrance and argument were of no avail. Aggression was voted, 63 to 15.

currency. Beyond this compulsory traffic there appears to have been little if any violation of the ordinary rights and privileges of the inhabitants.

Anxious to conciliate, and acting on the baseless theory that the people of Maryland were desirous to join secession and rebellion, Lee, on the 8th of September, issued an address to the inhabitants of that state. It was well and temperately written, and appealed to the Marylanders to throw off tyranny, to regain their rights in connection with their southern brethren, and to secure, by his aid, their ancient freedom of thought and speech. Col. Johnson also begged the people to enlist at once, and stated that he had arms in abundance for instant use.

The invitations of Lee, though smoothly and temptingly expressed, were treated with almost entire indifference by the people of Maryland. There was no uprising, no enthusiastic reception of the deliverers, no disposition to cast in their lot with Jeff. Davis and his company. As a whole, the state was unquestionably loyal, and adhered to the Union from motives of principle more than those of interest. In addition to all this, the miserably squalid, filthy condition of the troops under Lee did not tend to recommend them or the professed object of their coming. It was enough to "smell" them, as a gentleman in Frederick said, to settle the matter. Barefooted, scant in clothing, and with plenty of vermin on their persons, they certainly offered small inducement for any one to enlist in their ranks, however good they might be at hard fighting.

When the invasion became a settled fact, there was much apprehension lest the rebels should advance to the east toward Baltimore, to seize upon the city with the aid of sympathizing insurgents, and cut off Washington from its northern communications; there was also a rumor of a probable attempt on the Central Railroad, and movement up the Cumberland Valley into Pennsylvania. Governor Bradford issued a proclamation, calling upon the citizens to enroll themselves in voluntary military organizations of infantry and cavalry to meet the emergency. General Wool, also, in command at Baltimore, gave earnest attention to defensive preparations against a possible advance of Lee's army. **1862.**

In Pennsylvania, Governor Curtin, warned of impending danger by the rumored approach of the rebels to Hagerstown, called out all the able-bodied men of the state to organize immediately for its defence, and be ready for marching orders at an hour's notice. The people freely responded to the call upon them, and hastened in great numbers to Harrisburg. The danger, in fact, appeared nearly equal to Pennsylvania and Maryland, as the rebel army, unless speedily checked, might strike either at Harrisburg or Baltimore.

In this position of affairs, McClellan made his arrangements to follow Lee, and if possible defeat his probable purpose in entering Maryland. Uncertain as to the rebel general's intentions, McClellan moved cautiously from Washington. Gen. Banks was placed in command of the defences at the capital,

and Gen. Heintzelman in charge of the forces on the Virginia side. The right wing consisted of the first and ninth corps, under Burnside; the centre, of the second and twelfth corps, under Sumner; and the left wing, of the sixth corps, under Franklin; the entire force being a little over 87,000. The advance was made by five parallel roads, and the columns were so disposed as to cover both Washington and Baltimore. The object of McClellan in this arrangement was, as he states, "to feel the enemy; to compel him to develop his intentions; to attack him should he hold the line of the Monocacy; or to follow him into Pennsylvania if necessary." The van of our army entered Frederick, on the 12th of September, after some severe skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry, and found that the main body of Lee's troops had left the town two days before, in the direction of Harper's Ferry.

Some time previous to this, McClellan had advised the evacuation of Harper's Ferry, as a point of no importance to hold, now that Lee had crossed the Potomac, and as being exposed, with its garrison, to imminent danger of capture. But Halleck, the general-in-chief, rejected McClellan's suggestions. Lee, however, who had supposed that, of course, there would be no attempt made to hold the place, now found it necessary to delay, for a few days, the carrying forward of his ulterior designs, until he should have taken Harper's Ferry, and opened his communication with Richmond by way of the Shenandoah Valley. The work was committed to Jackson, who brought it to a conclusion as speedily as was possible. At this date, there was at Harper's Ferry, a garrison of about 9,000 men, under Col. D. H. Miles; there were also some raw troops and a body of about 2,000 cavalry, doing outpost duty, under Gen. White, at Winchester and Martinsburg, which came into Harper's Ferry on the 3d of September, thus making the entire force some 13,000 in number. Jackson was ordered, on the 18th of September, to cross the Potomac above, and invest Harper's Ferry in the rear. Two other divisions, under McLaws and Walker, were, the one to seize Maryland Heights, the other to cross the river and take possession of Loudon Heights; both were to cooperate with Jackson. Longstreet was at the same time ordered, with Hill's division as a rear guard, to move toward Hagerstown, where they were to be joined by the forces sent against Harper's Ferry, after the latter had accomplished the objects of their expedition. The place was to be taken by the morning of the 13th of September, and the troops were to rejoin Lee immediately, and move upon Boonsborough or Hagerstown. 1862.

By a most opportune accident, McClellan found, on a table at Frederick, on the day of his arrival, a copy of Lee's official order, addressed to D. H. Hill, which directed the several movements above noted. This important document revealed to McClellan Lee's whole plan of operations, and what he intended and expected to accomplish. Heretofore McClellan had moved very slowly, for the reasons given on a

previous page, so slowly indeed that Lee calculated upon being able to capture Harper's Ferry, with its valuable stores, and to get his troops together again before he should be overtaken or interfered with by the Union general. Being possessed of knowledge so important at this juncture, McClellan acted with vigor and promptitude. He ordered a rapid movement towards Harper's Ferry, so as to save it, if possible, and, to Lee's surprise, he manifested a purpose of immediately forcing the passes of South Mountain, which, if accomplished, would enable him to relieve Harper's Ferry and also strike Lee's divided columns, with fatal effect. Lee, therefore, at once ordered Hill's division back from Boonsborough to guard the passes, and sent Longstreet from Hagerstown to Hill's support.

As things were now situate, McClellan expected to be able to carry out his plan of relieving Harper's Ferry, and by cutting the enemy in two, to beat him in detail; and had Miles at the Ferry, and Ford on Maryland Heights, displayed a fair share of soldierly intelligence and vigor, he might readily have succeeded. In consequence, however, of the feeble defence under Miles, and the hasty abandonment of the Heights, which, with astonishing fatuity, had not been fortified so as to resist the enemy, McClellan's proposed relief came too late. It is hardly needful to go into details of the capture of Harper's Ferry. Jackson was in position and ready to storm the place by noon on the 13th of September; but he waited for McLaws and Walker to act in concert. On this same day, Ford gave up the heights to McLaws, retiring to Harper's Ferry; and by the morning of the 14th, the investment was complete. The artillery was placed in position during the day on Bolivar and Loudon Heights, and at dawn, on the 15th of September, the combined attack began. In two hours the contest was settled. Miles raised the white flag, and Harper's Ferry surrendered. It deserves to be noted, however, that all the cavalry, numbering some 2,000, under command of Col. Davis, cut their way out on Saturday evening, the 13th, going by the road to Sharpsburg, and capturing, on their march, Longstreet's train and over 500 prisoners. Miles was killed by a shell, after the white flag was raised; our loss besides, in killed and wounded, was about 200.* Immediately after the surrender, Jackson hurried off to rejoin Lee, and by an active night march, he reached Sharpsburg on the morning of the 16th of September.

McClellan, as we have before stated, was pushing forward to overtake Lee His line of advance across South Mountain was, for the right and centre, under Burnside, by Turner's Gap, and for the left, under Franklin, by Crampton's Gap, six miles to the southward. The

* A military commission, of which Gen. Hunter was president, was appointed to inquire into this surrender. After fully reviewing the circumstances, the commission decided that the defence of Maryland Heights was conducted by Col. Ford "without ability," and that he was unfit to hold any command in the army. In respect to Miles, the commission were "unanimous upon the fact that his incapacity, amounting to almost imbecility, led to the shameful surrender of this important post." Col. Ford and Major Baird were cashiered. The commission also censured McClellan for not having relieved Harper's Ferry; respecting which, see McClellan's official report and defence.

South Mountain range, near Turner's Pass, is about 1,000 feet in height, and forms a strong natural military barrier. The practicable passes are not numerous, and are readily defensible, the gaps abounding in fine positions. Turner's Pass is the more prominent, being that by which the national road crosses the mountains. Crampton's Pass also was important to be secured, in order to furnish the means of reaching the flank of the enemy.

Early on the morning of the 14th of September, Gen. Pleasanton, with a cavalry force, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, whom he discovered to occupy the crest of commanding hills in the gap on either side of the national road, and upon advantageous ground in the centre, upon, and near the road, with artillery bearing upon all the approaches to their position. About eight o'clock, a portion of Burnside's command moved up the mountain to the left of the main road, dividing as they advanced into two columns. They carried handsomely the rebel position on the crest in their front, and gained possession of an important point for further operations. The enemy gathered in force, but our men being supported by other troops, fully maintained the ground which they had won. Gen. Reno was among the killed.

About three o'clock P.M., Hooker's corps moved up to the right of the main road by a country road, which, bending to the right, then turning up to to the left, circuitously wound its way beyond the crest of the pass to the mountain house, on the main road. Meade was sent by Hooker to attack the eminence to the right of this entrance to the gap, which was executed with spirit and success. Ricketts's division pressed up the mountain about five o'clock, and Gibbon's brigade late in the afternoon, forced the rebels back, and some hours after dark, remained in undisturbed possession of the field.

Our loss in this engagement was severe, being 328 killed and 1,463 wounded and missing; the rebel loss was estimated to be above 3,000, of which 1,500 were prisoners.

Crampton's Pass, meanwhile, the carrying of which had been committed to Gen. Franklin, was vigorously and decisively attacked. The enemy were driven from their position at the base of the mountain, and forced back up the mountain until they reached their battery near the road. Here they made a stand; but our troops pressed forward, and after an action of three hours the crest was gained and the enemy retreated hastily down the other side of the mountain. Four hundred prisoners were taken, and several hundred of the rebels were killed and wounded. Franklin's loss was 115 killed, and 416 wounded. During the night, Lee abandoned the position at Turner's Gap, and our right and centre, on the morning of the 25th of September, passed through to the west side of the mountain. McClellan ordered an immediate pursuit of the retreating enemy, which was prosecuted, however, only for a few miles, when it was discovered that Lee had resolved to make a stand at Antietam Creek. McClellan had hoped to have a fight on the 15th, and drive Lee's army into the

river; but on arriving at the front and examining the position, he found it to be too late to attack that day. Orders were given for every preparation to be completed, and the corps to be in their places on both sides of Sharpsburg turnpike at the earliest moment.

Lee's position was carefully and judiciously selected. His flanks were protected by the Potomac, which here makes a sharp curve, and his front was covered by Antietam Creek. The rebel line was drawn in front of Sharpsburg, Longstreet being on the right and D. H. Hill on the left. Hood's two brigades were posted on the left to protect the road running northwardly across the Potomac to Hagerstown. Jackson held the reserve near the left. The ground chosen was well adapted for defence, and batteries were posted on the heights at various points. It was evidently a matter of necessity for Lee to check McClellan's advance, and on this battle depended the answer to the question, whether he should be in a position to carry out his ulterior designs, or abandon the attempt altogether.

The morning of the 16th of September was occupied by McClellan in carefully examining the ground, posting his troops, batteries, etc., and perfecting all the arrangements for immediate attack. Hooker was sent across Antietam Creek, near Keedysville, and ordered to turn the enemy's left. A sharp contest ensued; but it was too late in the day to effect any advantage.

At daylight, September 17th, Hooker renewed the combat, Jackson's force holding the rebel left. It was a fierce and terrible struggle, hour after hour, through the day. Mansfield came to Hooker's support, and lost his life on the field. Sedgwick's, Richardson's and French's divisions of Sumner's corps took their full share in the battle, and by the efficient aid of the artillery held their ground. Burnside, who was posted opposite the rebel right, was ordered to force the passage across Antietam Creek; but, although this was of the first importance to be done promptly and thoroughly, Burnside lost several hours in the effort, and thereby enabled Lee to press severely upon Sumner's corps on his left, and arrest our men in their onward course to victory. It was one o'clock before a passage was effected, and two hours passed before the attack on the crest was made. About three o'clock this was accomplished, and the rebel battery on the Sharpsburg ridge was captured. Just then A. P. Hill, with the portion of troops under his command, arrived from Harper's Ferry by way of Shepherdstown. Reinforcing Jones on the field with over 2,000 fresh troops, the offensive was resumed, and Burnside was compelled to retire to the cover of the hill bordering on Antietam Creek. As darkness was fast approaching the battle was now brought to a close for the day, both sides being thoroughly wearied, after having spent some fourteen hours in this bloody struggle.* Thus, as McClellan affirms in his report, "the Army

* The numbers engaged in this battle have been variously estimated. McClellan makes Lee's force not much short of 100,000, and his own about 90,000. Secession writers say that Lee fought the battle with an aggregate of 70,000, against 130,000 under McClellan.

of the Potomac, notwithstanding the moral effect incident to previous reverses, had achieved a victory over an adversary invested with the prestige of recent success. Our soldiers slept that night conquerors on a field won by their valor, and covered with the dead and wounded of the enemy."

The losses in this battle are estimated by Gen. McClellan at 2,000 killed, 9,500 wounded, 1,000 missing—12,500. He also supposed the rebel loss to be from 25,000 to 30,000. Pollard and others state their loss to have been not more than 8,000 or 9,000.

The battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg may be pronounced to be, on the whole, a drawn battle, although the substantial fruits of victory remained on the Union side. Gen. Lee expected and awaited an attack the next day; but Gen. McClellan, conscious of his great loss in officers as well as men, and anxiously forecasting the fatal effect of a defeat just at this time at the hands of the rebels, after much deliberation did not judge it best to resume the fight. Lee accordingly, on the night of the 18th and morning of the 19th of September, crossed the Potomac and returned into Virginia. An attempted pursuit, by a portion of Porter's corps, on the 20th, by way of Shepherdstown, resulted in a repulse and driving our men back across the Potomac with severe loss.*

The invasion of Maryland occupied only two weeks. It was unquestionably a failure, and it was accompanied not only by positive loss, but by exceeding mortification and shame at the coldness, indifference and hostility manifested by the people towards the secession "deliverers." Lee was glad to get back into Virginia, and to have the opportunity of gathering up the fragments of the large and imposing army with which he had set out from Richmond. Not more than one half of his host of 70,000 now remained; death, wounds, desertions, straggling, and such like, had told with fearful effect upon his army; and as McClellan was not ready, if able, to follow him up, but was engaged in refitting and re-organizing his own army, Lee took post in the Shenandoah Valley, near Winchester, to recruit and prepare for the further contest, when our army should again assume the offensive.

Both generals, as usual in such cases, issued congratulatory addresses, and spoke in the highest terms of the valor and good conduct of their respective armies. McClellan thought that 14 guns, 39 colors, 15,500 stand of arms, and nearly 6,000 prisoners were evidence of the completeness of our triumph. Lee, on the other hand, claiming that his force was less than one-third that of McClellan, dilated upon the taking of Harper's Ferry, and made much of the fact that McClellan did not renew the battle on the 18th of September, and did not press any pursuit beyond the Potomac.

* Much dissatisfaction was expressed in various quarters at Lee's escape without further loss, and McClellan's inactivity and delay have been severely animadverted upon. Mr. Swinton, after allowing all the force which seems due to McClellan's statements, is decidedly of opinion that he "should have renewed the attack on the morning of the 18th of September." See the reasons which he urges, and which, if admitted to be sound, convict McClellan of great error.—"*Army of the Potomac*," pp. 223, 4.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1862.

CLOSE OF McCLELLAN'S CAREER: BURNSIDE'S CAMPAIGN: BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

Views and plans of Gen. McClellan — Halleck's telegram ordering an advance — McClellan's delays and reasons therefor — Stuart's cavalry raid into Pennsylvania — Public impatience — President Lincoln's letter — McClellan advances into Virginia — Position of Lee's forces — McClellan's plan — Suddenly removed — Remarks upon the close of McClellan's career — Estimate of his character and conduct — Gen. Burnside assumes the command on the 10th of November — Change of plan — Determines to advance by way of Fredericksburg — President Lincoln's order on observance of the Lord's Day in the army and navy — Army marches to Falmouth on the Rappahannock — Burnside's unwise delay — Doubts as to where to cross — Plan to cross at Skenker's Neck, below Fredericksburg — Burnside resolves to cross at the town, and surprise the rebels — Attempts to build pontoon bridges — Rebel sharpshooters — Bombardment of Fredericksburg — Sharpshooters dislodged — The town occupied, December 11th — Arrangements for the battle — Plan adopted — Sumner's attack on the right wing — Impregnable position of Lee's army — Hooker's final attempt — Total failure — Terrible loss on our side — The army recross the Rappahannock — Burnside's letter respecting the battle — Resting, repairing losses, etc. — *Morale* of the Army of the Potomac much depreciated — Burnside's further attempts — Displaced from the command — Succeeded by Hooker.

Gen. McClellan, as we have seen (p. 233), did not deem it expedient to advance against Lee immediately after the battle of Antietam, on the 17th of September. In his view, the army required rest, refitting, supplies, etc. In addition, as he telegraphed to Halleck, September 22d, further steps ought to be taken for the improvement of the army at the earliest possible moment. His plan was to retain his forces on the north bank of the river, render Harper's Ferry secure, and watch the movements of the enemy until the rise of the Potomac should render a new invasion of Maryland impracticable; when, as it appeared advantageous, he might move on Winchester, or devote a reasonable time to the organization of the army and instruction of the new troops preparatory to an advance. On the 1st of October, President Lincoln visited the Army of the Potomac, in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, and had an opportunity of reviewing the troops and going over the battle grounds of South Mountain and Antietam. He spent several days in this wise, and afforded McClellan a good opening for explaining and defending his delay in following up Lee and his army. Probably, Mr. Lincoln was not much impressed by McClellan's reasoning; for immediately on his return to Washington, he insisted upon the commanding general's displaying greater activity and energy. Under date of October 6th, Halleck sent a telegram of a peremptory sort: "I am instructed to telegraph you as follows: The president directs that you cross the Potomac and give battle to the enemy, or drive him south. Your army must move now, while the roads

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are good. If you cross the river between the enemy and Washington, and cover the latter by your operation, you can be reinforced with 30,000 men. If you move up the Valley of the Shenandoah, not more than twelve or fifteen thousand can be sent you."

The next day, McClellan, in reply to the above, expressed his preference for the line of the Shenandoah for immediate operations against the enemy, and his determination to advance, as soon as possible, upon Winchester. It afforded greater facilities, he thought, for supplying the army, and to abandon it would be, in his judgment, to leave Maryland uncovered for another invasion.

The great practical difficulty in the way was, the obtaining supplies and equipments as fast as they were needed. McClellan kept calling for them day after day, and, as he asserts, could not get them as they were wanted. He was utterly unwilling to move, till his cavalry force was in a good working condition,* and till the army generally was furnished in such wise as to render it safe to advance into Virginia. Altogether, from one cause and another, wherein it was hard to tell on whom the blame properly rested, nearly the whole month passed away before these troublesome matters were arranged, in any respect, to McClellan's satisfaction.

Meanwhile, the rebel General Stuart signalized his ability and skill by a cavalry raid into Pennsylvania, not unlike the one previously carried through by him on the Peninsula (see p. 197). On the 10th of October, Stuart, with some 1,800 men and four pieces of artillery, crossed the Potomac at McCoy's Ford near Williamsport, passed through Maryland, advanced upon and occupied Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and destroyed all the government property within reach. Turning eastwardly, he entered Maryland at Emmetsburg, and thence by Frederick he marched to Poolesville, on the 12th of October. Some slight skirmishing occurred here, with the advance of Gen. Pleasanton's cavalry force, which had marched in pursuit seventy-eight miles in twenty-four hours; but, Stuart passed on without the loss of a man. Having made the entire circuit of our army, he recrossed the Potomac below the mouth of the Monocacy. The special prize gained by Stuart, was some 800 to 1,000 horses, which were seized upon at and near Chambersburg.

This daring raid stirred up afresh the public impatience of delay, and McClellan was urged, by both Halleck and President Lincoln, to bestir himself and attack the rebels. The latter wrote a long, characteristic letter to McClellan, dated Oct. 13th, containing mingled advice and expostulation, and furnishing the commanding general with various suggestions of a military description, which showed that Mr. Lincoln thought himself quite competent to give direction in his constitutional position as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, such direction too, as was not to be neglected. 1862.

* On the 25th of October, McClellan having complained that the horses he had were not in good working condition, Mr. Lincoln wrote a brief and rather sharp note, as follows: "I have just read your dispatch about sore tongued and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

Pressed by these urgent demands on all hands for action, McClellan determined to execute the proposed movement on the east of the Blue Ridge. Accordingly, on the 26th of October, the army commenced crossing the Potomac by a pontoon bridge at Berlin, five miles below Harper's Ferry. Pleasanton took the lead with a body of cavalry, and was followed by the corps of Burnside. A sufficient garrison having been left at Harper's Ferry, Sedgwick and Hancock in the lower part of the Shenandoah Valley, about Charlestown, pressed the enemy, who now began their retreat towards Richmond. The Union forces occupied the passes of the Blue Ridge. Snicker's Gap was taken possession of by Hancock, on the 2d of November, while Pleasanton, with his cavalry, was driving the enemy beyond. The last corps of the army was over the Potomac on the 5th of November, and on the 6th, the advance was at Warrenton, General McClellan holding his headquarters at Rectortown, on the Manassas Gap Railroad.

The movement thus far, spite of the inclemency of the weather, promised to be successful to a high degree; for, on reaching Warrenton, on the 9th of November, while Lee had sent half of his army forward to Culpepper to oppose McClellan's advance in that quarter, the other half was still west of the Blue Ridge, and at least two days' march distant. McClellan's plan, in this state of affairs, was to march across, obliquely westward, and get between the severed portions of the rebel force, and strike a decisive and fatal blow. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that, had he been permitted to carry out his plan, he would have gained an important victory; but this was not allowed. The directors of military affairs at Washington had no liking for McClellan, neither had McClellan any love to spare for them, and they resolved to displace him as speedily as possible. This was brought about just at this critical moment. Late on the night of November 7th, in the midst of a heavy snow storm, Gen. Buckingham, post-haste from Washington, reached McClellan's headquarters at Rectortown. He was charged with a dispatch, dated Nov. 5th, which read as follows: "By the direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered, that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-Gen. Burnside take command of that army."

Burnside and other generals were in McClellan's tent at the time. Opening the dispatch and reading it, without a change of countenance or of voice, he passed the paper over to his successor, and simply said, "Well, Burnside, you are to command the army." In addition to the dispatch, McClellan received orders from Halleck to betake himself immediately to Trenton, New Jersey, reporting on his arrival, by telegraph, and waiting for further orders. In a few days, he bade farewell to the officers and soldiers, and repairing to the North, retired from the stage of action, and from all further connection with the struggle of loyal men to crush the rebellion.

It is not easy, in a brief space, to do justice to Gen. McClellan, or to define

exactly the position which he holds, or ought to hold, in the history of our great national struggle. It was his misfortune to have been extravagantly and foolishly lauded. Zealous but not overwise admirers have attributed to him every quality of nobleness and greatness, and they have striven to place him on an equal footing with the greatest generals of ancient or modern times. On the other hand, he has been loudly and persistently decried; all merit has been denied to him; and he has been spoken of in the vilest terms. It has been asserted, that he possesses no ability; that he is deficient in personal courage; and that, having no sympathy with the cause of loyalty, he has all along secretly wished and hoped for the success of the rebellion.

In this, as in other cases, no doubt both extremes are to be avoided. Gen. McClellan unquestionably possessed qualities of a high order for a military career, but not necessarily of the very highest. He displayed superior generalship and ability, on more than one occasion, which entitled him to rank high in the profession of arms; but it is evident that he lacked, at critical moments, the fiery energy and dashing boldness of the great heroes in military annals. Personally, he was very popular with the army, and certainly he had a remarkable faculty of attaching men to him, and leading them to put entire faith and trust in him; but he was not in favor with the officials at Washington; he was thwarted in his plans; subjected to mean and petty annoyances; criticised by committees of Congress, who were desirous to have a hand in the conduct of the war; and he was denounced by an influential portion of the press, as too cautious and too slow in his movements, and as wanting in needful efficiency and activity.

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In submitting his Official Report to the war department, which was made, August 4th, 1863, nine months after his removal, and which he styles a "plain and truthful narrative," McClellan has sought to place matters in which he was concerned in such a light as to disarm hostile criticism towards himself, and justify his conduct and principles while in command of the Army of the Potomac, and also to set before his countrymen that brave body of men as one of the noblest organizations ever made, and as entitled to a position "high on the roll of the historic armies of the world."

The reader who has carefully examined the pages of the present volume, in which we have given a narrative of Gen. McClellan's campaigns, and his relations to the army and the government authorities at Washington, will have no difficulty in arriving at what we think a fair and just estimate of his character and career. We have narrated the events and connections of the war as fully as our limits admit, and with an earnest endeavor to arrive at and state frankly the truth. If we have succeeded in our endeavor, it will appear that McClellan, while filling large space in the history of the war in Virginia, and while displaying ability of a high order, did not accomplish all that he might have accomplished—all that he *ought* to have accomplished, despite

the difficulties and hindrances and annoyances to which he was subjected. We believe him to have been sincere, and desirous to do his duty to the country in the work entrusted to him; but we cannot pronounce with satisfaction upon his success. We admit the adverse influences against him, and make all due allowances therefor; but we cannot escape the conviction, that he was not the man for the momentous crisis in our history; he was lacking in those essential qualities which a struggle such as ours imperatively demanded.

In the lapse of time, history may place a different estimate upon George B. McClellan, and rank him more highly in its records; but, so far as we can now see, he must hold substantially the position we have assigned to him, and must be content to be judged by what he has left undone quite as much as by what he has done.*

It was an ungracious moment, to say the least, that was taken for the removal of McClellan; it showed a degree of spitefulness in the authorities at Washington to choose this particular time for dismissing him, when, as he asserts, "the army being renovated and refreshed, in good order and discipline, and confident of a decisive victory, while his advance guard was actually in contact with the enemy, he was removed from the command." Gen. Burnside, his successor, was reluctant to accept the position virtually forced upon him. He was not only a warm friend and admirer of McClellan, but he was clearly of the opinion that the command ought not to have been taken from McClellan. In his judgment, "McClellan could command the Army of the Potomac better than any other general in it."

Yielding, however, to a sense of duty, Burnside acquiesced in the wishes of the government, and prepared at once to enter upon the difficult task before him. On the 10th of November, he issued an address to the troops, and the public were led to expect important and decisive results. 1862. The new commander did not attempt to carry out McClellan's plan, which was, by a rapid advance on Gordonsville, to interpose between Lee's divided forces and beat them in detail. He preferred endeavoring to take his army to Richmond by way of Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, and on consulting with Halleck, who made him a visit in camp, he fixed upon his course of operations. While delaying some ten days at Warrenton, his headquarters, Burnside reorganized the Army of the Potomac by consolidating the six corps into three grand divisions of two corps each; the right grand division being placed under Sumner, the centre under Hooker, and the left under Franklin. With this arrangement of his troops, Burnside prepared to carry out his purpose, and make a change of base to Fredericksburg. In order to cross the river at this place, he called, at

* Mr. Swinton, in his criticism, says that "he was assuredly not a great general;" he was a better strategist than a tactician; and "if he does not belong to that foremost category of commanders made up of those who have always been successful, and including but a few illustrious names, neither does he rank with that numerous class who have ruined their armies without fighting." — "*Army of the Potomac*," pp. 228-9.

an early moment after taking command of the army, for a sufficient pontoon train to be forwarded from Washington, and meet his advance on the Rappahannock. A depot of supplies he requested should be established at Aquia Creek, and other provisions sent overland towards Fredericksburg.

As evidencing the spirit and disposition of the President of the United States, and as according with the sentiment of the people throughout the country, we may fitly quote Mr. Lincoln's order, issued on the 16th of November :—"The President, Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiments of a Christian people, and a due regard for the Divine Will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperiled, by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. At this time of public distress, adopting the words of Washington in 1776, 'Men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality.' The first general order issued by the Father of his Country, after the Declaration of Independence, indicates the spirit in which our institutions were founded, and should ever be defended: 'The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and privileges of his country.'"

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After a delay on Burnside's part, which was unwise, to say the least, when every hour of active operation was important, the new movement was begun on the 15th of November, Sumner's grand division taking the advance. Moving by the north bank of the Rappahannock, he reached Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, on the afternoon of the 17th, and was very desirous to cross the river at once and take possession of the town and the bluffs on the south bank; but the commanding general instructed him not to do so at that time, as he wished to establish his communications before occupying Fredericksburg. During the following days, November 19th and 20th, Hooker's and Franklin's divisions reached the Rappahannock, and the rebel commander, having ascertained Burnside's probable purpose, rapidly moved his troops to meet the emergency.* Both armies were now in easy communication with their respective bases, and the high grounds on either side of the river gave to each army an excellent defensive position.

It now became a serious question what next was to be done. Some forward movement was absolutely neces-

* When Sumner reached Falmouth the river was fordable, and Fredericksburg was occupied by a small force. The rebels opened fire upon our troops, but after a few minutes their guns were silenced, and Sumner might readily have secured the town and the heights, had he been allowed to cross.

sary; the demand for *action* was not to be put off. Lee had lost not a moment in constructing defences along the crest of hills in the rear of Fredericksburg, and by the beginning of December, there was a formidable array of artillery on those terraced heights, which evidenced the terrible struggle in prospect for our men, should they attempt an assault. The crossing the river, too, was by no means the easy matter which it had been at the first, for the rebels were now prepared to contest it to much better advantage, and the pontoon train, owing to some unexplained blundering, did not arrive till the last moment.* Nevertheless, a demonstration of some kind was imperative, and accordingly Burnside resolved to cross the Rappahannock directly. All his preparations were made; the president visited the camp; and the whole matter was committed to Burnside without let or hindrance from Washington.

Just where to cross was a grave question. Burnside must either force a direct passage at Fredericksburg, or the attempt must be made on one or other of the rebel flanks. The latter seemed preferable, and it was determined to try the crossing at Skenker's Neck, some twelve miles below Falmouth, and make an attack on Lee's left; but that watchful adversary was not easily to be deceived. Burnside's plan was discovered; a large body of troops was concentrated to oppose the crossing; and a considerable force was kept there, after the purpose of crossing had been abandoned. In this position of affairs, Burnside, hoping to surprise Lee, resolved to make the passage at Fredericksburg. It was a great risk to run, and the chances of surprise were slender; but Burnside had made up his mind, and he expected to pierce Lee's lines and rout his army. For this purpose he meant to secure and occupy a military road which the rebels had constructed in the rear of the line of heights on which they were posted behind Fredericksburg. With a movement on their flank and rear, a direct attack was to be made in front, and the main works carried by storm. Such was Burnside's plan, December 10th, and during the night active preparations were made to carry the design into effect. 1862.

The Stafford Heights, near the river's margin and commanding the opposite side, were crowned by twenty-nine powerful batteries, numbering 147 guns, in order to protect the construction of the bridges and cover the passage of the troops. There were five pontoon bridges to be thrown across the stream, which was about three hundred yards wide; three immediately in front of Fredericksburg, within a short distance of each other, and the others about two miles below. In the passage of the river, the division of Franklin was to use the latter, while the right and centre of Sumner and Hooker were to cross at the town. The work was well advanced during the

* Woodbury investigates this subject with much fulness. Halleck's course is sharply criticised in not giving attention to this matter of the pontoon trains, as he promised, and the damaging effect upon Burnside's plans and expectations, by their non-arrival, is well pointed out.—See "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*," pp. 190—199.

darkness of the night, and was partially concealed by the morning's fog. The bridges below Fredericksburg were constructed without much hindrance from the enemy's sharpshooters; but these troublesome persons, having obtained secure lodgment behind the stone walls of the river street of the town, gave infinite annoyance to those engaged in building the bridges, and for a considerable time put a stop entirely to the work.

It was about four o'clock, on the morning of the 11th of December, when the engineer troops entered upon their work, amid a dense fog and exposed to the raw winter weather which had already set it. An hour later, two signal guns announced that the rebels were aware of the projected attack. The surprise part of the plan had failed, and as the sharpshooters must be dislodged, Burnside, about ten o'clock, ordered a bombardment of the town. This was accordingly done; but the sharpshooters were unharmed. It was then determined to send a party across the river in the pontoon boats, in order to dislodge the enemy. Volunteers were called for, and the plan was that they should take the boats, of which ten were lying on the bank of the river, and crossing over drive out the rebels. The undertaking was gallantly entered upon and executed. Rushing down the steep banks of the river, the party found temporary shelter behind the pontoon boats lying on the bank. After a while, they made a rush for the boats, pushed them into the water, and lying low so as to escape as much as possible the rebel rifles, succeeded in crossing the river, but not without severe loss. Another and another boat followed; and our men, with great rapidity, dashed upon the lurking places of the enemy, drove them out, and captured over a hundred of them. The bridges were now speedily completed, and the evening of the 11th saw Fredericksburg in possession of the advance guard of Sumner's division, while a brigade of Franklin's division was also encamped on the southern shore at the lower crossing.

Early the next morning, December 12th, the remainder of Sumner's division crossed the Rappahannock, and occupied the town. Franklin's command also crossed by the bridges below, and were in position by one o'clock, P.M. Hooker's grand division remained on the north bank of the river, to serve, if necessary, to fall upon the enemy in their retreat. The day was passed in crossing the troops and reconnoitring the rebel position. Our men lay on their arms, and when Saturday, December 13th, arrived, they were in readiness for the battle which was to follow.

A direct attack upon the enemy was now to be made, under circumstances far from encouraging. It has been asserted* that Burnside, having formed one plan of battle, determined to fight

* Mr. Augustus Woodbury, in his "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*," (8vo, pp. 553) is extremely earnest in the defence of the hero of his book. He writes rather too much in the style of an advocate; but his book is worth consulting, both as giving a more full account of Burnside's public services, and also as defending him against unjust criticisms and perversions of truth, such as, he asserts distinctly, Swinton is guilty of, in almost every case, where he speaks of Burnside.

on another. His first purpose was, that Franklin, who had nearly one-half of the whole army under his command, should make the main attack from the left, and that upon his success should be conditioned the assault of the heights in rear of the town by Sumner; but instead of carrying out his original purpose, he resolved, at the last moment, in place of an effective attack, to make a partial operation, by both Franklin and Sumner. "These dispositions," according to Swinton, "were such that it would be difficult to imagine any worse suited to the circumstances."*

Early in the morning, December 13th, Franklin was instructed to hold his command in readiness for a rapid movement down the old Richmond road, while he sent out a division to seize a position on the heights, which, with a similar movement by a column from Sumner's command, farther to the westward, would, it was expected, compel the enemy to evacuate the ridge. The movement upon the heights was carried out by Meade. Gibbon was to support it on the right, and Doubleday was held in reserve. As soon as Meade was in motion, a large force of the enemy was turned on our extreme left, and they were in such position that they could fire into Meade's rear as he advanced. Hence it was absolutely necessary that the enemy should be driven off. Birney's division
1862. was sent for, but before he got up, Meade had advanced into the woods and had a severe fight with the rebels; he, however, was driven back with very heavy loss by superior numbers, until Birney's division having reached the ground, enabled him to make a stand and hold part of the woods. While this was going on, Gibbon had also advanced on Meade's right, as a support; but between two and three o'clock, his division fell back. With the aid of two other divisions the line was held for the remainder of the day, and the fighting on the left was brought to a close.

In obedience to orders, Sumner on the right began the assault in the rear of the town, while the fighting was well under way on the left. Though it seemed like a forlorn hope to attempt to drive back an enemy securely entrenched as the rebels were, yet our brave men shrunk not from the terrible contest. "I selected for the attack," said Sumner, "the corps of French and Hancock, two of the most gallant officers in our army, and two corps that had neither of them ever turned their backs to the enemy. They made repeated assaults, but were driven back in spite of all the efforts that could be made by their officers." The rebel position behind a long stone wall, which their artillery enfiladed on both sides, was impregnable, and no troops could stand against the fire which mowed them down. Language cannot convey an adequate idea of the horrible slaughter of our men in this mad and useless assault. Nearly one-half of those heroic veterans were stricken down on the bloody field, amid the yells and shouts of the enemy.

Fearful as was the responsibility of sending men to certain death in this

* "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 244.

assault on Lee's impregnable position, Burnside next ordered Hooker to advance. This officer, on reconnoitring the ground and looking into the state of affairs, considered the case hopeless, and begged Burnside to give up the attack; but the commanding general insisted on the attempt being made; and the attempt *was* made. But it was in vain; out of the column of 4,000 which dashed itself against this stone wall almost half were left on this bloody field. Happily, night was fast coming on, and the desperate conflict was necessarily brought to an end.

But even now, with these dreadful results before his eyes, Burnside did not seem to be satisfied; he purposed, on the morrow, making one gigantic effort to retrieve the fortunes of battle. He gave orders to this effect; but, on the earnest remonstrances of Sumner, seconded by the unanimous voice of the division and corps commanders, further assault was abandoned. This was on Sunday afternoon, December 14th; at the same time Burnside gave orders for recrossing the Rappahannock, as the town was thought to be untenable. This difficult operation was successfully performed, without any loss whatever, in the deep darkness of a stormy night, Monday, December 15th, the rebels quietly remaining within their entrenchments, and unaware of the disasters of our army.

The entire loss on the Union side, in killed, wounded and missing, was 12,321; so far as can be ascertained the rebel loss was between 5,000 and 6,000. According to Sumner's estimate, there were less than 50,000 of our men under fire, from which it is evident how large was the proportion of loss, being fully one-fourth of the entire number in action.

Under date of December 19th, Burnside wrote to Halleck, and in reviewing what had taken place assumed the whole responsibility of the affair.* "But for the fog," he said, "and the unexpected and unavoidable delay in building the bridges, which gave the enemy twenty-four hours to concentrate his forces in his strong position, we would almost certainly have succeeded. . . . For the failure in the attack I am responsible, as the extreme gallantry, courage, and endurance shown by the brave officers and soldiers were never exceeded, and would have carried the points had it been possible." 1862.

President Lincoln, naturally anxious to represent matters in the most favorable light to the country, issued an address to the Army of the Potomac, December 22nd, in which he said: "Although you were not successful, the attempt was not an error, nor the failure other than an accident. The courage with which you, in an open field, maintained the contest against an entrenched foe, and the consummate skill and success with which you crossed and recrossed the river, in the face of the enemy, show that you possess all the qualities of a great army, which will yet give victory to the cause of the

* Woodbury devotes a long note, at the end of his chapter on the battle of Fredericksburg, to Swinton and his "*Critical History of the Army of the Potomac.*" He is particularly severe upon Swinton, and charges him with a malignant and persistent effort to traduce Burnside.

country and of popular government." At the same time it was announced, that the resignation tendered by Gen. Burnside was not accepted by the president.

Apart from the repulse and the heavy loss in officers and men of the battle of Fredericksburg, there was a serious depreciation produced by it in the *morale* of the Army of the Potomac. Necessity enforced rest, the repairing of losses, the care of the wounded and the burial of the dead, which follow, to a greater or less extent, every great battle; but in addition, there grew up a spirit of discontent at the barren results attained, and a disposition not only sharply to criticise the commanding general, but also to distrust him and his capacity to guide and direct the army's efforts. Burnside could not count on the hearty co-operation of his chief officers, or the full confidence of the rank and file; desertions were frequent, and affairs in general presented a gloomy appearance. Burnside proposed again, towards the close of December, to cross the Rappahannock seven miles below Fredericksburg, but was prevented by the president, on the remonstrance of several general officers who had gone to see him on the subject. The commander of the army felt all this very keenly, and he resolved to try again the fortune of battle, which, thus far, had proved so injurious to his good name in the army.

Accordingly, the army being now sufficiently recruited, a movement was made, early in January, 1863, for crossing the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg, with feints of crossing at other points. The weather, during the first half of the month, had been excellent, and the roads were in good condition. The columns were put in motion, as secretly as possible, on the 19th of January. Everything was got in readiness for crossing during the 20th of January, and it was determined to make the passage the following morning. But, most unfortunately, there came on that night a fearful storm, which, by its effects upon the roads, virtually nullified the entire movement. Efforts were made to bring pontoons enough into position to build a bridge or two at least; but the struggle was unavailing. The next day the storm continued, and the roads grew worse and worse. The scene was deplorable, and glad enough were the troops to come to an end of the weary "mud march," and stagger back to the old camps whence they had set out.

A few days later, Gen. Burnside, at his own request, was relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac, and Gen. Hooker was appointed by the president as his successor.*

* Burnside, it appears, was so sure that the leading generals lacked confidence in him, that he demanded of the president either to dismiss from the service Hooker and a number of others, or to accept his resignation. Of course, so sweeping a measure could not be approved; Burnside was relieved of his command, and Hooker, apparently the head and front of all the offending, instead of being dismissed the service, was made commander of the Army of the Potomac.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1862.

AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTHWEST: SHERMAN AT VICKSBURG: BATTLE OF MURFREESBOROUGH: FOSTER IN NORTH CAROLINA.

Schofield in Missouri — Troops under his command — Guerrilla bands — Militia called out — Course pursued towards secessionists — Contests with guerrillas under Porter, Cobb, Poindexter, etc. — McNeil's victory at Kirkville — Poindexter routed — Independence lost — Foster's battle with Coffee — Rebels in Arkansas under Hindman — Schofield's plans — Porter's guerrillas — McNeil's doings — Blunt routs Marmaduke at Cane Hill, Arkansas — Hindman attacks Herron — Result — Hindman defeated at Van Buren — Massacre of the whites by the Sioux — Punishment — Sherman's plan against Vicksburg — Fortifications — Attack upon Haines' Bluff — Movement of Smith, Blair and Morgan — Conflict the next day — Attack on Monday — Difficulties and trials — Sherman gives up, Grant not being able to co-operate — Rosecrans in command of the Army of the Cumberland — The work before him — Advances to Nashville — Rebel movements — Rosecrans's plan of advance and attack — Success at Nolinsville — Movement, December 29th, near Murfreesborough — Plan of the battle — Attack of rebels on the right wing — Rebel success, December 31st — Terrible struggle on January 2d, 1863, at Stone River — Rebels repulsed — Bragg retreats to Tullahoma — Estimate as to numbers, losses, etc. — Carter's cavalry expedition into Tennessee — Foster in North Carolina — Expedition to destroy rebel railroad communication — Advance on Goldsborough — Success of Foster — Principal value of these expeditions.

IN April, 1862, Missouri was in charge of Gen J. M. Schofield, an officer of decided merit, who had served as chief of staff to the lamented Lyon, and had recently been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers. All the militia of the state was assigned to his command, and although raised and equipped under serious difficulties, it numbered, at this date, in the field, about 14,000 men, mostly cavalry. A still larger volunteer force of a similar character, was also attached to Schofield's command, which, at this time, embraced about three-fourths of the state, comprising the northern, central and eastern portions.

1862.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, in Northwestern Arkansas, under Gen. Curtis, March 5th, large numbers of Missourians, who had joined the rebel army, were allowed to return to their homes, on taking the oath of allegiance, and the guerrilla bands were, for the time, virtually suppressed. In June, at Curtis's request, Missouri was erected into a separate military district, and Schofield was placed in command. The guerrillas began again to be very troublesome, and Schofield, on the 22d of June, issued an order holding "rebels and rebel sympathizers responsible in their property, and, if need be, in their persons, for damages thereafter committed by guerrillas or marauding parties;" but his order produced very little effect towards putting a stop to the outrage and excess of these lawless freebooters.

Schofield's effective force consisted of about 17,000 men, volunteers and

militia, who were distributed through the state in six divisions, under competent and energetic officers. The southern frontier having become exposed by Curtis's movement to Helena, Arkansas, a fresh attempt was made by the rebels to gain possession of the state and eject the Union troops. Numerous rebel emissaries, as Gen. Schofield stated, "spread themselves over the state, and while maintaining outwardly the character of loyal citizens, or evading our troops, secretly enrolled, organized and officered a very large number of men, estimated by their friends at from 30,000 to 50,000. Places of rendezvous were designated where all were to assemble at an appointed signal, and by a sudden *coup-de-main*, seize the important points in the state, surprise and capture our small detachments guarding railroads, etc., thus securing arms and ammunition, and co-operate with an invading army from Arkansas."

As reinforcements in sufficient numbers for the protection of the state could not be obtained from outside of Missouri, Schofield called upon the governor for authority to organize and use all the militia of the state. The governor consented, and the measure was carried into effect. As a consequence of the enrolment, the more desperate of the rebels joined the guerrilla bands, others hid themselves, while loyal citizens, especially in those districts which had been harassed by the enemy, promptly obeyed the call. As it was not safe to place arms in the hands of the disaffected, and as it seemed unjust and unfair to others of the citizens to excuse them from military duty, thus virtually setting a premium on disloyalty, it was determined to admit only those of approved loyalty to bear arms; while, as there were many men of wealth among "the friends of the South," it was resolved, something after the manner of Gen. Butler in New Orleans (see p. 185), that the latter should be made to contribute handsomely from their means. A tax of $500,000 was assessed upon the rebels of St. Louis County, "to be used in arming, clothing and subsisting the enrolled militia when in active service," etc. In one week after the issuing the order of enrolment, *i. e.*, at the end of July, about 20,000 men had been organized, armed, and called into active service.* **1862.**

A severe and sanguinary contest now took place between the guerillas and the loyal troops, extending over a period of two months. The principal theatre of operations was the north-eastern division, above the Missouri and bordering on the Mississippi, under the command of Col. McNeil. The guerrilla bands in this region, under Porter, Poindexter, Cobb, and others, amounted to more than 5,000 men, in parties or squads,

* Missouri, we are sorry to say, was greatly distressed by political dissensions and discords. The subject of emancipation and the mode of effecting it, came up, in June, 1862, in the state convention, and was warmly discussed, but led to no practical or beneficial result. At the state election in November, the same topic was in controversy, and a majority of the Assembly, favorable to emancipation, was elected. But divisions in their ranks and bitter contests still continued. Mr. Lincoln, on one occasion, wrote pointedly as follows: "It is painful to me that you, in Missouri, cannot, or will not, settle your factional quarrels among yourselves. I have been tormented with it beyond endurance, for months, by both sides. Neither side pays the least respect to my appeals to your reason."

varying according to their good or ill fortune. On the 28th of July, Porter and Cobb were defeated in Calloway County, on the Missouri River; but three days after, Porter captured Newark and two companies of Union troops. Porter's band was pursued by our cavalry, almost without intermission for twelve days, and driven hundreds of miles. On the 6th of August, he was attacked by Col. McNeil, at Kirkville. After a severe battle Porter was completely routed; some 700 were killed and wounded; and his influence and further power for mischief broken up.

Poindexter's gang had increased to about 1,200 men before a sufficient force could be collected to disperse them. Early in August, Col. Guitar, with about 600 men, and two pieces of artillery, started in pursuit of the guerrilla captain, overtaking and attacking him while crossing the Chartain River, on the night of August 10th. A large number were killed, wounded and drowned; and a considerable amount of supplies was captured. Poindexter hastened northwardly to effect a junction with Porter, but was driven back; his men were dispersed, and he was routed by Guitar and taken prisoner.

The rebel bands having been thus disposed of, that under Cobb soon after dispersed, or formed itself into small parties to continue the plundering and murdering of loyal men. It was a work of time effectually to put down these lawless bandits; but after a while, the activity and zeal of the troops and citizens of Missouri succeeded in hunting them down, and either killing, capturing, or driving them out of the state. From April 1st to September 20th, as Schofield stated, there were more than 100 engagements, large and small, and in nearly all these the Union troops were victorious. The entire loss was about 300; the number of rebels killed, wounded, captured and driven out was not less than 10,000.

On the 11th of August, the garrison at Independence was compelled to surrender to a body of the enemy; and immediately after, the rebel Gen. Coffee, was found to be advancing with about 1,500 cavalry. Major Foster, with 800 men and two pieces of artillery, set out from Lexington to effect a junction with Col. Warren, in command of 1,500 men from Clinton. The intention was to attack Hughes and Quantrel, who had gathered a large force; but Foster, disappointed in effecting the junction with Warren, ventured an attack upon Coffee and Hughes at Lone Jack, Jackson County. After a severe conflict our men fell back to Lexington. Gen. Blunt, in Kansas, having furnished timely aid, Coffee and the rebels were pursued to the Arkansas line.

The rebels, however, were strong in Arkansas, numbering, in September, about 50,000, under Hindman. Schofield took the field in person, and concentrating a large force at Springfield, called on Steele, at Helena, to co-operate with him. Curtis took charge of the department at the end of September, Schofield retaining command of the "army of the frontier," as it was called, in Southern Missouri. Schofield's force numbered about

1862.

11,000 in all, with sixteen pieces of artillery. On the 30th of September, Gen. Salomon, with some 4,500 troops, was defeated at Newtonia. Schofield now hurried to Sarcoxie, and being joined by Blunt, October 3d, advanced against the rebels at Newtonia. Blunt, on the 22d, came upon Cooper in camp at old Fort Wayne, and routed him completely. Schofield, with Herron's command, marched over the White River Mountains, but found the rebels running away. Schofield resigned his command in November.*

A month later the contest was resumed in North-western Arkansas. Blunt, on the 27th of November, set out with 5,000 men and thirty pieces of artillery, to attack Marmaduke, at Cane Hill, whose force was some 8,000 in number. By a very rapid and unceasing march he came up with the enemy, and opened the attack upon their position on one of the heights of the Boston Mountains. Marmaduke was glad to make a retreat towards Van Buren, and Blunt returned to Cane Hill. Herron was now advancing from Missouri, with about 6,500 men and twenty-four pieces of artillery, to join Blunt. Hindman, the rebel commander, attacked Herron, December 7th, on Crawford's Prairie, not far from Fayetteville. The rebels numbered some 20,000, and the battle was severe and bloody. Blunt came up in the afternoon, and attacking the enemy in the rear, they were finally driven into flight across the mountains. Just at the close of the year, Blunt defeated the rebels at Van Buren, on the Arkansas River, and put an effectual stop to Hindman's contemplated advance upon Missouri.

The Indian tribes on the remote frontier gave much trouble in 1862, and the Sioux, under Little Crow, perpetrated a horrible massacre in Minnesota, during the month of August. Steps were taken immediately to punish these wretches; and after a month's pursuit of them, Col. Sibley routed them, September 23d, near Yellow Medicine River. About 500 prisoners were taken, and being tried by court-martial, 300 were sentenced to be executed; but the president reduced the number to thirty-nine, who were hung on a single scaffold, at Manhato, Minnesota, December 26th.

At the close of the year 1862, active operations were resumed against Vicksburg (see p. 189). While Gen. Grant was with his army in Northern Mississippi, having his headquarters at Holly Springs, Gen. Wm. T. Sherman, who was in command of the army corps on the Mississippi, collected a large number of transports at Memphis, with reference to a movement against Vicksburg. Having embarked his forces here and at Helena, in number, it was stated, some 40,000 men, Sherman entered the Yazoo, December 26th, and effected a landing a few miles above the mouth on the left bank, about six

* "The fearful story of the Palmyra massacre," as Pollard calls it, may here be noted. It appears that McNeil, on the ground of the guerrillas having carried off a citizen of Palmyra, and refused to restore him, gave notice, October 8th, that, within ten days, he would shoot ten of their number. This he did, and his act was justified by many, as the only way in which to deal with ruffians of their class. Davis was fierce in denunciation, but reserved his vengeance, much to Pollard's disgust, to a later season.

miles from Vicksburg. Above and below the city, from Haines' Bluff on the Yazoo to Warrenton on the Mississippi, there was a line of hills, which with the swamps and lagoons in front afforded the rebels an excellent means of defence. Sherman sent out reconnoitring parties, who speedily ascertained and reported that, owing to its advantage of position and the defences provided by the enemy, any attempt to take Vicksburg from this direction, that is, in the rear, would be attended with very great difficulty. At the outset, the fleet was hindered in its endeavors to ascend the Yazoo, by a formidable battery at Haine's Bluff, to silence which it would be necessary to make a fresh attack upon it from the river, preparatory to an advance of the army in front.

This occurred on the morning of December 27th. The entire force of Sherman was drawn up in line of battle, and prepared to make the assault at different points. Gen. M. L. Smith's division took the advance, and, moving rapidly, encountered the rebels about a mile from Chickasaw Bayou, which empties into the Mississippi. Severe skirmishing followed; but, though the rebels, protected by rifle pits and abattis, contested every inch of the road, they were slowly pushed backward toward the bayou. A portion of Gen. Steele's division had, the evening before, landed above the bayou, for the purpose of taking a battery in the rear, which commanded the point of crossing on the extreme right. Owing to the mud and other difficulties, the landing of this portion of Steele's division occupied the whole of the 26th of December, and it did not reach the scene of operations until the morning of the 27th. Blair's brigade and Morgan's division, meanwhile, had advanced on the left by different routes, and came into position nearly side by side. A masked battery of the enemy was soon silenced, and the soldiers bivouacked on the field, ready to renew the attack in the morning.

During the night, the rebels were busily occupied in strengthening their position by rifle pits, breastworks, etc.; and early on Sunday morning, December 28th, they began a heavy cannonade upon Blair's and Morgan's troops. The conflict having been renewed in the front, the enemy were driven across the Chickasaw Bayou, and our troops by night were in position south of the bayou, with one bridge completed and two others partly constructed. Steele, as above stated, had pushed forward his command; but after three most vigorous attempts to get at the enemy by the only means of approach—a narrow lane or causeway—exposed to the full fire of the rebel artillery, he gave it up, and by Sherman's orders returned to the river, landed on the lower side of the Chickasaw, and held the extreme left, acting as a reserve. Blair's brigade took position on Morgan's right, and at the extreme right was A. J. Smith's division. 1862.

At daylight on the 29th, the enemy's batteries began to fire on Morgan's position, but with little effect, although the cannonade was kept up during the forenoon. The plan was, after throwing bridges across the bayou, to make

a concerted assault on the bluffs. Blair's brigade had crossed the bayou before it turned along the bluffs, and was in a position at the front of the hill, with a small abattis and a deep ditch between it and the point intended to be assailed. Sherman not having appointed any hour for the assault, Morgan acted on his own responsibility, and ordered Blair to advance. After a severe struggle, the rebels were driven from their first line of rifle pits, and a charge having been made upon the second line, the rebels were again routed and driven into a thicket or grove of willows. Our men, in a hand to hand conflict, drove them from the thicket, and took possession of it, but were in turn forced to retire from the heavy cannonade of the batteries on the hill.

After suffering terrible loss in the effort to gain the crest of the hill, Blair deemed it best to fall back to his position on the right of Morgan. Stuart's division met with severe treatment in constructing bridges over the bayou, and only one regiment crossed over. During the night, the regiment was brought back without loss. Notwithstanding the failure of the assault on the left, Gen. Sherman resolved to try another; but it was not deemed expedient the next morning to attempt to carry it out. The Yazoo swamps were entirely impracticable; and on consulting with Admiral Porter, it was proposed to make a combined naval and land attack on the extreme rebel right, so as to gain a position on the bluffs and force the enemy back upon Vicksburg. The design, however, on further examination, was given up without a trial.

As it was part of the original plan of attack upon Vicksburg, that Grant should assail the place in the rear while Sherman was making the attack in front, and as Grant was unable to fulfil his part, in consequence of his communications being cut off, it was not surprising that Sherman failed in capturing this important stronghold. Possibly, with Grant's co-operation, the plan might have been successfully carried out; but, under existing circumstances, Sherman resolved to withdraw, and on Thursday night, January 1st, 1863, and the next morning, the troops were embarked and moved down to the mouth of the Yazoo. The entire loss in killed, wounded, and missing was reported at nearly 2,000. Gen. McClernand met Sherman at the mouth of the river, assumed the command, and ordered the forces to Milliken's Bend, about twelve miles up the Mississippi.

On the 4th of January, 1863, Sherman issued an order, announcing some changes in the army arrangements, and giving the troops high praise for the good service they had rendered and the manly spirit which they always displayed.

A few weeks after the second battle of Corinth (October 4th), Rosecrans took command of the Army of the Cumberland. It was composed of what remained of the late Army of the Ohio, commanded by Buell, strengthened and increased by new but raw levies, and was in direct succession of that brave body of men who, under Anderson, Sherman and Buell, had repeatedly de-

fended Kentucky against invasion, and had carried its victorious banners through Tennessee to the heart of the enemy's country.

The new department of the Cumberland, in which the army was now to be employed, comprised all the state of Tennessee lying east of the Tennessee River, and such portions of Northern Alabama and Georgia as should be occupied by the forces of the United States. Rosecrans arrived at Louisville, Kentucky, on the 27th of October, and entered at once upon the duties of his command. The work of preparation for the intended campaign was vigorously begun, and carried forward as rapidly as possible; the troops were drilled, disciplined and rendered effective; equipments, arms, horses and stores of every kind were collected without delay; and steps were taken to restore the broken line of communication with Nashville as speedily as was practicable. Louisville being the real base of operations, distant 183 miles from Nashville, it was necessary, particularly in the low state of the Cumberland River, to re-open and repair the railroad between the two places. This was accomplished as far as Mitchellsville, thirty-five miles north of Nashville, by the 8th of November. On the 1st of November, Rosecrans moved to Bowling Green, Kentucky, and, on the 5th, three divisions of McCook's corps advanced by this route towards Nashville. The commanders of corps were, Gens. Thomas, McCook, Rousseau and Crittenden.

Rosecrans, who followed McCook's advance with the remainder of the army, reached Nashville on the 10th of November, and took up his position in front of the city. At the close of the month, the railroad communication from Louisville was completed, and the balance of the year 1862 was occupied in gathering supplies, organizing and disciplining the troops, etc. The rebels, on their part, determined to drive out Rosecrans, and before the close of November, they had advanced a large force to Murfreesborough; they numbered, in all, 45,000 effective men, under the command of Braxton Bragg.

A large cavalry force was sent by Bragg into West Tennessee to cut off Grant's communications, and another large force, under Morgan, into Kentucky, to break up the railroads. In the absence of these forces, and with adequate supplies in Nashville, it was judged an opportune moment for an advance on the rebels. Rosecrans's plan was well and carefully prepared, and every step was taken to insure success over the enemy at Murfreesborough. In endeavoring to carry out the contemplated movements, it was determined, on the night of Christmas, to enter on the work the next day. Accordingly, on Friday morning, December 26th, at daylight, the troops broke up camp, and McCook advanced on the Nolinsville Pike. Sharp skirmishing ensued; the rebels, though resisting stoutly, were steadily driven, and, by the close of the day, McCook gained possession of Nolinsville and the hills in front. Thomas followed on the right, leaving Rousseau's division on the right flank. Crittenden advanced to Lavergne, skirmishing

heavily on his front. The next day, McCook advanced on Triune, but his movement was retarded by a dense fog. On reaching Triune, he found that Hardee had retreated, and sent a division in pursuit. Crittenden began his advance about eleven, A.M., driving the enemy before him, and by a gallant charge upon the rear guard of the enemy, saving the bridge over Stewart's Creek. This, and another bridge across the same creek on the Murfreesborough turnpike, came into possession of our troops, and by night the columns were all closed up.

On Sunday, December 28th, the main body of the troops rested, and the next morning McCook moved to within seven miles of Murfreesborough, which he reached at the close of the day. Crittenden crossed Stewart's Creek and moved within three miles of Murfreesborough, having had several brisk skirmishes, and forced the rebels back into their entrenchments. Negley advanced to the centre, and Rousseau's division was placed in reserve, on the right of Crittenden.

On Tuesday morning, December 30th, McCook moved forward, slowly and steadily fighting his way into position with considerable loss. Our cavalry force, about 3,000 in number, did good service, but met with heavy resistance. McCook joined Thomas on the Wilkinson's pike in the afternoon; Sheridan was in position near Greison's; and Hardee's corps, with a part of Polk's, was in McCook's front. The rebels had the advantage of strong natural fortifications, and their centre was effectually masked by the dense cedar forests. During the night, it became evident that they were massing on the right of Rosecrans, who made at once the best preparation in his power to meet the impending struggle. His plan was to hold the right wing, giving ground a little if necessary, and meanwhile to push forward his left, so as not only to occupy Murfreesborough, but to get into the flank and rear of the rebels. At daylight the next morning, December 31st, the attack was begun by the rebels. The weather was foggy, and our troops appear to have been taken somewhat by surprise. The entire front was assaulted at once, the rebels rapidly advancing in double columns; and so determined and energetic was their fighting, that, despite the efforts of the division commanders, Davis, Sheridan, and Johnson, in an hour's time they captured two batteries and compelled our troops to give way. Their object was to turn Rosecrans's right flank, but they did not succeed in this.

In this posture of affairs, Rousseau was ordered into the cedar brakes to the right and rear of Sheridan. Van Cleve's and Wood's movements were suspended, and these, together with Harker and his brigade, hurried to McCook's help. The pioneer brigade meanwhile occupied the knoll of ground west of Murfreesborough pike, and about 400 or 500 yards in rear of Palmer's centre, supporting Stokes's battery. Sheridan, after sustaining four successive attacks, gradually swung his right from a south-easterly to north-westerly direction, repulsing the enemy four times. After desperate fighting,

his brigades fell back from the position held at the commencement, through the cedar woods, in which Rousseau's division, with a portion of Negley's and Sheridan's, met the advancing enemy and checked his movements. The ammunition train of the right wing, endangered by its sudden discomfiture, was safely brought through the woods to the rear of the left wing, thus enabling Sheridan's troops to replenish their empty cartridge boxes. During all this time, Palmer's front had been in action, the enemy having made several attempts to advance upon it.

The line of battle was readjusted to meet the new condition of affairs. The right and centre of the line were now extended from Hazen to the Murfreesborough pike in a north-westerly direction. An attack by infantry and cavalry of the enemy on our extreme right was repulsed by Van Cleve's division, with Harker's brigade and the cavalry. After several attempts of the rebels to advance on this new line, which were thoroughly repulsed, as also their attempts on the left, the day closed, leaving the Union troops masters of the original ground on the left, and the new line advantageously posted, with open ground in front swept at all points by our artillery.*

Our loss in killed and wounded was very heavy; we had also lost twenty-eight pieces of artillery, the horses having been killed, and the troops being unable, in the position of affairs, to withdraw them by hand over the rough ground. But the rebels had been severely handled, and had not obtained any success which did not depend on the original driving in of our right wing. Orders were given for the issue of all the spare ammunition; and Rosecrans determined to rest his extreme left on Stone River, above the lower ford, and extending to Stokes's battery. McCook was posted on the left of Sheridan near the Murfreesborough pike, relieving Van Cleve, who, the next morning, returned to his position in the left wing. Rosecrans resolved to wait the enemy's attack in this position, to send for the provision train, and to order up fresh supplies of ammunition, on the arrival of which, should the rebels not attack, offensive operations should be resumed.

On Thursday morning, January 1st, 1863, Crittenden was ordered to occupy the points opposite the ford on his left with a brigade. In the course of the afternoon, the rebels showed signs of massing on our right, but noting the strength of our position, the movement resulted in nothing. On Friday morning, sharp demonstrations were made by the enemy along the whole line; but no movement of importance occurred till three o'clock in the afternoon. At that time, there was a rushing mass hurled upon the division of Van Cleve across Stone River, consisting of the entire rebel right wing. Advancing rapidly, a short and fierce

* "On the day succeeding the fight, Gen. Bragg telegraphed to Richmond the news of a great victory, presented his compliments to the authorities, and wrote 'God has granted us a happy new year.' His exultations were over hasty, for though we had routed on the morning of the preceding day the right wing of the enemy, the final contest was yet to be decided." Van Dorn, also, it will be remembered, had been in a hurry to claim a victory over Rosecrans (see p. 224). Pollard's "*Second Year of the War*," p. 210.

contest ensued, when Van Cleve's division giving way, the enemy followed closely across the river. Crittenden immediately disposed his artillery so as to open on the rebels, while two brigades of Negley's division, from the reserve, and the pioneer brigade, were ordered up to meet the onset. The firing was terrific, and the havoc terrible. The enemy retreated more rapidly than they had advanced. In forty minutes they lost 2,000 men.*

Our troops pursued the flying enemy well across the field, capturing four pieces of artillery and a stand of colors. It was now after dark, and raining, or the enemy would have been pursued into Murfreesborough. As it was, Crittenden's corps passed over, and, with Davis, occupied the crests, which were entrenched in a few hours. Rosecrans thought it advisable to make a demonstration on the right, by a heavy division of camp fires, and by laying out a line of battle with torches.

The following day, January 3d, was very stormy; the ploughed ground over which the left would be obliged to advance, was impassable for artillery; and the ammunition train did not arrive until ten o'clock. It was not, therefore, deemed expedient to advance; but batteries were put in position on the left, by which the ground could be swept, and even Murfreesborough reached by the Parrott guns. The day passed off quietly, excepting a sharp contest, which resulted in putting a stop to the rebel picket firing, and in capturing a small breastwork, together with some seventy or eighty prisoners.

Early on Sunday, January 4th, news was brought to Rosecrans that the enemy had fled from Murfreesborough. On Monday morning, Thomas advanced, driving the rear guard of rebel cavalry before him six or seven miles towards Manchester. McCook's and Crittenden's corps took position in front of the town, occupying Murfreesborough. Bragg took up his position at Tullahoma, a strong point thirty-two miles distant from Murfreesborough and seventy-one from Nashville.

In giving a summary of the operations and results of the series of skirmishes and encounters, closing with the battle of Stone River and occupation of Murfreesborough, Rosecrans stated, that the force he brought into battle numbered 43,400 men. Of these, there were killed 1,533, and wounded 7,245; total, 8,778; the missing numbered between 3,000 and 4,000. He also estimated Bragg's force at 62,490 men, and his entire loss at 14,560. On the other hand, Bragg said in his report, that he learned from some captured papers of McCook's, that the Union army numbered 70,000 men, and therefore he did not deem it prudent or proper to continue the contest. His own force in the field, he stated, was less than 35,000, and his loss in all about 10,000. He claimed to have taken more than 6,000 prisoners, over thirty pieces of artillery, 6,000 stand

* Pollard and others censure Bragg for want of generalship in not securing the hillocks in the bend of Stone River, and in allowing the Union troops to occupy them. Breckenridge was here badly repulsed, and the vivid recollections of the "bloody crossing of Stone River" long survived in the memories of the rebel army.

of small arms, and a vast amount of other valuable property; in addition, Bragg stated that his force succeeded in destroying not less than 800 wagons, mostly laden with various articles, such as arms, ammunition, provisions, baggage, clothing, medicine and hospital stores.*

Such, in substance, is the military narrative of the battle of Murfreesborough, one of the most determined and equally sustained battles of the war, and one which will be for ever memorable among the great conflicts of the struggle for the Union in the West. Although it fell short of a decisive victory, it was, nevertheless, a very serious blow to the rebels, and was justly and generally hailed as a triumph to the North, securing, as it did, possession of a vast and important frontier, menaced by an active and resolute foe.

On receipt of the intelligence at Washington, the president expressed the sentiment of the loyal states in a brief telegram to Gen. Rosecrans: "God bless you, and all with you. Please tender to all, and accept for yourself, the nation's gratitude for your and their skill, endurance, and dauntless courage."

During the latter part of December, 1862, Gen. Wright sent out from his department in Kentucky an expedition to cut off the rebel communications, and to prevent Bragg from being reinforced from Richmond, by destroying the East Tennessee Railroad. A force of about 1,000 men, all told, composed of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan cavalry, was collected on the south-eastern corner of Kentucky, and placed under the command of Gen. Carter. On the 28th of December they crossed the Cumberland Mountains into Virginia, and thence across Powell's Mountain into Tennessee. On the 30th, they reached Union Station, where they captured 150 prisoners and destroyed the railroad bridge over the Holston River. They also destroyed the bridge over the Watauga River, and nearly a hundred miles of rails, almost to Jonesborough, and then made their way back into Kentucky. Carter, in a congratulatory order issued a few days after his return, spoke in the highest terms of the courage, endurance, and uniformly good conduct of both officers and men in this daring expedition.

Gen. J. G. Foster, an able and energetic officer, in command of the department of North Carolina, undertook a movement having an object in view similar to that just described, viz, cutting the rebel line of communication between Richmond and the south-western states. It was a highly important movement and was made simultaneously with the attack of Burnside upon Lee at Fredericksburg. Foster's force consisted of four brigades, four batteries and the 3d New

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* Jeff. Davis visited Mississippi at this date, reviewed the troops at Murfreesborough, and made a speech at Jackson, on the 26th of December. In this speech he indulged in unusual fierceness of language, spoke of "the malignant ferocity" of the northern and western people, scorned all "association with such miscreants," and poured forth a tirade so bitter and unscrupulous, that it was not only disgraceful to himself, but led one to suspect that disappointment and ill success had stricken deep into his very soul. If words could have destroyed his hated enemies, Davis would have annihilated them long before this date.

York cavalry, and left Newbern on the 11th of December, having Goldsborough, fifty miles northwest of Newbern, as the point aimed at. Fourteen miles were made the first day on the main road to Kinston, where further progress was found to be obstructed by felled trees for more than half a mile. At daylight, the next morning, an advance was made on the Vine Swamp road, and some sharp skirmishing took place. Some delay occurred in rebuilding the bridge over Beaver Creek, where a force sufficient to hold it was left; and the main column advanced four or five miles. The next day, Saturday, Foster continued his advance, turning to the left and leaving the road he was on to the right. Having reached South-west Creek, he found the rebels posted on the opposite bank, some 400 strong, and with three pieces of artillery. The creek was not fordable, and ran at the foot of a deep ravine. Our troops, however, under the protection of a battery, swam the creek and drove the enemy from the ground, after some sharp skirmishing. An attack was made by Foster the next day, near Kinston, and after a brief struggle, the rebels retreated across the Neuse River, firing the bridge as they did so, and losing some 400 men as prisoners. The bridge was saved, and the column took possession of Kinston. The two following days were occupied in continual skirmishing, driving the enemy from various points, destroying railroad and other property, etc.

On Wednesday, December 17th, Foster advanced upon and reached Goldsborough. The enemy made every possible resistance, but so skilfully were Foster's plans laid, and so successfully were they carried out, that he accomplished his purpose. Two trestlework culverts were burned, a train of four railroad cars, water station, depots, etc., were destroyed, the railroad bridge over the Neuse was fired by the gallant Lieut. Graham, and other bridges were burned. With a strong cavalry rear guard, Foster started on his return, and reached Newbern in safety. Our entire loss in this expedition was less than 100 killed and nearly 500 wounded. The rebel loss was reported at about 700.

These expeditions under Carter and Foster, although successful in themselves, resulted in no special or lasting advantage, as the great movement upon Richmond had in the meantime been suspended. The principal gain was the developing the importance to the rebel authorities of these great lines of communication, and what serious embarrassment would result to their plans and purposes, in case the railroads were effectively cut and secured by our troops.

CHAPTER XXV.

1862.

CLOSE OF 1862: HABEAS CORPUS: EMANCIPATION: MEETING OF CONGRESS: FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Position of affairs at this date — Call for additional troops — The draft unpopular — Number of troops in the service — Suspension of *habeas corpus* — Orders in regard to state prisoners—Proclamation of the president — Public complaints — Order from the war department — Indemnity act — Avowed purpose of the war on the part of the government — Slavery question in this connection — Order of the president in July as to rebel property — Mr. Lincoln's policy as to emancipation — Emancipation proclamation — How received — Third session of the Thirty-seventh Congress — President's message — Course of the opposition — Resolution of Mr. Morrill — Action of Congress — Report of secretary of the treasury — Action in regard to the national finances — Condition of our foreign relations — Correspondence — Course pursued by the English government — Case of the pirate Oreto or Florida — The "290," or Alabama — Efforts to arrest her departure from Liverpool — Her escape, and piratical career — Indignation in the United States — Public opinion in England — Mr. Gladstone's speech — London *Times* — Sentiments of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright — Louis Napoleon's proposition for intervention — Declined by Russia and England — M. Drouyn de l'Huys' despatch — Reply by the secretary of state — Hopes and expectations at the close of the year.

HAVING carried forward the narrative of military and naval operations to the close of 1862, we embrace the opportunity of devoting a chapter to several matters of general interest which require notice in connection with our country's history; and also—as was done at the close of 1861—of giving a brief *résumé* of the state and condition of affairs at the opening of the new year.

We need not repeat what has been made evident on preceding pages, that, with the exception of the campaigns in Virginia, the national arms had, during 1862, been attended by important and lasting success. Mill Spring, Kentucky, in January; Forts Henry and Donelson, Kentucky, and Nashville, Tennessee, in February; Pea Ridge, Arkansas, and Newbern, North Carolina, in March; Fort Pulaski, Georgia, New Orleans and Island No. 10, on the Mississippi, in April; Norfolk, Virginia, in May; Memphis, Tennessee, in June;—these, and other noted points in the West and Southwest, evidenced the steady progress of the Union armies towards breaking down the rebel organizations, and narrowing the area of the conflict. Missouri had been relieved from invasion; Arkansas, to a great extent, had been occupied; the rebels had lost all on the Mississippi, except Vicksburg and Port Hudson; the coast towns and cities of North Carolina had been taken possession of; and the rebel attempts at invasion of Maryland had been decidedly repulsed. It is true, that the virtual failure of McClellan in the campaign against Richmond, the disasters on the Chickahominy, the bunglings and misfortunes of Pope, and the ill success of Burn-

side, had, in great measure, neutralized the effects of the brilliant victories in the Southwest and elsewhere, and prevented our securing several important advantages in various quarters. One thing became evident, and the people of the loyal states felt and acknowledged it, and that was, the necessity of increasing and rendering more effective our armies in the field. There had been great loss of life, not only in battle, but also by wounds, sickness, and other vicissitudes of war, and the territory in which operations were to be carried on, and points permanently occupied, was so vast in extent, that it was deemed not only prudent but almost imperative to call for volunteers, and add largely to the immense force already under arms.*

On the 1st of July, 1862, the president, in concert with the governors of the loyal states, called for 300,000 additional volunteers to serve for the war.

1862. The call was, on the whole, received with favor, and strenuous efforts were made by popular appeals, offers of large bounties, and other measures, to carry it into immediate effect. It was strongly urged, that the very life of our country was at stake. The rebels, especially the leaders, had ventured all upon the success of their wicked designs, and there was no other way of reducing them to submission and preserving the integrity of the nation, but by breaking down and effectually destroying their military power in the states over which they were exercising a usurped control. On the 4th of August, another order was issued, calling for 300,000 men to serve for nine months, unless sooner discharged; and it was announced that the draft would be put in force, unless volunteering was prompt and speedy. In case any state should not, by the 15th of August, have furnished its quota of the previous call, the deficiency was also to be made up by a special draft from the militia.

The secretary of war, a few days later, issued orders "to prevent the evasion of military duty and for the suppression of disloyal practices." Under these, persons liable to draft were not allowed to evade it by going out of the country; and persons attempting to discourage volunteer enlistments were ordered to be arrested and imprisoned. Under these orders various arrests were made, which excited not a little complaint, and brought upon the government charges of oppression and illegal procedure. An attempt was also made to put in force a passport system, which was found to be exceedingly annoying and vexatious, with small prospect of beneficial result. After a month's trial, the restrictions on travel were entirely rescinded, and it was directed that any arrests made under the orders just noted were to be made only upon the express warrant of the judge-advocate of the war department, or by the military commander or governor of the particular state.

The draft was, in fact, in all its aspects, thoroughly unpopular, and the government naturally hesitated in re-

* For an interesting and valuable sketch of the army of the United States, with important details, statistics, etc., see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1862, pp. 16–23.

gard to efforts to enforce it at this date. In a few states, as Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, etc., it was practically carried out, during the autumn of 1862; but, in consequence of necessary delays for enrolments, etc., the draft was, in most cases, postponed, and for the time, at least, allowed to fall quietly out of sight. The short term of service under the recent militia act, with the liberal bounties offered by states, cities, and individuals, favored largely the supply of men; so that, early in December, 1862, the secretary of war reported, under the calls of July and August, 420,000 new troops in the field, of whom 320,000 were volunteers for three years, or during the war. According to the best estimate which can now be made, the number of troops in the service of the United States, at the close of 1862, was nearly or quite 1,000,000.*

The active efforts of treasonable and disaffected persons, and the violent and malicious assaults of a portion of the press, in order to thwart the plans of the government and aid and abet the rebellion, led to the continued exercise of that power which was claimed to belong to the executive in case of manifest necessity; we refer to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. During the early period of the great struggle for national life and integrity, arrests were made by orders issued from the secretary of state; but in February, 1862, the control of this whole matter was transferred to the war department. We have noted, on a previous page, Chief-justice Taney's views, in the spring of 1861 (see p. 29). In July of the same year, Mr. Bates, the United States attorney-general, gave an elaborate opinion on this subject, and asserted the right of the president, in the great crisis existing, to exercise this power. The government thenceforward acted with promptitude and vigor. A large number of persons, known or supposed to be in complicity with the rebels, were arrested and placed in confinement, but, after longer or shorter intervals, were released, upon taking the oath of allegiance to the United States.

On the 14th of February, the secretary of war issued a paper containing the "executive orders in relation to state prisoners," in which Mr. Stanton set forth, clearly and forcibly, the grounds on which the government felt it necessary to pursue the course it had adopted. "The president felt it his duty to employ with energy the extraordinary powers which the Constitution confides to him in cases of insurrection. He called into the field such military and naval forces, unauthorized by the existing laws, as seemed necessary. He directed measures to prevent the use of the post

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* The numbers of the rebel force cannot be given with any exactness; some writers say there were over 400,000 in the service; but by the rigid enforcement of the conscription act in the seceded states (see p. 117), compelling all persons between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to do military duty, the rebel leaders managed to get together larger armies, at the end of 1862, than at any previous period, and were consequently prepared to carry on the war in 1863. The process of conscription, however, was exhausting, and could ill bear repetition. It became odious to the people of the states in rebellion; it was evaded in every possible way; and it was denounced as not only a gross violation of the much-cherished state rights' doctrine, but also as the most outrageous of military despotism.

office for treasonable correspondence."* In addition, as was stated on a previous page, (p. 259), disloyal, or supposed to be disloyal, persons were arrested and imprisonments made quite extensively. On the 27th of July, Gen. Dix, and the Hon. E. Pierrepont of New York, were appointed a commission to make examination into the cases of state prisoners then in custody, and to determine whether it were proper and safe to discharge them, or remit them to the civil tribunals for trial. These gentlemen entered upon the duties assigned them; they visited the Old Capitol prison at Washington, Fort McHenry at Baltimore, Fort Lafayette at New York, and Fort Warren at Boston; and large numbers were released from confinement on taking the oath of allegiance.

Arrests, however, continued to be made, and though the president assumed the responsibility, the secretary of war determined upon the cases, and suspended the writ as he deemed best. This assumption of power was most strenuously objected to, and some of the courts took the ground that, although the president might have authority under the Constitution, in case of rebellion or invasion, to suspend the writ, he could not legally delegate that authority to any subordinate. In order to meet this view, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation, September 24th, declaring that all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, or engaging in any disloyal practices, were subject to martial law; and further, that the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in regard to all persons who had been, or should be, arrested and confined by military authority. A provost marshal general was appointed, with subordinates, to carry out the determination of the government in every direction.

Of course, such action was sharply criticised; outcries were made against what was denounced as tyranny in its worst form; and in some, or more cases, individuals were harshly treated, and their rights unduly invaded. Political leaders in opposition to the government made the most of all this; "peace meetings" were held in various places; the administration was vigorously assailed; efforts were made to prevent enlistments and hinder the putting down the rebellion by force of arms; and so powerful an influence was exerted upon the state elections, near the close of the year, that the gov ernment was, in several instances, seriously worsted. Nevertheless, the energetic action of the public authorities was so far effective and salutary, that on the 22d of November, the following order was issued by the war department:—

"*Ordered*, 1. That all persons now in military custody, who have been arrested for discouraging volunteer enlistments, opposing the draft, or for otherwise giving aid and comfort to the enemy, in states where the draft has been made or the quota of volunteers and militia has been furnished, shall be discharged from further military restraint. 2. That persons who, by the authority of the military commander or governor in rebel states,

* On the subject of "newspaper exclusion and suppression," with interesting details, see McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 188–194.

have been arrested and sent from such state, for disloyalty or hostility to the government of the United States, and are now in military custody, may also be discharged, upon giving their parole to do no act of hostility against the government of the United States, nor render aid to its enemies. . . . 3. This order shall not operate to discharge any person who has been in arms against the government, or by force and arms has resisted, or attempted to resist the draft, nor relieve any person from liability to trial and punishment by civil tribunals, or by court martial or military commission, who may be amenable to such tribunals for offences committed."

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When Congress met, in December, 1862, this subject occupied a large share of their attention; it was warmly and fully discussed, and the result was, that an act of indemnity was passed in behalf of the president, and those under his orders, for whatever had been done, and power was conferred giving him full authority to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* whenever, in his judgment, the public safety required it.*

It will have been noted by the reader that the government had, at various times, announced that its object, in its military and other operations against the rebels, was to put down lawless insurrection, and restore the authority of the Constitution. The southern leaders and traitors to the Union endeavored to excite terrible apprehensions and arouse bitter hostility, on the ground that the loyal states had in view the entire subjugation and conquest of the people, the stirring up a slave rebellion, the destruction of all property, and everything else that was foul and horrible. The government made earnest efforts to allay apprehensions and remove all cause for hostility. Every imputation that the intention of our armies was to destroy property and liberate the slaves, was repelled as false and slanderous. "In no way or manner," it was announced, "did the government desire to interfere with the laws constitutionally established in the southern states, or with their institutions of any kind whatever, their property of any sort, or their usages in any respect."

This was the avowed policy of the administration, so far as there was any policy, at the outbreak of the rebellion, and mainly during the years 1861 and 1862. Gen. Fremont's and Gen. Hunter's movements, in regard to the position of the slaves, and what to do with them, were refused sanction by the government; and the more zealous and radical of the supporters of Mr. Lincoln made many serious complaints and charges of backwardness and lukewarmness on the part of the president. It was evident that they regarded slavery as the greatest of all evils, and that they would not rest content with any-

* An indemnity bill was passed in the House, December 8th, by a vote of 90 to 45; two weeks afterwards, thirty-six members of the House moved to enter on the journal an elaborate protest against the bill, as a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous violation of the Constitution. The list was headed by Geo. H. Pendleton, W. A. Richardson, C. L. Vallandingham, S. S. Cox, etc. On motion of Mr. Stevens, the protest was tabled by a vote of 75 to 41. The bill respecting *habeas corpus*, etc., as finally agreed upon by the two houses, was passed and approved, March 3d, 1863.—See McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 183—187.

thing short of its total destruction; but Mr. Lincoln hesitated at taking so decided a step and abandoning the ground heretofore held on this subject.

On the 22d of July, a few days after the adjournment of Congress, an order was issued in regard to the general use of rebel property in the several military departments, directing that military commanders should seize any property necessary or convenient for supplies, in any of the insurgent states; that negroes should be employed and properly compensated as laborers; and that accounts should be kept and furnished to the government in regard to these various matters.

Mr. Lincoln's favorite policy in regard to emancipation, was that of compensation for the estimated value of the slaves of loyal owners, and colonizing them in some part of Southern or Central America.* But neither of these plans met with general favor. The government was pressed, by its more ardent supporters, to adopt and proclaim some larger and more definite policy as to the vexed question of slavery. It began to be felt, by both Mr. Lincoln and the people, that *something positive* must be done, and done speedily and effectively. The rebels were making use of the slaves as tillers of the ground and laborers in military operations, so as greatly to increase their capability of resistance, and enable all the white population to serve in the rebel army.

Several of the influential journals of the day urged the subject vehemently and forcibly upon the president, and Mr. Lincoln, through the press, under date of August 22d, gave utterance to his views, in his peculiar style and manner of argument. He declared that his one great aim was to save the Union, and that the question of slavery was wholly subordinate to this end and aim. "*My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.* If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union, and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union."

From the purport of this letter it may be gathered, that the president was fast tending to that change of policy which was soon after publicly announced. His position was such, and the urgency of the party which supported the president was such, that he could no longer forbear taking a bold and decided stand. Accordingly, on the 22d of September, Mr. Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. It is a document of sufficient importance to be given in full, and may be found in the appendix to the present chapter.

On the one hand the proclamation was received with applause, and on the other denounced vigorously. But, after all that was or could be said against

* For notice of the steps which were taken at the previous session in regard to compensated emancipation, colonization of the negroes, etc., see p. 148.

this change or development of the policy of the government, the great body of the people were disposed to acquiesce in the measure as a war measure, and as a military act justified by a military necessity.*

The Thirty-seventh Congress began its third session on the 1st day of December, 1862. The friends and supporters of the administration were largely in the majority, both in the Senate and in the House, and the national legislature entered upon its work with becoming zeal and diligence. The president's message was a document of great length, in which Mr. Lincoln gave a review of the general condition of affairs at home and abroad, and especially argued upon the question of compensated emancipation. "Since your last annual assembling," he said, "another year of health and bountiful harvests has passed, and while it has not pleased the Almighty to bless us with the return of peace, we can but press on, guided by the best light He gives us, trusting that, in His own good time and wise way, all will be well." The relations with foreign nations were stated to be on an amicable footing, in general; the condition of the finances was commended to their "most diligent consideration;" attention was called to the reports of the secretaries of war and the navy, and various interesting statements were made respecting the post office department, the public lands, the Indian tribes, etc. The latter half of the message was devoted to the subject of "compensated emancipation," in which Mr. Lincoln was profoundly interested, and to which he gave the largest and fullest consideration. The reader may consult to advantage this part of the message; we have no room for details or large quotation; its closing paragraph was as follows: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say that we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power, and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain—peaceful—generous—just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

1862.

* In the rebel Congress, immediately on receipt of the Emancipation Proclamation, measures of retaliation were strongly urged. Much violent invective was indulged in; there was fierce talk of raising the "black flag," resorting to a war of extermination, etc. The matter was finally handed over to Jeff. Davis, who, on the 23d of December, issued a retaliatory proclamation, principally directed against Gen. B. F. Butler, and concluding with the following order: "That all negro slaves captured in arms be at once delivered over to the executive authority of the respective states to which they belong, to be dealt with according to the laws of said states. That the like orders be executed in all cases with respect to all commissioned officers of the United States, when found serving in company with said slaves in insurrection against the authorities of the different states of this Confederacy."

On the very first day of the session, resolutions were introduced denouncing the course of the government in regard to the suspension of *habeas corpus*, and the arbitrary arrests of persons suspected of complicity with the rebels or the rebellion. Men like Cox, Vallandingham, Pendleton, and others in the House, and Powell, Davis, Saulsbury, etc., in the Senate, were actively engaged in efforts to thwart the plans of the majority and oppose the administration; but it was to little purpose. They rarely accomplished anything except to ventilate their opinions, and with hardly an instance to the contrary, their propositions were quietly laid on the table or summarily rejected.

On the 4th of December, Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, offered the following resolution in the House: "*Resolved*, That at no time since the commencement of the existing rebellion, have the forces and materials in the hands of the executive department of the government been so ample and abundant, for the speedy and triumphant termination of the war, as at the present moment; and it is the duty of all loyal American citizens, regardless of minor differences of opinion, and especially the duty of every officer and soldier in the field, as well as the duty of every department of the government —the legislative branch included—as a unit, to cordially and unitedly strike down the assassins, at once and forever, who have conspired to destroy our Constitution, our nationality, and that prosperity and freedom of which we are justly proud at home and abroad, and which we stand pledged to perpetuate forever." This resolution indicated clearly the sentiment which prevailed in Congress, and in the loyal states generally; it was adopted by a vote of 105 to 1 (W. J. Allen).

1862.

Although it is a little in advance, we give here a brief summary of the action of Congress during this its last session. The bill authorizing the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and indemnifying the president and others, was elaborately discussed in the Senate as well as in the House; very great varieties of opinion were expressed, and the bill was finally passed by large majorities. Other measures, such as the enlisting negroes as soldiers, the enroling and drafting the militia, the authorizing the president to issue to private armed vessels letters of marque, the admission of the state of Western Virginia, etc., were warmly debated during the session, and afforded abundant evidence of the spirit and determination of the majority in Congress, and the lengths to which they were ready to go in support of the policy of the government.

The report of the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Chase, was an elaborate and carefully prepared document, setting forth the previous financial history of the war, and the policy by which it was proposed to regulate its burdens in the future. The expenditures of the year were in excess of previous estimates some $350,000,000; and the public debt, it was stated, would, by the end of the next year, amount to $1,700,000,000. The secretary urged the organization of banking associations under a general act, as proposed the previous

year. The central idea of the scheme was "the establishment of one sound, uni-
1862. form circulation, of equal value throughout the country, upon the foundation of national credit combined with private capital." Its advantages in absorbing the public securities, providing a home market, and giving steadiness to their value, were obvious, while the measure was free from the objections of government interference formerly urged against a national bank. It would be voluntary, gradually come into use, and meet the necessities of the times. Nor would its least recommendation be that it would supply "a firm anchorage to the union of the states. Every banking association whose bonds are deposited in the treasury of the Union; every individual who holds a dollar of the circulation secured by such deposit; every merchant, every manufacturer, every farmer, every mechanic, interested in transactions dependent for success on the credit of that circulation, will feel as an injury every attempt to rend the national unity, with the permanence and stability of which all their interests are so closely and so vitally connected."

The action of Congress on the subject of the finances of the country was prompt and important. On the 17th of January, 1863, there was authorized the issue of $100,000,000 in United States NOTES, for the immediate payment of the army and navy; such notes to be a part of the amount provided for in any bill that might be passed during the session. The amount just named, was included in the act passed at the close of the present Congress.

During the month of February, the subject of providing a sound and reliable currency for the country came up, and was fully discussed, in both the House and the Senate. The result was, the passage of "An Act to provide a national currency, secured by a pledge of United States stocks, and to provide for the circulation and redemption thereof." * The vote in the Senate was ayes, 23, noes, 21; in the House, ayes, 78, noes, 64.

By an act, approved March 3d, 1863, there was authorized a LOAN of $300,000,000 for the current fiscal year, and $600,000,000 for the next fiscal year, for which bonds were to be issued, running not less than ten nor more than forty years, principal and interest payable in coin, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding six per cent. per annum, payable on bonds not exceeding $100 annually, and on all others semi-annually. The secretary was also authorized to issue $400,000,000 of six per cent. TREASURY NOTES, not exceeding three years to run, to be a legal tender for their face value, excluding interest, and exchangeable for and redeemable by United States NOTES, for which purpose alone an issue of $150,000,000 of the latter was authorized; also, a further issue, if necessary, for the payment of the army and navy and other creditors of the government, of $150,000,000 in United States NOTES, including the $100,000,000 authorized in January;

* This act was approved, Feb. 25, 1863. For the Act in full, see Appleton's "*Annual Cyclopædia*," for 1863, pp. 296–304.

the whole amount of bonds, treasury notes, and United States notes issued under this act not to exceed the sum of $900,000,000; also, to issue $50,000,000 in FRACTIONAL CURRENCY, in lieu of postage or other stamps, exchangeable for United States notes, in sums not less than three dollars, and receivable for any dues to the United States less than five dollars, except duties on imports; also, to receive deposits of gold coin and bullion, and to issue certificates therefor; and to issue certificates representing coin in the treasury in payment of interest, which, with the certificates of deposits issued, were not to exceed 20 per cent. beyond the amount of coin and bullion in the treasury. A tax was also imposed on the circulation of state banks of one per cent. half yearly.

By a comparison of the recommendations and appeals of the secretary of the treasury with the matured action of Congress, as above given, it will readily be perceived to what extent the legislature adopted his views and suggestions; and the reader will find it equally interesting and profitable to note the progress and results of the system of finance now inaugurated, during the years immediately following. It was evident that, so long as the rebels continued their efforts, the country must have a large supply of paper money, and Congress, representing the sober convictions of the people at large, endeavored to place matters on such a footing that this money should be national in its character, and rest on the faith of the government as its security. The history of succeeding years of trial and perplexity demonstrates in how far success attended their action.

Together with his message, Mr. Lincoln submitted a large volume of correspondence relating to foreign affairs, and accompanied it with various pertinent statements and remarks. Speaking of the political excitements in the old world, he said: "In this unusual agitation, we have forborne from taking part in any controversy between foreign states and between parties or factions in such states. We have attempted no propagandism and acknowledged no revolution. But we have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs. Our struggle has been, of course, contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its supposed and often exaggerated effects, and the consequences resulting to those nations themselves. Nevertheless, complaint on the part of this government, even if it were just, would certainly be unwise." 1862.

The correspondence, as conducted by Mr. Seward, the secretary of state, and our ministers abroad, especially Mr. Adams, at London, and Mr. Dayton, at Paris, was marked by superior ability, and manifested the spirit and determination of the government, neither to allow foreign interference in our country's affairs, nor to suffer other nations, particularly England, to suppose that we would submit to any infraction of our rights and immunities. The course pursued by the English government was of a kind to arouse deep feeling in the United States—a

feeling of mingled indignation and contempt; of indignation at the positive wide-spread injuries inflicted upon our commerce by the piratical cruisers built and fitted out in English ports; and of contempt for a government professing friendliness and neutrality, and at the same time conniving at palpable violations of law in order to favor the cause of the rebellion. Two flagrant instances of unhandsome conduct, which occurred during 1862, may here be noted.*

Early in February, 1862, our vigilant minister at London called the attention of Earl Russell to the fact that a steam gun boat, called the Oreto, and afterwards the Florida, was being built in a Liverpool ship-yard, under the supervision of agents from the rebel states, and evidently intended for the rebel service. The answer returned was, that the vessel was intended for the use of parties in Palermo, Sicily, and that there was no good reason to suppose that she was meant for any service hostile to the United States. Mr. Adams furnished evidence to show that the claim of being designed for Sicilian service was a mere pretext; but he did not succeed in inducing Earl Russell to take any steps for the vessel's detention. Her clearance being adroitly made out for the island of Sicily, she was permitted to leave the harbor without interruption, at the end of March. She succeeded in getting into Mobile in September, and, at the close of the year, she made her way out in safety, as a rebel privateer, under command of J. N. Maffit, formerly of the United States navy, to enter upon a series of depredations upon Northern commerce. 1862.

In the month of June, 1862, the American minister directed Earl Russell's attention to another powerful war steamer, then in progress of construction in the ship-yard of a member of the House of Commons, and evidently intended for the rebel service. This vessel, known at first as the "290," and afterwards as the "Alabama," became the subject of correspondence between Mr. Adams and Earl Russell. The complaint went through the usual formalities, and was referred to the "Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury," who reported, in due time, that while it was apparent that the vessel was intended for a ship of war, there was not sufficient evidence of her destination to warrant detention. Further evidence was produced, which the British government could not ignore; but before the necessary formalities could be gone through with, and in consequence of delays caused, as Russell afterwards explained the matter, by the singularly *mal-a-propos* and "sudden development of a malady of the Queen's advocate, totally incapacitating him for the transaction of business," the steamer, on the 29th of July, while an order for her detention was on its way to Liverpool, suddenly slipped out of port without register or clearance. She took her departure with a party of ladies and gen- 1862.

* For some account of the injuries inflicted by rebel cruisers upon American commerce, the vessels destroyed, the extent to which the carrying trade of New York suffered, etc., see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*," for 1863, pp. 660—662.

tlemen, ostensibly for a trial trip, dismissing her visitors and well-wishers on getting out of the Mersey.

Mr. Adams thereupon telegraphed to Captain Craven, in command of the United States steamer Tuscarora, at Southampton, to intercept the "290" at sea, a risk of capture which the rebel vessel avoided by taking the channel to the north of Ireland, while her pursuer lay in wait in St. George's channel. She then proceeded, undisturbed, to one of the Azores, where, according to a previous arrangement, she awaited the arrival of a bark from the Thames laden with her stores and armament. Soon after having obtained, in this way, the stores and supplies, the British screw steamer Bahama made her appearance, bringing the notorious Captain Semmes and the late officers of the Sumter, and an additional crew and armament. Being thus equipped, Semmes mustered the crew on deck and read his commission, together with the order from Jeff. Davis to take command of the sloop of war, which was now named the "Alabama." Thus, in defiance of law and of international obligation and comity, this piratical cruiser was launched upon her career of mischief and destruction. Before the close of the year 1862, twenty-eight vessels, mostly owned at New York and in New England, fell into the Alabama's hands, the greater part of which were burned to the water's edge. Plundering and burning marked her course, and though occasionally a vessel was allowed to depart on giving heavy bonds for the ship and cargo, yet the usual practice was robbery and destruction.

A course of proceeding such as this naturally excited the vehement indignation of the merchant sufferers of New York and elsewhere, who were loud in their remonstrances at the neglect or indifference of the British authorities in permitting the fitting out of such an enemy to civilization. The home government sent one vessel of war after another in fruitless search of the adroitly managed cruiser, while her successive depredations, and the advantages which she obtained as a recognized "belligerent," were brought before the British cabinet, and a distinct warning was given, that England would be held responsible for the damage which this vessel had inflicted, or might hereafter inflict, on American commerce.

We have already alluded (see p. 64) to the general sentiment in Great Britain with regard to the rebellion and its probabilities of success. This sentiment continued to have sway during the present year, and men of eminence, like Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer, ventured to speak of our affairs as if the matter was settled beyond doubt, and the Great Republic broken into fragments. "There is no doubt," Mr. G. said, in a speech at Newcastle, Oct. 7th, "that Jeff. Davis and the other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, *they have made a* NATION. . . . We may anticipate with certainty the success of the southern states, so far as regards their departure from the North. I, for my own part, cannot but believe that that event is as certain as any event yet future and

contingent can be." The London *Times* and other organs of public opinion in England reiterated similar views and expectations, affirming that ninety-nine Englishmen out of a hundred agreed with Mr. Gladstone's statement.

Mr. Adams, to whose vigilance was committed the care of our interests at the court of St. James, was deeply impressed with the general unfriendly feeling existing in England towards our country, in her efforts and determination to crush the rebellion; and under date of September 12th, wrote to that effect to the secretary of state. "The breaking out of the insurrection has brought to light the existence of national feelings in England towards the United States, the strength of which had scarcely been suspected in America. As the struggle has gone on, the nature and extent of them have become so clear and unmistakable as to defy all disavowal. Having their root in the same apprehensions of the force of a foreign state which exist in the case of France, they take the same direction towards efforts to curtail, if not to neutralize, its energies. The popular sentiment of Great Britain, as now developed, should be a warning to the statesmen of America by which to regulate their action, at least for two generations. It dictates the necessity of union at home far more imperatively than even the wretchedness which now fills the country with grief from end to end."

It would be unfair, however, not to take note that more than one friendly voice made itself heard in England, in behalf of the United States. Men of the stamp of Richard Cobden, John Bright, and others, spoke plainly and forcibly of the folly of intervention at the risk of war, and of the blindness of those who expected to see our country broken up by the existing rebellion. "It would be idle," said Mr. Cobden, Oct. 29th, "for England or France or both together to talk of intervention. The idea of employing force must be abandoned. The cause is utterly unmanageable by force; and six months of war would cost more than would maintain the entire manufacturing districts ten years." Mr. Bright also, in December, denouncing slavery and all its adjuncts in the severest terms, drew an eloquent picture of the future prospects of our country:—"I cannot believe that civilization in its journey with the sun will sink into endless night to gratify the ambition of the leaders in this revolt, who seek to 'wade through slaughter to a throne, and shut the gates of mercy on mankind.' I have another and far brighter vision before my gaze. It may be but a vision, but I will cherish it. . . I see one people and one law and one language and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom and a refuge for the oppressed of every race."

The attempt of Louis Napoleon to interfere in our affairs, jointly with the English and Russian governments, deserves notice in this connection. This astute politician, who held the opinion that secession was an accomplished fact, and therefore deserved a recognition of its belligerent rights, was anxious to do something in aid of the commercial wants of France. He supposed that

he could help to bring the war to a close, if the other great powers would join with him. Accordingly a diplomatic dispatch was addressed, under date of Oct. 30th, by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, French minister of foreign affairs, to the ministers of state of England and Russia, and the concurrence of those nations was solicited in an offer of mediation between the loyal states and the so-called "Confederate States of America." The idea was, to get the government at Washington and the rebel government to agree upon an armistice for six months or longer, and by means of commissioners from both sides to discuss the differences existing, and make arrangements for an amicable settlement of the same, on terms equally honorable and profitable to both parties. The French emperor, however, if he really supposed that any such plan as he suggested would be tolerated for a moment by the United States, did not know the people in whose affairs he wished to interfere. Russia and England likewise declined joining him in any such attempt. Early in November, they gave in their answer to M. de l'Huys' note, and expressed the sentiment that the time had not arrived as yet, in which it would be judicious or safe to propose intervention.

So the matter was dropped; until, at the beginning of the new year, 1863, a dispatch was sent to the French minister at Washington, offering, on Louis Napoleon's part, to do anything in his power which might tend towards the termination of the war. This offer was promptly and decisively declined; and, in an able dispatch from Mr. Seward, under date of February 6th, 1863, the ground taken and held by the United States government was set forth in language which could not be misunderstood: "This government has not the least thought of relinquishing the trust which has been confided to it by the nation under the most solemn of all political sanctions; and if it had any such thought, it would still have abundant reason to know, that peace proposed at the cost of dissolution would be immediately, unreservedly, and indignantly rejected by the American people."* The effect of this dispatch was very marked, and it put an end to all further talk or offer of foreign intervention in any shape, or from any quarter. No nation was willing to incur the risk of war with the Great Republic by undertaking to recognize the rebellion.

Such, in substance, was the condition of affairs at the close of 1862. There was much to hope for, and also not a little to apprehend. The people generally had made up their minds that the rebellion must and should be crushed, no matter what sacrifice might be demanded; and though discouragements of various kinds stood in the way, though a speedy return of peace was to be hoped and prayed for, rather than expected; yet there was no shrinking from the contest, there was no hesi-

* A few weeks later, Mr. Sumner introduced into the Senate a body of resolutions, deprecating, in the strongest terms, all foreign intervention in our affairs, and distinctly asserting the ability of the United States to quell the rebellion and re-establish the power of the government over the entire land. The resolutions were adopted, March 3rd, 1863, by a vote of 31 to 5 in the Senate, and of 103 to 28 in the House.—See Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," Vol. iii., pp. 100—103.

tation as to where the path of duty lay, and as to the responsibilities resting on Americans in this great crisis in our national life. The heart of the loyal people was sound and unshaken in the hour of trial.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXV.

I.—THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

"I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the states, and the people thereof, in which that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed.

"That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave states, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or any designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever, free, and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the states and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto, at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such state shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

"That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to make an additional Article of War,' approved March 13th, 1862, and which act is in the words and figures following:—

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:* That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war, for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:—*Section* 1. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article, shall be dismissed from the service. *Section* 2. *And be it further enacted:* That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

"Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled 'An Act to Suppress Insurrection, to Punish Treason and Rebellion, to Seize and Confiscate Property of Rebels, and for other purposes;' approved July 16th, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:—

"*Section* 9. *And be it further enacted:* That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found or being within any place occupied by rebel forces, and afterwards occupied by forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves. *Section* 10. *And be it further enacted:* That no slave escaping into any state, ter-

ritory, or the District of Columbia, from any other state, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military and naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

"And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

"And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"Abraham Lincoln."

II.—PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION, JAN. 1st, 1863.

"*Whereas*, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the president of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: That on the first day of January, etc., (see paragraphs three and four of the Proclamation, p. 271) "Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war-measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above-mentioned, order and designate as the States, and parts of States, wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, Ste. Marie, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, S. Carolina, N. Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties of West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued.

"And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that ALL PERSONS HELD AS SLAVES within said designated States and parts of States, ARE, AND HENCEFORWARD SHALL BE, FREE; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

"And I do hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known, that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"Abraham Lincoln."

CHAPTER XXVI.

1863.

OPENING OF THE YEAR: WEST VIRGINIA: HOOKER, AND CHANCELLORSVILLE.

Admission of new state, West Virginia —Wheeling convention, June, 1861 — Decision of Congress — Prospects of the new state — Position of affairs in the "Confederacy" — Rebel Congress — Davis's message — Anticipations, complaints, censure of the emancipation proclamation, etc.—Proceedings of rebel Congress—United States navy— Affair at Galveston — Loss of the Harriet Lane — The Alabama destroys the United States steamer Hatteras — Senator Harlan's resolution — President appoints a day of prayer and humiliation— Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac — Introduces reforms, changes, etc. — Position of Lee and his forces — Hooker's plan of operations — Movement of his troops up the Rappahannock — Crossing the river — Crosses also the Rapidan — Occupies Chancellorsville — Value of the position — Brilliant expectations — Lee's course — Advance of our troops beyond the Wilderness — Ordered back — Lee's demonstrations — Jackson and his flank movement — Success — Panic of the 11th corps — Critical moment — Rebels checked — Jackson shot in the dark by his own men — Change of line by Hooker — The fight on Sunday— Hooker retires nearer the river — Sedgwick's movements—Carries the Heights at Fredericksburg by storm —Advance—Attacked by the rebels—Retreats across the river—Hooker's retreat—Stoneman's raid—No great value—Hooker's gratulations ill timed—Army resumes its old quarters.

THE opening of the new year was marked by the addition of a new state, *i.e.*, West Virginia, to the number of those contending for the integrity of the national life. The admission of a new state, under the existing circumstances, deserves attention, as being the first instance of the kind which has as yet happened in the United States. As the Constitution declares, that no new state shall be formed within the jurisdiction of any state without the consent of the legislature of the state concerned, as well as of Congress, it is evident that the validity of the action in Congress and in Virginia depends upon its conformity to the requisitions of the Constitution. The facts herewith briefly presented will make this point clear and satisfactory.

At the outbreak of the rebel conspiracy, during the winter of 1860–61, the legislature of the state of Virginia, convened in extra session, had called a convention, to be held on the 14th of February, 1861, at Richmond, to decide on the secession question. A vote was also required to be taken, when the delegates to the convention were elected, whether, if the convention should pass an ordinance of secession, that ordinance should or should not be referred back to the people for their adoption or rejection. This was decided in the affirmative by a majority of nearly 60,000. The convention met, a secession ordinance was passed, and it was referred to the people to be voted upon on the 28th of May, 1861. The very day after passing the ordinance, in February, the authorities of the state began to levy war on the United States, joined the rebel confederacy, and invited rebel troops to take possession of various points of importance in the state. In Western Virginia,

where the loyal sentiment largely prevailed, mass meetings were held at once, and a convention of nearly 500 delegates assembled early in May, declared the secession ordinance null and void, and recommended that, in case the ordinance should be ratified by the popular vote, on the 28th of May, an election of delegates be made on the 4th of June, from all the counties of Virginia, to meet in general convention, and provide, as might seem best, for the rights and welfare of the people. At the election in May, Virginia seceded, and the convention, as recommended, met at Wheeling, on the 11th of June.

The ground assumed at this convention was, that the various offices of the state government were vacated, in consequence of those who held them having joined the rebellion. Steps were accordingly taken to fill these offices and re-organize the government of the entire state, which was done as speedily as possible. On the 20th of August, 1861, the convention passed an ordinance to "provide for the formation of a new state out of a portion of the territory of this state." In accordance with its provisions, delegates were elected to a constitutional convention, which met at Wheeling, November 26th, and proceeded to draft a constitution for the state of West Virginia, which was submitted to the people of West Virginia, on the 3rd of April, 1862. The vote in its favor was 18,862, against 514.

Governor Pierpont, appointed by the convention of June, 1861, issued a proclamation convening an extra session of the legislature, which had been organized under the same authority which filled the state offices, and which met on the 6th of May, 1862. An act was passed, giving the consent of the legislature to the formation of a new state within the state of Virginia, and making application to Congress for its admission into the Union. When the matter came up in Congress, the admission was opposed by several members of the republican party, as well as others; but, on the 14th of July, the Senate passed the bill for admission by a vote of 23 to 17, and the House passed the same at the opening of the next session, December 10th, by a vote of 96 to 57. The president's approval was given on the last day of the year 1862.

The act of Congress just referred to, recited the proceedings of the popular convention at Wheeling, November, 1861, their ratification by the people at a general election in the following May, and the concurrent action of the recognized legislature of Virginia. Until the next general census, West Virginia was declared to be entitled to three members in the House of Representatives. The people within its limits, desirous of freeing the state from slavery and its incumbrance, was allowed to incorporate provisions to that effect in the constitution, when ratified by a popular vote; whereupon the president was to issue his proclamation stating the fact, and upon the expiration of sixty days thereafter, the admission of the state was to be complete.

These conditions having been complied with, the president, on the 20th

of April, 1863, issued his proclamation accordingly; and on the 20th of the following June, Arthur J. Boreman, who had been elected Gov. Pierpont's successor, was duly inaugurated at Wheeling. The new governor, in addressing the Senate and House of Delegates, expressed his determination to do all in his power to sustain the government and suppress the rebellion.

The territory of the new state included forty-eight counties, irregularly bounded by the Ohio on the west, and by a zigzag line on the east, following the chain of the Alleghanies, from Kentucky to the Potomac, in the vicinity of Williamsport. The white population, in 1860, was about 335,000, the number of slaves about 13,000. In agricultural and mineral resources, and the facility of river communication, West Virginia promised the most inviting rewards to her citizens, and there was and is every reason to expect that, in due time, she will assume a prominent place among her sister states.

The position in which the leaders in the rebellion had involved themselves and their followers, during the year just past, was anything but comfortable or satisfactory, and offered but little encouragement for the future. The Masons, Slidells, Yanceys, etc., had failed utterly in obtaining recognition abroad, or any promise looking in that direction; the blockade, though not perfect, was maintained with a vigor and effectiveness which told in a marked manner upon the condition of affairs; cotton was found to be no longer the "king" which it was supposed to be, and the rebels destroyed it to a large extent, rather than suffer it to fall into Union hands; the measure adopted by the government for emancipating the slaves was tremendous in its effects upon the rebel states; their finances were almost hopelessly involved, and were fast approaching insolvency and bankruptcy; the conscript acts were exhausting all the strength of the so-called "Confederacy;" the Union armies were gradually and surely hemming the rebels in, always retaining important positions when once gained; and though Jeff. Davis begged and pleaded for further devotion, and for men to hasten forward, in order to keep possession of Vicksburg and Port Hudson on the Mississippi; though Stephens cried out lustily, "never give it up!" though he exclaimed energetically, "let the world know, and history record the fact, if such should be our unhappy fate, that though our country may be invaded, our land laid waste, our cities sacked, our property destroyed, the people of the South could die in defence of their rights, but they could never be conquered;" still it was evident that the rebel cause was by no means in a very hopeful condition, and that the loyal states were as ready as they were willing to put forth their utmost efforts in their settled determination to crush it utterly.

The rebel Congress, which had adjourned in October, 1862, met again, early in January, 1863, and endeavored to do something towards bearing up the fortunes of the rebellion. As most of the proceedings were in closed session, but little is known as to what really took place during the meetings. Jeff.

Davis sent in a message, on the 12th of January, in which he used words of confidence in regard to the state of affairs, and uttered his "assurance of ability to meet and repulse the utmost efforts of the enemy, in spite of the magnitude of their preparations for attack." His anticipations of being able to establish permanently the rebel government and power were earnestly expressed, and he avowed the conviction that if they only continued to exhibit the courage and steadfastness of the past, there was "every reason to expect that this would be the closing year of the war. The war," he went on to say, "which, in its inception, was waged for forcing us back into the Union, having failed to accomplish that purpose, passed into a second stage, in which it was attempted to conquer and rule these states as dependent provinces. Defeated in this second design, our enemies have evidently entered upon another, which can have no other purpose than revenge, and thirst for blood, and plunder of private property. But however implacable they may be, they can have neither the spirit nor the resources required for a fourth year of a struggle uncheered by any hope of success, kept alive solely for the indulgence of mercenary and wicked passions, and demanding so exhausting an expenditure of blood and money as has hitherto been imposed on their people. The advent of peace will be hailed with joy; our desire for it has never been concealed; our efforts to avoid the war, forced on us as it was by the lust of conquest and the insane passions of our foes, are known to mankind. But, earnest as has been our wish for peace, and great as have been our sacrifices and sufferings during the war, the determination of this people has, with each succeeding month, become more unalterably fixed to endure any sufferings and continue any sacrifices, however prolonged, until their right to self-government and the sovereignty and independence of these states shall have been triumphantly vindicated and firmly established."

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Davis also entered upon a long, and in many respects bitter complaint against various European powers, who had recognized the blockade, and had done nothing for the benefit of the privateering interests of the rebellion. But, in his judgment, "the proudly self-reliant Confederacy" superior, as he claimed, in all respects, to its enemies, had no need to regret the lack of outside help. He branded McNeil, Milroy and Butler as guilty "of every conceivable atrocity, and as stamped with indelible infamy;"* and spoke of President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation with especial virulence and vindictiveness. On the whole, if one might believe his words, he was rather glad than otherwise that Mr. Lincoln had taken this step, since he thought it would open the eyes of

* A few days before sending in his message, Davis made a speech at Richmond, in which he indulged in language and evidences of temper strangely inconsistent with the tone of piety in his public documents. "It is true," he said, "you have a cause which binds you together more firmly than your fathers were. They fought to be free from the usurpations of the British crown, but they fought against a manly foe; you fight against *the offscourings of the earth*. . . . By showing themselves so utterly disgraced, that if the question was proposed to you whether you would combine with hyenas or Yankees, I trust that every Virginian would say, '*Give me the hyenas!*'"

Europe, and render any reconstruction or restitution of the Union "for ever impossible." Davis concluded his long message with urging attention to financial necessities, with congratulations on the benefits arising out of "the harmony, energy, and unity of the states," and with boastful statements of what the confederacy had done in supplying its wants of every kind. "The injuries resulting from the interruption of foreign commerce have received compensation by the developments of our internal resources. Cannon crown our fortresses that were cast from the proceeds of mines opened and furnaces built during the war. Our mountain caves yield much of the nitre for the manufacture of powder, and promise increase of product. From our own foundries and laboratories, from our own armories and work-shops we derive, in a great measure, the warlike material, the ordnance and ordnance stores which are expended so profusely in the numerous and desperate engagements that rapidly succeed each other. Cotton and woollen fabrics, shoes and harness, wagons and gun-carriages, are produced in daily increasing quantities by the factories springing into existence. Our fields, no longer whitened by cotton that cannot be exported, are devoted to the production of cereals and the growth of stock formerly purchased with the proceeds of cotton."

The rebel congress discussed various measures of a retaliatory character, which were urged as necessary in consequence of Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. A number of stringent resolutions were adopted, in which were stated the grounds and mode of inflicting punishment on our officers and troops who might in any wise be concerned in "overthrowing the institution of African slavery, and bringing on a servile war" in the rebel states. Further action was taken in regard to the conscription law; a resolution was adopted, declaring that the navigation of the Mississippi River was free to all who lived on its banks or tributaries; a tax bill was passed, which levied a tax of eight per cent. on the value of salt, liquors, tobacco, cotton, wool, flour, sugar, etc., and a very heavy tax on farmers, and all kinds of trades and occupations. In addition, an impressment bill was passed, which, with other actions of the rebel congress, showed that the boastful "Confederacy" was not in that flourishing and prosperous condition which Jeff. Davis had represented in his message.

The condition and strength of the United States navy, at the opening of the year, was substantially as follows:—there were, as reported by the secretary of the navy, 427 vessels, carrying 3,268 guns—an increase during the year of 123 vessels, carrying 711 guns. Of these, 104, with 1,415 guns, were sailing vessels, and 323, with 1,853 guns, were steam vessels. In the latter were included fifty-four iron-clad vessels of various constructions, of which twenty-eight were on the seaboard and twenty-six in the Western waters.

In regard to naval operations at the beginning of 1863, we may briefly note here the capture of the Harriet Lane, and the fate of the steamer Hatteras. Galveston, in Texas, had been held by

Commander Renshaw, since October, 1862, by a small naval and military force at his command, consisting of the Harriet Lane and four other steamers, and less than 300, rank and file, occupying a wharf in the town.

The rebels, under Magruder, fixed upon January 1st, 1863, for an attack, both by land and water, upon our forces. The attack was begun very early in the morning, the rebels bringing artillery to bear upon the troops on shore, and also making a violent onset upon the Harriet Lane by two heavy steamers. After a severe contest, the Harriet Lane was obliged to succumb to the enemy, about seven A.M. The rebels tried to induce the other steamers to surrender, promising, in that case, to allow the crews one in which to leave the harbor. Renshaw refused, and ordering Lieut. Law to get the vessels out of port as soon as possible, prepared to blow up his vessel, the Westfield, which was aground. The explosion was premature, and not only Renshaw but several other officers and fifteen of the crew perished. Lieut. Law made his escape in the Owasco, and gave up the blockade for want of force to maintain it.

This disaster, at Galveston, was followed soon after by the loss of the United States steamer Hatteras in an encounter off the harbor with Semmes's rebel privateer, the Alabama. On the afternoon of the 11th of January, Lieut. Blake, in command of the Hatteras, was ordered to chase a strange sail to the south-eastward. This he did, and just after dark came up with her. At first, she pretended to be an English war steamer, but speedily avowed herself to be the Alabama, and poured a broadside into the Hatteras. The latter took fire, and was compelled to surrender. Within a few minutes after the officers and crew were taken off, the Hatteras and all she contained went down into the deep.

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Just at the close of the session of Congress (p. 263) Senator Harlan of Iowa introduced a resolution, in which he spoke of our countrymen being "encouraged in the day of trouble by the assurances of God's Word to seek Him for succor, according to His appointed way, through Jesus Christ;" and in which also the president was requested to appoint a day of national prayer and abasement before the Most High. Mr. Lincoln very willingly took action upon this resolution, and on the 30th of March, issued a proclamation, in which, among other suitable things, he said:—"We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved these many years in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power, as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us! It behooves us,

then, to humble ourselves, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness." Thursday, April 30th, was appointed as a day of national humiliation, fasting and prayer, and the people gave due heed to the president's earnest recommendation.

The narrative of the proceedings of the Army of the Potomac was suspended at the point where Gen. Burnside, after his ill-success at Fredericksburg and his misfortunes subsequently, had been succeeded by Gen. Hooker (p. 244), as the next man on whom the government thought it best to rely for carrying on operations successfully in Virginia. We resume the narrative at this point, and propose to give an account of what was done by "Fighting Joe Hooker," as he was commonly called in the army. On taking command, he issued an address to the army, January 26th, 1863, in which he said, speaking of himself:—"The undersigned enters upon the discharge of the duties imposed by this trust with a just appreciation of their responsibility. Since the formation of the army, he has been identified with its history. He has shared with you its glories and reverses, with no other desire than that these relations might remain unchanged until its destiny should be accomplished. . . . . Let us never hesitate to give the enemy battle wherever we can find him. The undersigned only gives expression to the feelings of this army when he conveys to our late commander, Major-General Burnside, the most cordial good wishes for his future.

"JOSEPH HOOKER."

Various measures of improvement were introduced by Hooker into the army. The system of Grand Divisions was done away with, and the army was divided into seven corps. The first corps was commanded by Reynolds; the second by Couch; the third by Sickles; the fifth by Meade; the sixth by Sedgwick; the eleventh by Howard; and the twelfth by Slocum. The cavalry was consolidated into a single corps, and was placed under command of Stoneman.* Other judicious reforms were also carried into effect. Desertion and its causes were stopped; distinctive badges were given to the different corps; a system of furloughs was instituted; and as Hooker, despite his extra self-sufficiency, was highly popular with the troops, and an able administrative officer, important results were confidently looked for under his guidance. **1863.**

During the wet season, *i. e.*, the first three months of Hooker's command, he wisely abstained from undertaking any grand military movement; but spent the time in filling up the ranks by the return of absentees, and in thoroughly disciplining the army, so that, at the close of the month of April, the Army of the Potomac was in a state of admirable preparation for active operations against the rebels. It numbered, ac-

* By the changes above noted both Franklin and Sumner were relieved of their commands in the Army of the Potomac. The latter was soon after assigned to the command of the Department of Missouri; but while preparing to enter upon duty, he was suddenly taken ill at his son-in-law's house, in Syracuse, New York. After only a few days' illness, he died on the 21st of March, 1863, having just completed his sixty-seventh year. Gen. Sumner was universally lamented by the army and the country as one of the bravest of soldiers and best of men.

cording to Swinton's calculations, 125,000 men (infantry and artillery), with a body of 12,000 well-equipped cavalry, and a powerful artillery force of about 400 guns.*

The rebel general was strongly entrenched on the heights south of the Rappahannock, from Skenker's Creek to U. S. Ford, a distance of about twenty-five miles, and had his troops so arranged that he could readily concentrate them on any given point. In this position Lee had only two main lines of retreat, one towards Richmond by railroad, and the other towards Gordonsville. It was a matter of importance, therefore, for Hooker to make a movement of such a kind as to compel Lee to come out of his fortifications and fight, or to fall back on Richmond. To assist in this movement, Stoneman, with a large cavalry force, was to hasten forward, some time in advance of the army movement, and cut the railroad communications of the enemy at important points in their roads. As a direct attack on Fredericksburg was every way inexpedient, especially after former experiences, Hooker adopted a bold plan of operation against Lee's left, and on Monday morning, April 27th, began the carrying of it out.

A strong, well-appointed column, consisting of the 5th, 11th, and 12th corps, set out for Kelly's Ford, some twenty-seven miles above Fredericksburg, intending by this wide detour to cross the Rappahannock and the Rapidan, and pass round Lee's flank to Chancellorsville. Marching on Monday, this force reached the neighborhood of Kelly's Ford on Tuesday, April 28th, and during the night and next morning, crossed at Kelly's Ford, on pontoon bridges. Early on Wednesday morning, an advance was made to Germania Ford, on the Rapidan—twelve miles distant—by the 11th and 12th corps, and to Ely's Ford, on the same stream, by the 5th corps. At Germania Ford a force of about 150 rebel pioneers was discovered rebuilding the bridge. Most of these, by a well-executed manœuvre, were captured. Celerity of movement being the chief desideratum, it was resolved immediately to put the troops over the Rapidan. Accordingly, the men plunged in, many of them stripping and carrying their clothes and cartridge-boxes on their bayonets, and waded over, up to their armpits. During the night huge bonfires were kindled, and the remainder of the troops were passed over by the next morning. While this was going on at Germania Ford, Meade's troops were crossing at Ely's Ford. Both columns now moved, as ordered, for Chancellorsville, at the junction of the Gordonsville turnpike with the Culpepper and Orange Court House plank road, Pleasanton's cavalry keeping up the communication and protecting the right flank from the rebel cavalry attacks. This manœuvre having uncovered United States Ford, Couch's corps, which had, for three days, being lying at that point, was passed over the Rap-

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* Lee's army, according to the same authority, was greatly inferior to that of his opponent; for, relying on the strength of the line of the Rappahannock, he had, in February, detached two divisions under Longstreet, to operate south of the James River, and the remainder did not exceed an effective force of 55,000 men; although the rolls of Lee's army showed, March 31st, a force of 60,298.—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 269.

pahannock by a pontoon bridge, on Thursday, without any opposition. This force also converged toward Chancellorsville, and on Thursday night four army corps, namely, Howard's, Stevens', Meade's and Couch's, were massed at this point. That same night Hooker reached Chancellorsville, and established his headquarters at a large brick house, formerly an inn, which, in fact, constituted the entire place. The position thus secured was important, as taking in reverse Lee's entire fortified line, and by its being in direct communication with Fredericksburg by a plank road, and with Orange Court House and Gordonsville by a road through the Wilderness—a desolate region of tangled woods—in its vicinity. The ability displayed in this movement by Hooker has been highly praised by military critics.

Meanwhile, the remaining three corps had rendered essential aid in masking the flank march just noted. The 1st, 3d and 6th corps were ordered, after the flanking column was well under way, to cross the river near Fredericksburg, for the purpose of making a direct demonstration, and giving the rebels reason to suppose that the attack was about to be made again at this point. This was done on the 29th of April, and excited the attention of the rebels. The feint having answered its purpose, the 3d corps, under Sickles, was ordered to cross at United States Ford, and join Hooker at Chancellorsville, while the 3d and 6th corps, under Sedgwick, were directed to remain below, and await developments on the right.

The complete success of Hooker's strategy, thus far, seems to have roused both him and the army to the highest point of expectation. On the 30th of April, Hooker issued an order, announcing "to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defences, and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him. The operations of the 5th, 11th, and 12th corps have been a succession of splendid achievements." Hooker also—according to Swinton, who heard him—talked in a magniloquent manner, *e. g.*, "the rebel army is now the legitimate property of the Army of the Potomac. They may as well pack up their haversacks and make for Richmond, and I shall be after them," etc.

Immediately on Lee's becoming acquainted with the true state of affairs, instead of running away, as Hooker thought he must and would do, he made his preparations to advance and give battle.* Leaving a small force to hold the heights of Fredericksburg, at midnight of Thursday, the 30th of April, he put his troops in motion towards Chancellorsville, and, in some unexplained way, was allowed by Hooker to advance so far without opposition, as to prevent our seizing the direct communications with Richmond. Hooker, it seems, did not originally intend to remain in the tangled thicket of the Wilderness, an exceedingly bad

* According to the statements of southern writers, like Esten Cooke, Pollard, and others, Lee was aware of Hooker's movements and plans much earlier than we have said in our narrative. It may be so, although we prefer to adhere to the view given in the text.

place for the movements of a large army. On Friday morning, May 1st, several columns were pushed forward to gain the open country beyond the bounds of the Wilderness, and affording every facility for fighting to advantage. The idea was to take up a line of battle some two and a half miles in front, and advance the whole line at two o'clock in the afternoon. The left of the advancing columns moved on the river road for five miles, to within sight of Banks' Ford, without meeting any opposition. The centre column advanced on the turnpike, and having gained one of the heights about a mile from Chancellorsville, met the enemy. After severe skirmishing, our troops drove the rebels back and gained the position assigned them. The right column pushed forward well in advance, without encountering opposition.

The importance of these advance movements, and of holding the position already secured, seems plain enough; but Hooker thought otherwise. He ordered the columns to fall back to Chancellorsville, and instead of marching up with his whole force, and taking the initiative in delivering battle, he strangely threw away precious advantages, and despite the remonstrances of his officers, he determined to remain on the defensive at Chancellorsville. Military men have severely censured Hooker, and have been puzzled to account for his sudden lack of nerve and generalship, since, up to this time, he had displayed vigor and talent of a high order. "Till he met the enemy, Hooker showed a master grasp of the elements of war, but the moment he confronted his antagonist, he seemed to suffer collapse of all his powers, and after this his conduct, with the exception of one or two momentary flashes of talent, was marked by an incomprehensible feebleness and faultiness; for, in each crisis, his action was not only bad—it was, with a fatal infelicity, the worst that could have been adopted. . . . . When he found his antagonist making a rapid change of front, and hurrying forward to accept the gage of battle in the Wilderness, the general, whose first stride had been that of a giant, shrunk to the proportions of a dwarf."*

During Friday and Saturday, May 2d, Lee made various demonstrations against the front of Hooker's line of entrenchments; but he had no serious intention of fighting a battle just then, his numbers being much inferior to Hooker's, and he having another matter of moment in hand. Lee was only seeking to gain time, by this means, for the carrying out a very bold plan which Jackson had suggested and had been sent to execute. This was to assail Hooker's right and rear by a flank march, and by seizing our com munications with United States Ford. Jackson, from his intimate knowledge of the ground and his peculiar ability for work of this kind, was the very man to make this bold dash against Hooker's army, and he lost not a moment in entering upon it. All through the night the sound of the axe was heard, in preparation for the morrow's movement.

Taking with him about 22,000 men, Jackson, on Saturday morning, May

* Swinton's "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 280.

2d, set out on his rather perilous expedition, and worked his way with great diligence through the thickets by a path some two miles south of and parallel to the Orange plank road, where Hooker's troops were planted. Late in the afternoon, in spite of all difficulties, he reached the position aimed at for the terrible and crushing blow which he was about to inflict on Hooker's flank. Secret, however, as was his march, his troops were observed, in part at least, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to be moving in a westerly direction. Hooker and others thought that this was a retreat, or the beginning of a retreat, on the part of the rebels, and that a fine opening was now given for attacking them. Accordingly, Sickles was ordered to take two divisions, and to push into the woods to find and attack the enemy. Our troops moved with alacrity, and soon after came up with the rebels. From the statements of some prisoners which were taken, it was inferred that Jackson was not retreating, by any means, but on his way to execute one of those movements which possessed for him a peculiar charm. Under an impression that the astute rebel commander could be prevented from accomplishing his purpose, Sickles was ordered to move on rapidly, other troops being sent to co-operate with him. In a short time, by the aid of Randolph's battery and the energetic action of our troops, there were sent to the rear over 400 prisoners, officers and men; and the opinion was held, that the rebels would be compelled to fly or be captured.

At five o'clock, P.M., Jackson had gained the position where he could deal the deadly blow for which he had been seeking the opportunity at so great risk. A terrific crash of musketry on Hooker's extreme right announced that the rebel general had begun his destructive operations. The preparation to meet this onslaught was very imperfect. It was supposed that the corps of Howard (formerly Sigel's), with its supports, would be able to resist the enemy's attack, but every such supposition was utterly futile. Between five and six o'clock, Jackson burst forth with resistless impetuosity upon the unprepared 11th corps. Panic stricken, taken wholly by surprise, the troops rushed forward, a disorganized mass, without arms, and anxious only to escape the rebel assault. Entreaties, threats, orders of commanders, were of no avail; they fled down the road towards headquarters, and overran the next division to the left, which was compelled to give way before the enemy even reached its position. Col. Bushbeck, on the extreme left of the 11th corps, made a good fight and held his ground as long as possible; but both his flanks being turned, he too gave way, and the whole corps was soon in utter rout. It was now seven o'clock, and darkness was fast approaching; but Jackson had seized the breastworks, and had pushed forward to within half a mile of headquarters. 1863.

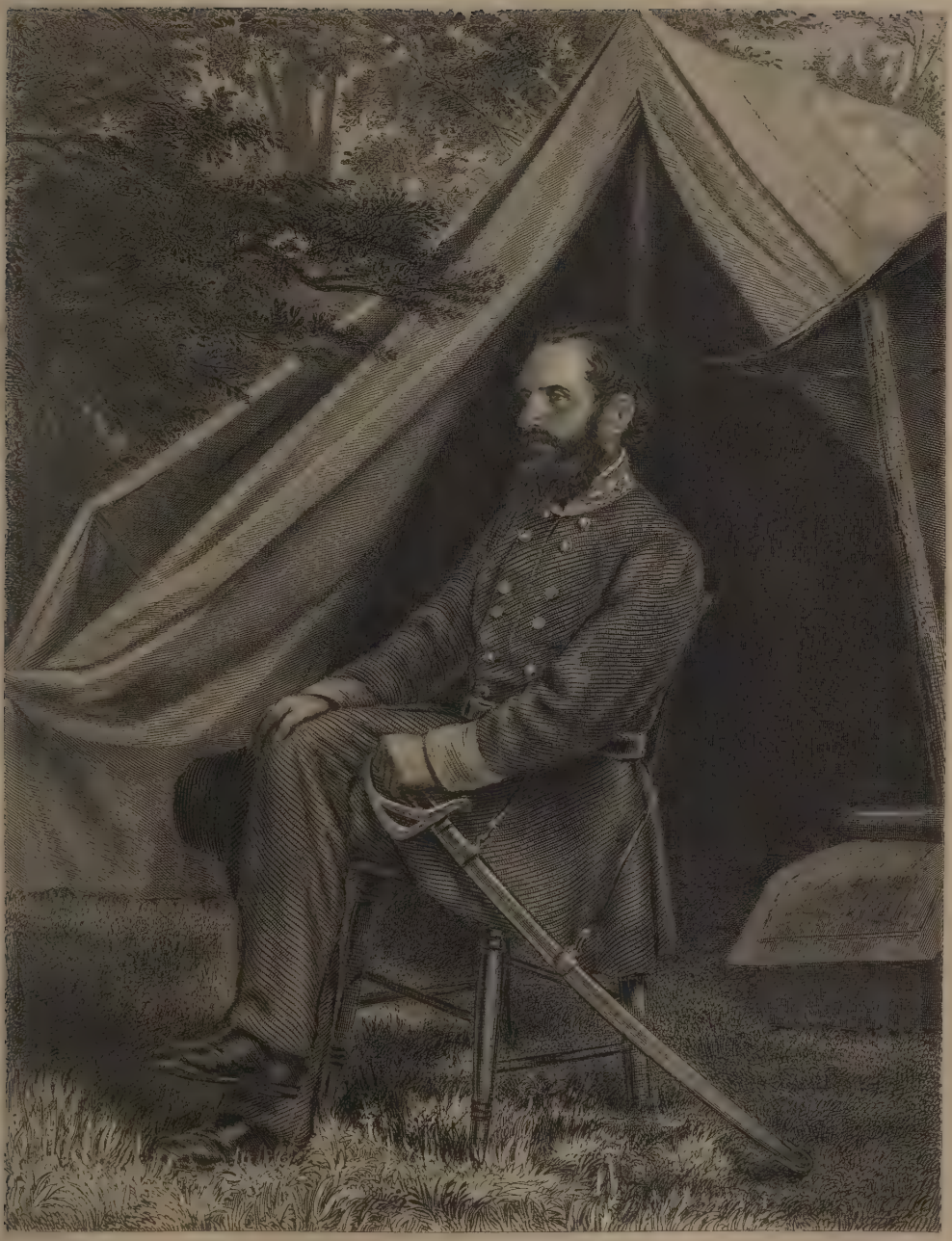
It was a critical moment; a new line had to be formed; and as Lee was pressing his attack on Hooker's left and centre, it was a work of difficulty

and danger to provide for this point. Something like a rushing whirlwind of men, artillery and wagons was sweeping down the road, and past headquarters, and on towards the fords of the Rappahannock. It seemed in vain to attempt to stop them; but fortunately, as it happened, Pleasanton came up with his cavalry at this moment; he moved forward rapidly, charged into the woods, and brought his artillery to bear upon the rebels with terrible effect. Hooker, also, called upon his old division, which he had commanded, and of which he entertained a very high opinion, to dash forward into the breach and receive the enemy on their bayonets. Gallantly did they obey the call, being now commanded by Gen. Berry, and, in perfect order, despite the herd of fugitives streaming past, they took position on a crest at the western end of the clearing around Chancellorsville. Other troops, with artillery, were brought forward, and by steadiness and determination the rebel advance was checked.

About this time, in the darkness of the night, Jackson, the leader of this movement, was stricken down, and, as it occurred, by the bullets of his own soldiers. Anxious to grasp all the results of his attack, he was pressing forward through the woods, and went even beyond his lines to reconnoitre, giving instructions to his troops not to fire, unless cavalry approached from the direction of the enemy. Turning with his staff to re-enter his own lines, his troops, it seems, mistaking them for a body of Union cavalry, fired a volley and killed and wounded a number. Jackson received three balls, one in his left arm, near the shoulder, the others in the arm and right hand. On being removed to the rear his arm was amputated, and it was hoped that he might recover; but pneumonia having set in, he lived only a few days, expiring on the 10th of May.

Without dwelling upon Jackson's life and character, both of which were remarkable in several respects, and cause one to regret that a man like him was deluded to such an extent as to engage in rebellion and revolution, we give the summing up which Mr. Swinton presents respecting that commander whom he terms "the ablest of Lee's lieutenants. Jackson," he says, "was essentially an executive officer, and in this sphere he was incomparable. Devoid of high mental parts, and destitute of that power of planning and combination, and of that calm, broad, military intellect which distinguished Gen. Lee, whom he regarded with a childlike reverence, and whose designs he loved to carry out, he had yet those elements of character that, above all else, *inspire* troops. A fanatic in religion, fully believing that he was destined by Heaven to beat his enemy whenever he encountered him, he infused something of his own fervent faith into his men, and at the time of his death had trained a corps whose attacks in column were unique and irresistible; and it was noticed that Lee ventured upon no strokes of audacity after Jackson had passed away."*

* "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 289. Esten Cooke's eulogy on Jackson is also worth consulting, and gives the southern estimate of his character, services and ability.



It was evident, from the position of affairs on Saturday night, that a change of line was necessary, by which the enemy should be driven from the rear and brought into front again. Gen. Reynolds, with his corps, had been ordered by Gen. Hooker to join him, and arrived at United States Ford on Saturday afternoon. The troops were put into position at once on the right, which was withdrawn from the plank road to the Ely's Ford turnpike. This line was immediately formed by Generals Reynolds and Meade, the latter's position, on the left, having been relieved by General Howard's 11th corps, which, notwithstanding its disorganized condition, was so far re-organized during the night as to be fit for duty again. They were assigned the position on the left, where it was probable there would be little or no fighting, and were protected by the strong works built the day before by General Meade's corps. The new line now assumed the shape of a triangle, prolonged at the apex, the right of the line being somewhat longer than the left. As the portion of the line on the right was new, time was necessary to fortify and entrench it, and the work was carried on vigorously by the 5th and 1st army corps. The rebels had been reinforcing their line all night, and as Jackson was no longer able to lead his troops, they were placed under command of J. E. B. Stuart. Their intention was to fight for the possession of the plank road, which it was apparent they must have, as that portion of it which our troops held was subject to assaults in front and on both flanks.

1863.

At daylight, on Sunday morning, Stuart and his men seized the crest which the day before had been occupied by the left of the 11th corps, got thirty pieces of artillery into position thereon, and opened a heavy fire on the plain around Chancellor House. Hooker, still retaining this as his headquarters, formed the line of battle, with Berry's division on the right, Birney next to him, on the left, Whipple and Williams supporting. The advance speedily became engaged in the ravine, just beyond the ridge where Captain Best's guns had done such excellent service the night before. The contest was fiercely and energetically carried on. Berry's division, which had checked the enemy's advance before, displayed their bravery and spirit to a high degree. The rebels dashed forward, with the battle cry, "Charge, and remember Jackson!" and seemed determined to crush everything by their tremendous onslaught. But our men fought with equal determination, and resisted the advance of the rebels with steadfast and unconquerable spirit. The exploits of our soldiers in those tangled, gloomy woods may never be brought fully to light; but they would fill volumes. Not only Berry's, but Sickles's and French's troops, made good fight at their position, receiving Stuart's impetuous assaults; but, after a severe struggle, Sickles was forced from his front line. So also French was pressed back, and the attack was renewed on Sickles.

Lee meanwhile attacked the centre and left, where Slocum and Hancock were in command; but he was gallantly

met by our men. An order was given to fall back to Chancellor House, which was done; and for an hour or more the battle raged at the angle of the roads. Our line, however, soon began to waver; Hooker abandoned his headquarters, now on fire, and retired to a new line, about a mile nearer to the river and covering the fords. The rebels made a dash, and between ten and eleven o'clock gained possession of Chancellorsville. The position taken by Hooker was a strong one, the right flank resting on the Rapidan and the left on the Rappahannock. The corps of Meade and Reynolds, which, as seems very singular, had not been called into action at any of those times when help was so greatly needed, were formed on the new lines, together with the troops falling back as above stated. Lee was preparing to make a vigorous assault with his entire force, when news from Fredericksburg compelled his attention in another direction.

Sedgwick, it will be remembered, had been left some three miles below Fredericksburg to await developments of the main army at Chancellorsville. The serious injury inflicted on Hooker by Jackson's bold movement, induced the former to send orders to Sedgwick to occupy Fredericksburg, seize the heights, gain the plank road towards Chancellorsville, and move out to join Hooker, destroying any force he might meet, and reaching his assigned position by daylight, on Sunday morning. This was a movement which, if successfully carried out, was of great importance, but which also involved serious risk. Sedgwick received the order at eleven o'clock on Saturday night, and immediately set about its execution. Some hours before daylight, after sharp skirmishing, he occupied the town, and soon after, Gibbon's division crossed from Falmouth to join him. Sedgwick concluded, under all the circumstances, to carry, by assault, the heights immediately in the rear of the town, including Marye's Hill and the stone wall at its base, where our troops had suffered so severely during Burnside's campaign. Much time had already been consumed; the forenoon was fast passing, when the deadly struggle began for driving the rebels out of their position; but it was executed with a gallantry unsurpassed at any time. A thousand of our men were killed, and the rebels made a hand-to-hand fight on the crest and over the guns. The rebel troops under Early retreated over the telegraph road, in a southwardly direction, leaving the plank road to Chancellorsville open and free for Sedgwick's forward movement. Gladly seizing the opportunity, he began his advance at once.

It was this position of affairs which demanded Lee's attention; for unless Sedgwick were checked, he would certainly prove a formidable foe in the rear, while Hooker with his army was in front. Lee promptly sent a portion of his troops to assail Sedgwick, not being apprehensive, it seems, that Hooker would venture meanwhile any steps in the offensive. Sedgwick was moving as rapidly as was possible, when, being now about half way between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, he was met by the rebel troops. A sharp

encounter took place at Salem Heights, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, and Sedgwick was unable to do more than hold his own, and hardly that, for his losses were very heavy (probably quite 5,000) and the enemy were attacking him from several different points. This was on Sunday night.

On Monday morning, May 4th, Lee finding it necessary to get rid of Sedgwick before attacking Hooker in his new line of defence, ordered reinforcements on the ground, so as to cut Sedgwick off from, or drive him across, the Rappahannock. The attack was not begun till late in the afternoon, when the rebels rushed furiously upon our men; but Sedgwick's force resisted stubbornly, notwithstanding they were forced to yield ground on the left. Darkness soon after put an end to further fighting, and under cover of the night, the corps of Sedgwick crossed the river at Banks's Ford, on a pontoon bridge laid the day before.* Having thus relieved himself of any trouble from this quarter, Lee now determined to attack Hooker with all his force at daylight, on Wednesday, May 6th. During the night, however, Hooker, who seemed to have lost all the spirit which men supposed to belong to "Fighting Joe," ordered the army across the Rappahannock, and "ingloriously" left the rebels masters of the field.

1863.

The losses on our side, in this badly managed Chancellorsville affair, were 17,197 killed, wounded, and missing. There were left behind on the retreat the killed and wounded, fourteen pieces of artillery, and 20,000 stand of arms; Lee claimed also to have 5,000 prisoners. The rebel loss was said to be, in all, 10,281.

Stoneman, it will be remembered, (see p. 280), had been ordered with a fine body of cavalry, some 10,000 in number, to operate against the rebel communications, and thereby, it was hoped, greatly to aid the plans of Hooker in his advance upon Chancellorsville. It was intended that he should precede the army by at least a fortnight; but very unfortunately, heavy and continuous rains delayed the cavalry movement until April 29th, when the infantry crossed the river. Stoneman's command was then divided into two columns; one which was under Averill, moved to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and encountered two regiments of rebels, who retired towards Gordonsville. Thence he proceeded to Culpepper, dispersed quite a large force, destroyed rebel stores, etc. After considerable active service, Averill was ordered, May 2d, to join Hooker at once. The other column, under Buford, was charged with the breaking up the Richmond and Fredericksburg Railroad, the destroying of bridges, and everything else which could be of advantage to the enemy. A large amount of damage of

* Hooker's course towards Sedgwick has been sharply criticised, because especially he took no steps to aid the latter in forming a junction with him. Before the committee on the conduct of the war he laid the blame of the disaster of Chancellorsville on Sedgwick's failing to join to him on Sunday morning. "This is a cruel charge," says Mr. Swinton, "to bring against a commander now beyond the reach of detraction; whose brilliant exploit in carrying the Fredericksburg Heights and his subsequent fortitude in a trying situation, shine out as the one relieving brightness amid the gloom of that hapless battle."—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 305.

various kinds was done, and Col. Kilpatrick with his force dashed up within two miles of Richmond; but the important Fredericksburg and Richmond Railroad was not struck till the 3d of May, and then only trifling injury was inflicted. The James River canal was also damaged but slightly. The principal effect of the raid was to rouse and alarm the entire region; but, as far as any military gain to Hooker, or any future operations in Virginia were concerned, Stoneman's raid was of very little consequence.

The army having escaped across the Rappahannock, on Wednesday, May 6th, resumed its old quarters at Falmouth, and on the same day Hooker issued a congratulatory address, which was in bad taste, to say the least, and might better have been dispensed with under the circumstances. The war department also, under date of May 8th, 1863, in a dispatch sent to the governers of the northern states, endeavored to put the best face possible upon matters, as follows:—"The president and general-in-chief have just returned from the Army of the Potomac. The principal operations of Gen. Hooker failed, but there has been no serious disaster to the organization and efficiency of the army. It is now occupying its former position on the Rappahannock, having recrossed the river without any loss in the movement. Not more than a third of Gen. Hooker's force was engaged. Gen. Stoneman's operations have been a brilliant success. Part of his force advanced to within two miles of Richmond, and the enemy's communications have been cut in every direction. The Army of the Potomac will speedily resume offensive operations."

A military critic of repute, as well as of some pretensions, devotes a number of pages to what he calls "Observations on the battle of Chancellorsville," which are severe but not undeserved, and which show how it was that an "action which, opening with an exhibition of grand tactics, marked by masterly skill, sank into conduct so feeble and faulty as to be almost beneath criticism." We have room for only the concluding paragraph: "Not the Army of the Potomac was beaten at Chancellorsville, but its commander; and Gen. Hooker's conduct inflicted a very severe blow to his reputation. The officers despised his generalship, and the rank and file were puzzled at the result of a battle in which they had been foiled without being fought, and caused to retreat without the consciousness of having been beaten."* 1863.

* "*Army of the Potomac*," pp. 303–307.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1863.

DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH: NAVAL OPERATIONS: BANKS AND PORT HUDSON.

Department of the South — Hunter in command — Gen. Saxton, and negro troops — The iron-clads in the Ogeechee — Privateer Nashville destroyed by Commander Worden — Movements of the rebels in Charleston harbor — Lofty claims as to breaking the blockade — Attack on Fort McAllister — Negroes drafted to serve in the army — Beauregard's appeal — Dupont begins the attack on Charleston — His force — Beauregard's vast and formidable preparations — Opening of the battle — Terrific fire of the rebels — Bravery of our officers and men in the assault — Dupont gives up the attempt for the present to take Charleston — Gillmore succeeds Hunter — Department of the Gulf — Banks sent to succeed Butler — Expedition under Banks — Address to the people of Louisiana, etc. — Military movements — Port Hudson, its position and strength — Attempt to sail past the batteries — Farragut's ship alone succeeds — Losses, etc. — Banks's demonstration against Port Hudson — Operations against the rebels west of New Orleans, near Teche River — Queen of the West destroyed — Further movements — Entire success — Banks occupies Alexandria — Enters upon attack and siege of Port Hudson — Long and tedious delays — Steady progress — Rebel General Gardner surrenders — Severity of the blow to the rebel cause.

IN a previous chapter (see p. 151), we have given a brief narrative of affairs in the department of the South. There had not much of any importance been effected, owing to the weakness of the force under the commander of this department; and since Gen. Mitchel's death, October 30th, 1862, but little had been attempted or done, beyond keeping a vigilant watch on the part of the blockading force in view of subsequent undertakings. Gen. Hunter, on the 20th of January, resumed command, at Port Royal, of the department of the South. Vigorous preparations were entered upon, while the monitors and iron-clads, from which much was expected in regard to conflicts with the rebels, were being completed at the North. The original Monitor, as we have before noted (p. 136),* passed out of existence on the last day of the year 1862, with circumstances of painful interest. Her companion, the Passaic, with the Montauk, and the formidable battery, the New Ironsides, made their appearance at Port Royal about the middle of January. Active operations were now promised, and speedy employment in the field.

1863.

Gen. Saxton, who had been sent by the secretary of war, in June, 1862, to give attention to the abandoned plantations, and the people, especially the negroes, in the department of the

* The Monitor left Fortress Monroe, on the 29th of December, in tow of the gun boat Rhode Island, on her way to the South. The next day she passed Hatteras Shoals in safety; but that night there set in a furious storm from the southwest, which dashed over and soon began to fill the doomed vessel. The Rhode Island did all that was possible in endeavoring to relieve the Monitor; but it was impossible to save her. She went down about two o'clock on the morning of December 31st. Commander Bankhead, in command of the Monitor at the time of the disaster, with six of his officers and forty men, were brought back in safety on the Rhode Island to Fortress Monroe. Four officers and twelve men of the Monitor were lost, and one officer and seven men of the Rhode Island, in their efforts to save the men on the iron-clad.

South, and who was to report directly, once a week at least, to the war department,* announced, about this date, the complete organization of the first (negro) regiment of South Carolina volunteers, Colonel Higginson being in command. He also gave it as his decided opinion, that this body of troops was "not surpassed by any white regiment in the department."

Admiral Dupont, in command of the South Atlantic squadron, for the purpose of testing the iron-clads recently arrived at Port Royal, ordered the Montauk, Commander Worden, to the Ogeechee River, opening into the Ossabaw Sound, on the Georgia coast, and through which there was an approach to within ten miles of Savannah. The privateer Nashville, which had made a number of successful trips as a blockade runner between Charleston, Wilmington and Nassau, had, in July, 1862, taken refuge in the Ogeechee, and was compelled by our fleet to remain there. For seven months she had thus been confined to the river, the defences of which had been meanwhile created and strengthened by various obstructions, and by the erection of Fort McAllister at an advantageous bend of the stream. To destroy these works and capture the Nashville, was the object proposed for the navy. It was known that the Nashville, now fitted as a privateer, was ready for sea, and it was rumored that the Fingal, a British steamer, converted into a formidable iron-clad war vessel at Savannah, would come from that port to her assistance. With these inducements for action, Commander Worden began the attack on the fort with the Montauk, Seneca, and three other gun boats of the blockading squadron, on the 27th of January. For five hours through the forenoon, an "artillery duel" was kept up, chiefly between the fort and the monitor, the latter being struck thirteen times, with little or no damage. A few indentations on her iron surface were the only injuries she sustained. She was the greater part of the action within about 1,600 yard of the fort, upon which no serious impression seems to have been made. Another attempt was made by Commander Worden with the same force on Sunday, the 1st of February, at as close quarters as the obstructions of stakes and torpedoes, and natural difficulties of the river permitted, within a thousand yards of the battery, but with no better success. In this second action the Montauk received sixty-one shots; her smoke-stack was riddled with balls, and her flag-staff carried away, yet she came out without serious injury. The fort was somewhat damaged in this engagement; a 30-pounder was dismounted, and the parapet badly torn in several places. Major Gallie was killed, and seven privates injured by concussion. The principal result thus far appeared to be to test the defensive qualities of the monitor class of vessels. **1863.**

The Nashville, we may here mention, continued concealed and protected behind Fort McAllister through the month of February to the 27th, when, at evening, she was observed in motion above

* See McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," p. 251. The letter of Secretary Stanton is interesting, in view of the policy and purpose of the government on several perplexing questions.

the battery by Commander Worden. "A reconnaissance immediately made," says he, in his report of the next day to Admiral Dupont, "proved that in moving up the river she had grounded in that part of the river known as the seven-miles' reach. Believing that I could, by approaching close to the battery, reach and destroy her with my battery, I moved up at daylight this morning, accompanied by the blockading fleet in these waters, consisting of the Seneca, Lieut.-Commander Gibson; the Wissahickon, Lieut.-Commander Davis, and the Dawn, Acting Lieut.-Commander Barnes. By moving up close to the obstructions in the river, I was enabled, although under a heavy fire from the battery, to approach the Nashville, still aground, within the distance of 1,200 yards. A few well-directed shells determined the range, and soon succeeded in striking her with 11-inch and 15-inch shells. The other gun boats maintained a fire from an enfiladed position upon the battery, and the Nashville at long range. I soon had the satisfaction of observing that the Nashville had caught fire, from the shells exploding in her, in several places; and in less than twenty minutes she was caught in flames forward, aft and amidships. At 9.20 A.M. a large pivot-gun, mounted abaft her foremast, exploded from the heat; at 9.40 her smoke-chimney went by the board; and at 9.55 her magazine exploded with terrific violence, shattering her in smoking ruins. Nothing remains of her. The battery kept up a continuous fire upon this vessel, but struck her but five times, doing no damage whatever. The fire upon the other gun boats was wild, and did them no damage whatever. After assuring myself of the complete destruction of the Nashville, I, preceded by the wooden vessels, dropped down beyond the range of the enemy's guns. In so doing, a torpedo exploded under this vessel, inflicting, however, but little injury. I beg leave, therefore, to congratulate you, sir, upon this final disposition of a vessel which has so long been in the minds of the public as a troublesome pest."

The state of inactivity, which had for sometime prevailed in the vicinity of Charleston, was broken, not long after Gen. Hunter's arrival, and a daring movement was undertaken by the rebel vessels upon the blockading squadron. It appears, that early on the morning of the 29th of January, an iron-clad steamer, the Princess Royal, only four days out from Bermuda, attempted to run the blockade. The gun boat Unadilla immediately took steps to arrest her progress, and fired a couple of shots at the stranger. The Princess Royal was run a shore and abandoned, and was at once taken possession of by the Unadilla. This proved to be a very valuable prize, having engines for iron-clads, rifled guns, ammunition, and stores of all kinds on board. Two days later she was taken to Port Royal, and subsequently sent to Philadelphia for adjudication.

Deeply chagrined at this loss, the rebels determined to make a bold dash, and not only to recover possession of the Princess Royal, but also to attack the blockading squadron. Accordingly, about four o'clock in the morning

of the 31st of January, during the obscurity of a thick haze, two iron-clad steam rams came out of Charleston by the main ship channel, unnoticed by the squadron, and commenced an assault upon the blockading fleet, which, just at this time, was mostly composed of the light class of purchased vessels. The first onset was made upon the steamer Mercedita, formerly a merchant vessel, by the ram commanded by D. N. Ingraham, formerly of the United States service. Almost immediately the Mercedita was rendered helpless by a large shell passing diagonally through the vessel, exploding in the boiler, and blowing a hole some four or five feet square in its exit on the port side. The Mercedita, of necessity, gave up the contest, and her officers and crew having surrendered, were paroled by the rebels.

1863.

The other rebel ram attacked the Keystone State about the same time, and was joined by Ingraham's vessel directly after disabling the Mercedita. The Keystone State was actively engaged in bringing her guns to bear upon the enemy, when a shell exploded in her fore hold and set her on fire. Having got the fire under after a time, the captain of the Keystone State bore down, under full head of steam, upon the nearest ram, intending to sink her; but a shot having passed through both steam chests, she became virtually powerless, and accomplished nothing. The other vessels on the station at the time, not being able to cope with the rebel force, kept prudently aloof. Ingraham and his two rams, about half-past seven o'clock, retired into the Swash channel behind the shoals. The Mercedita and Keystone State were taken to Port Royal for repairs.

Notwithstanding this bold attempt, no practical advantage was gained by the rebels beyond disabling the two vessels above named; still, they thought something might be made of it by taking the ground that the fleet had been dispersed and the blockade raised. Accordingly, there was published in the Richmond papers of February 2d, a dispatch stating that, in the engagement near Charleston, two United States vessels had been sunk, four set on fire, and the remainder driven away. Beauregard, the military, and Ingraham, the naval, commanders at Charleston, also issued a proclamation, which is worth reading, as a specimen of lofty pretensions resting on a very small basis: "At about five o'clock this morning, the Confederate States naval force on this station attacked the United States blockading fleet off the harbor of the city of Charleston, and sank, dispersed, and then drove out of sight, for a time, the entire hostile fleet; therefore, we, the undersigned, commanders respectively of the naval and land forces in this quarter, do hereby formally declare the blockade by the United States of the said city of Charleston, South Carolina, to be raised by a superior force of the Confederate States, from and after this 31st day of January, A. D. 1863." Further efforts for the same end were put forth; the foreign consuls in Charleston took a pleasant sail the same day in one of the rebel steamers, to see for themselves that no blockade existed; Benjamin, the rebel

secretary of state, gave notice of the gratifying condition of affairs to his agents abroad, and it was hoped that foreign nations would act accordingly, on the faith of his word; all this, however, was quite useless. They paid no attention to Beauregard or his fellow rebels; and when Dupont sent an emphatic refutation of the above proclamation, and set forth the real state of the case, there was no further talk made of the glorious results attained on the morning of January 31st.

In order to test the capabilities of the iron-clads, recently arrived, Capt. Drayton was ordered, on the 3d of March, to take the Passaic, the Patapsco, and the Nahant, and make a concentrated attack upon Fort McAllister (see p. 290). Three mortar boats were also added to the attacking force. The latter, sheltered by a bend of the stream, opened fire, followed by the monitors. The firing was kept up during the day, and by the mortar boats during the night. The result was so far decisive as fully to prove the strength and good qualities of the monitors. The sand fort, protected from a concentrated attack by the channel and obstructions, though often struck, resisted, without serious damage, the mass of metal thrown upon it. The fleet of monitors, after a third trial, returned to Port Royal to prepare for the attack on Charleston.

In view of the projected naval attack, and in order to increase the strength of the military arm in the department of the South, Gen. Foster, in command of the North Carolina department, was sent with a large siege equipage, and a considerable force to aid in this important undertaking. He, however, for some unexplained reason, returned to North Carolina, leaving his troops to take part in the work now close at hand. On the 5th of March, Hunter issued a general order, announcing the long-expected forward movement, and promising the due rewards of bravery and good conduct, and his force, consisting of about 7,000 men, was brought to Stono Inlet.* As their share in attacking the rebels depended on the success of the naval operations, they were compelled to be lookers-on, and, we are sorry to say, had no opportunity of responding to the appeals in Hunter's address to them.

Beauregard, in command at Charleston, and not an inattentive observer of what was going on, had been actively engaged for a long time in employing all his engineering skill to render Charleston impregnable; and as early as the 18th of February, apprehending what was to come, he issued a proclamation, urging all non-combatants to retire, and appealing to "all the able-bodied men, from the seaboard to the mountains, to rush to arms. Be not too exacting (he said) in the choice of weapons; pikes and scythes will do for exterminating your enemies, spades and shovels for

* In order that the troops in the department might be placed in active service, Hunter, at the same time, ordered that the able-bodied male negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty, within the military lines of the department, be drafted to serve for garrison purposes. As a matter of general interest, in this connection, we may mention here, that the negro troops sent to Florida, in March, did excellent service, and sustained the opinion of those who held that with proper drilling and with fair opportunity, they would show themselves capable of becoming good and reliable soldiers.

protecting your firesides. To arms, fellow-citizens! Come to share with us our danger, our brilliant success, our glorious death."

During the month of March the preliminary preparations for the attack having been completed, the vessels of the fleet and transports were forwarded to the place of rendezvous on North Edisto River. As it was important for crossing the bar with the iron-clads, to secure the advantage of the high spring tides at the beginning of April, Dupont watched carefully the opportune moment. On the 5th of April, after several days of high wind, the sea being very smooth and the tides favorable, the fleet left its anchorage, and early in the forenoon arrived at the blockading station off Charleston harbor. Here, Commander Boutelle, of the Coast Survey, assisted in sounding and marking out the channel,—a new one, formed by the sinking of the "stone fleet," which was found of a greater depth of water than the old. These and other matters occupied the day. Early on the following morning, the 6th, the iron-clad fleet crossed the bar and was ranged opposite Morris Island, at the southern entrance of the harbor, within a mile of the shore; but that day was lost for active operations by a thick haze which prevented any observations of the shore. At noon, on the 7th of April, signal was given by the Admiral from his flag ship, the New Ironsides, for the vessels to weigh anchor. According to the plan of attack, they were to take position in the following order, at intervals of one cable's length, viz.: 1. Weehawken, Capt. Jno. Rodgers; 2. Passaic, Capt. Drayton; 3. Montauk, Commander Worden; 4. Patapsco, Commander Ammen; 5. New Ironsides, Commodore Turner; 6. Catskill, Commander G. W. Rodgers; 7. Nantucket, Commander Fairfax; 8. Nahant, Commander Downes; 9. Keokuk, Lieut.-Commander A. C. Rhind. The flag ship, New Ironsides, was a formidable iron-covered battery, mounted eighteen guns; sixteen 11-inch and two 200-pounder Parrots; the rest were of the monitor class, and had each two guns, mostly an 11-inch and 15-inch gun in a single turret, with the exception of the Keokuk, which had two turrets with an 11-inch gun in each. The Canandaigua, and four other gunboats of the squadron, constituted a reserve outside the bar, and were to support the iron-clads, when Fort Sumter being reduced, they should be ready to attack the batteries on Morris Island. 1863.

The preparations made by Beaure gard and his fellow laborers for the defence of Charleston were of the most extensive and formidable character. Beginning with the northern or eastern entrance by way of Maffit's Channel, there were, on Sullivan's Island, beside Fort Moultrie, two large and powerful sand batteries guarding the channel; there was Fort Sumter, built on an artificial island in the middle of the channel near the entrance of the inner harbor, a mile and a half west of Fort Moultrie, and strengthened to the very highest degree; there was Battery Bee, Mount Pleasant battery on the mainland, and Castle Pinckney, built on an

island, about a mile from the city,—all on the northerly side of the harbor. On the other side of the harbor were Wappoo battery, on James Island, near Charleston, and Fort Johnson; between this latter and Castle Pinckney was Fort Ripley, built on an artificial island in what is called the "middle ground." On Cumming's Point, Morris Islet, opposite Fort Moultrie, was Battery Gregg, and a mile south of this Fort Wagner, and a fort at Light House Island covering the landing at that place. Several hundred guns were mounted on these numerous works; and in addition, the channel between Fort Sumter and Sullivan's Island was obstructed by rows of floating casks, supporting torpedoes and other submarine obstacles; there were also, in the channel between Sumter and Cumming's Point, no less than four rows of piles extending nearly up to Charleston.

At half past twelve o'clock on Saturday, April 7th, the fleet began to move. The line of battle was formed in the order assigned to each ship in the admiral's programme, the Keokuk, which brought up the rear of the line, lying down nearly opposite Lighthouse Inlet, and the Weehawken leading the van. The head of the line was some four miles from the position designated for the fleet to occupy before opening fire, and the batteries on Morris Island were meanwhile to be passed. Soon after starting, an hour's delay occurred, in consequence of a raft attached to the Weehawken, for exploding torpedoes and clearing away obstacles, having got deranged. Slowly the leading vessel, followed by the others, moved onward, expecting the batteries on Morris Island to deliver their fire; but the rebels allowed them to pass in entire silence. Ere long the iron-clads reached the entrance to the inner harbor, and about three P.M. came within range of Fort Sumter and the batteries on Sullivan's Island. Directly the guns of Fort Moultrie opened on the Weehawken, and were speedily followed by those of Fort Sumter, and the several tremendous batteries on Sullivan's and Morris Islands. The plan was, to pass round and assault Fort Sumter on the northwest face, as the weakest and most assailable part of the fort; but Capt. Rodgers found, almost immediately, that he could not force the Weehawken through the obstructions in her path. Some confusion followed, on Capt. Rodgers turning his ship to get a better position, for the channel was narrow and the tide strong. The flag ship, too, was caught by the tideway, and became in measure unmanageable; while, to add to the annoyance, the Catskill and Nantucket fell foul the Ironsides, and it took time and labor to get them clear and allow them to pass on.

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In this state of affairs, Dupont made signal to the fleet to disregard the movements of the flag ship and assume such positions as were deemed most available. This was at once done, and a little before four o'clock, the eight iron-clads were ranged opposite the eastern and north-eastern front of Fort Sumter, at distances of from 550 to 800 yards. Of course, the rebels were not idle or inactive in the meanwhile;

on the contrary, they poured forth from their vast batteries both shells and shot in immense profusion, and with a rapidity almost beyond conception. During the climax of the fire, as a looker-on declares, 160 shots were counted in a single minute. Some of the officers of the iron-clads affirmed that the shots struck their vessels as fast as the ticking of a watch. It was estimated that 3,500 rounds were fired by the rebels during the brief engagement.

In the midst of this terrible fire, enveloping, as it were, the iron-clads, they nevertheless devoted themselves to their especial work, the assault on Fort Sumter. The gallant Rhind pushed his vessel up to within 500 yards of the fort, and became a special target for the rebels; the captains of the other vessels followed his daring lead; and to the extent of their ability strove to accomplish the great object in view. But it was impossible to endure long the rebel hurricane of fire. The Keokuk received her death blow within half an hour; she was struck ninety times, and had nineteen holes above and below the water line, and got away just in time to sink out of sight by evening. Others of the iron-clads began to show signs of disablement, and it became evident that the contest was too unequal to render it expedient to continue it; Dupont, therefore, about five o'clock, gave the signal to withdraw from action, intending to resume the attack next morning. On ascertaining, however, the injuries received by the several vessels, and estimating his force as quite unable to overcome the obstructions in the harbor and silence the vast works on every hand, the admiral expressed his conviction that it was utterly impracticable to take the city of Charleston, as matters now stood. The entire fleet had been able to fire only 139 shots against Sumter, with comparatively small injury to the fort; while the rebels had hurled against the iron-clads thousands of shells, shots and steel-pointed bolts, and had inflicted upon them serious damage. Although the admiral's opinion as to the inefficiency of iron-clads of the monitor class was not shared by all,* yet, at his order, the several vessels were taken to Port Royal for repairs, except the New Ironsides, which anchored outside Charleston bar. The casualties were very few, considering the fierceness of the rebel fire; one man died of injuries received, and about twenty-five were wounded, chiefly on the Keokuk and Nahant.

Gen. Hunter and his men at Stono Inlet were waiting for an opportunity of joining in the attack; but the ill success of the fleet prevented their doing so. Hunter wrote a letter to Dupont, lauding very highly the gallantry of the fleet. "A mere spectator (he said) I could do nothing but pray for you, which, believe me, I did most heartily, for you and all the gallant men under your command, who sailed so calmly and fearlessly into and under and through a concentric fire which has never heretofore had a parallel in the history of warfare. . . . Thank

* For an interesting sketch of the opinions and views of officers in the navy respecting the value and efficiency of iron-clad vessels of the Monitor class, see Appleton's *"Annual Cyclopædia"* for 1863, pp. 664-667.

God for the results as far as they go. May He have you in His keeping through whatever chances are before you. No country can ever fail that has men capable of suffering what your iron-clads had yesterday to endure."

Hardly anything of importance occurred in the department of the South for some time after this. We may, however, note here the destructive raids, in the beginning of June, led by Col. Montgomery, with several companies of negro soldiers, assisted by gun boats at landings on the Combabee River, where many valuable plantations were destroyed, and on the coast of Georgia, where great damage was inflicted on Brunswick and Darien in an ascent of the Altamaha River. As to further operations against Charleston, it was considered necessary for success that military occupation should be had of Morris Island, and that land batteries should be erected on that island to assist in the reduction of Fort Sumter. This being a work requiring especially engineering skill and ability, the authorities at Washington thought best to relieve Hunter of his command, and, early in June, to send in his place Gen. Q. A. Gillmore.

In a former chapter (see p. 190), we gave an account of important operations in the department of the Gulf, and on the Mississippi River. We ask the reader again to take up the thread of the narrative, and note the operations which, in the summer of 1863, resulted so gloriously for the Union cause as to break down the rebel power on the Mississippi, cut off the "Confederacy" entirely from all aid west of the great river, and restore both Vicksburg and Port Hudson to their rightful owners.

Gen. Butler had been relieved of his command at New Orleans, in December, 1862. No special reason was ever assigned for this act on the part of the government; but it was generally supposed that, as he had gone through with some very severe and very odious labor, and was besides obnoxious to a large number of citizens, to foreign consuls and such like, the authorities at the capital deemed it better to place some one else in charge of the department, who might begin, as it were, anew, and manage matters more quietly and satisfactorily all round. Gen. N. P. Banks was the man selected, and the choice was considered to be a good one in every point of view.

This able officer was engaged, in the autumn of 1862, in fitting out an expedition in the North, the destination of which was kept as secret as possible, but was supposed to be intended for the South, and especially for the benefit of Texas. Having made all his arrangements, Gen. Banks sailed from New York at the beginning of December, 1862,* with some fifty vessels and about 10,000 men, and on the 16th of the same month, at New Orleans, formally assumed command of the department of the gulf. His opening proclamation was judicious, conciliatory, and to the point. "The duty with which

* In company with Gen. Banks there sailed also a number of law officers, constituting the provisional court of Louisiana. For an interesting article, giving the history of this court, its appointment, the numerous and instructive cases which came before it, its decisions, etc., see Appleton's "*Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, pp. 770—776.

I am charged," he said, "requires me to assist in the restoration of the government of the United States. It is my desire to secure to the people of every class all the privileges of possession and enjoyment which are consistent with public safety, or which it is possible for a beneficent and just government to confer. . . . The Valley of the Mississippi is the chosen seat of population, product and power on this continent. In a few years twenty-five millions of people, unsurpassed in material resources and capacity for war, will swarm upon its fertile rivers. Those who assume to set conditions upon their exodus to the Gulf, count upon a power not given to man. The country washed by the waters of the Ohio, the Missouri and the Mississippi, can never be permanently severed. . . . This country cannot be permanently divided. Ceaseless wars may drain its blood and treasure, domestic tyrants or foreign foes may grasp the sceptre of its power, but its destiny will remain unchanged. It will still be united. God has ordained it."

A week later, Banks addressed the people of Louisiana, setting forth the conditions of the Emancipation Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln in special reference to that state, in which he not only enjoined patience and forbearance on the difficult and unsettled relations of master and slave, but also declared, in plain terms, that the rebellion must necessarily result in the destruction of slavery. "The first gun at Sumter," he remarked, "proclaimed emancipation. The continuance of the contest, there commenced, will consummate that end, and the history of the age will leave no other permanent trace of the rebellion. Its leaders will have accomplished what other men could not have done." *

When President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was confirmed and set forth as complete, on the 1st of January, 1863, (p. 272), portions of Louisiana, it will be recollected, were especially exempted from its provisions. This left the condition of the negroes subject to the laws of Congress which had been passed, and the exigencies of military rule in the department. The latter of course forbade vagrancy and crime, as sources of disorder in the community. It was necessary in some way to adjust the relations of capital and negro labor. This was done by authorizing the Sequestration Commission sitting in the state, to establish with the planters a proper system of remuneration, for which the negroes should be required to render faithful service. "This," said Gen. Banks, "may not be the best, but it is now the only practical system. Wise men will do what they can when they cannot do what they would. It is the law of success. In three years from the restoration of peace under this voluntary system of labor, the state of

* We are sorry to state here, for the credit of New Orleans, that the riotously disposed people of the city, elated at having got rid of Butler, were ready to abuse the leniency of his successor. Anonymous letters filled with threats, cheering of Jeff. Davis in the streets, insulting language towards the military authorities, and such like, brought forth from Gen. Banks a prompt and severe rebuke. He also gave all concerned clearly to understand, that he would punish violations of order and propriety "with the sharpest severity known to the military laws."

Louisiana will produce threefold the produce of its most prosperous year in the past."

Banks, at an early day, attempted to send reinforcements to Galveston, Texas; but it was too late. Magruder had captured the troops there at the beginning of January (p. 278).

The next attempt, of a military kind, in the department, was in the region of the Bayou Teche, west of the Mississippi, where the rebels were committing depredations, aided by a gun boat named the Cotton. On the 11th of January, Gen. Weitzel crossed to Brashear City, and embarked his men for the ascent of the Atchafalaya, the cavalry and artillery proceeding by land. The Cotton took refuge in the Bayou Teche, where she was not long after attacked by a gun boat, supported by the troops under Weitzel. Matters soon began to look so badly for the rebels that they set the Cotton on fire to prevent her capture. Having accomplished this result, the gun boats were withdrawn, and the troops returned to their encampment at Thibodeaux.

In the early part of March, Banks concentrated his force at Baton Rouge, in number about 25,000 men. **1863.** Twenty miles above, the rebels were strongly entrenched at Port Hudson, the most important position held by them on the Mississippi below Vicksburg. Situated on an elevated, almost perpendicular cliff, at a contracted bend of the stream, where the narrowed current ran with great violence, its formidable line of batteries threatened destruction to any hostile fleet, while on the land side the approach, easily capable of defence, was beset by swamps and other apparently invincible obstacles.

The first movement of importance in this quarter was made by the navy, in aid of the operations of Grant and Porter against Vicksburg. At the beginning of February, it will be remembered (p. 250) that Commander Ellet led the way in the Queen of the West in the passage of the batteries at that place, the design being to interrupt the enemy's supplies from the west of the Mississippi. After inflicting much damage in this way, the vessel was lost by the treachery of a pilot, while ascending Red River. On receiving the news of this misfortune, Admiral Farragut determined to run past the rebel batteries at Port Hudson, and assist the operations of Porter on the river from above. The land forces of Banks were at the same time to threaten Port Hudson on the rear, and as far as possible divert their attention from Farragut's movements.

This daring attempt on the part of Farragut, was made in the night of Saturday, March 14th. At nine and a half o'clock, P.M., he led the way at the head of his fleet on the flag-ship Hartford, accompanied by the gun boat Albatross, made fast to her port side. The other gun boats followed; and six mortar vessels were brought up to shell the works. As soon as the Hartford came within range of the rebel batteries, a sharp fire was opened upon her, which was returned with shot and shell. In the midst of this fire she succeeded in passing the batteries with the Albatross. The Richmond, Genessee and

Monongahela which followed, were not so fortunate, receiving injuries which prevented their passing the batteries.

The Mississippi, the last in the line, now advanced, and was pushing forward successfully, when she grounded on the west bank of the river, exposed to the enemy's batteries astern, on the bow, and opposite to her. Finding it impossible, after intense effort, to get her off, it was resolved to abandon her. The engines were ordered to be destroyed, the guns spiked, and the ship set on fire. The officers and crew were hurried on shore, and were nearly all saved. The fire raged on the ship for an hour, when the water, flowing aft, settled her stern, and she gradually slid off into the current, her guns discharging, and shells on deck exploding in every direction, until she was blown in pieces. This was about half past five P.M. The officers and crew lost everything except what they stood in. They saved nothing, and they left nothing in the hands of the rebels.

Banks, meanwhile, had led his troops from Baton Rouge in three divisions, under command of Gens. Augur, Grover and Emory, to Springfield Cross Roads, about five miles from Port Hudson. There was some skirmishing with the rebel pickets, but no important advance beyond. On the night of the 14th of March, the cannonading of the fleet was distinctly heard by the soldiers, who also saw the light of the burning Mississippi. The next day the troops, according to orders, returned to Baton Rouge.

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* In Halleck's opinion, expressed at a subsequent date, "Had our land forces invested Port Hudson at this time, it could have been easily reduced, as its garrison was weak. This would have opened communication by the Mississippi with Gen. Grant at Vicksburg. But the strength of the place was not then known, and Gen. Banks resumed his operations by the Teche and Atchafalaya."

The passage of the batteries by Farragut enabled him, as we shall see further on, to render material assistance to Porter and the army of Grant in the passage of the Vicksburg batteries, and especially in the blockade of the Red River. When this was accomplished, he left his flag-ship, the Hartford, above, and returned by the Atchafalaya to take part in the final operations for the reduction of Port Hudson.

Banks's attention was now turned to that part of Louisiana west of New Orleans, and bordering on the Teche River. Since the expedition of Weitzel in January (see p. 299), the rebels in that quarter had erected new fortifications and concentrated their forces, aided by a fleet of gun boats, at several stations on the Teche River, with the intention, it was supposed, of threatening New Orleans. Banks, suspending operations for the time against Port Hudson, advanced with his forces to Berwick, where he arrived on the 11th of April, and commenced a series of active movements, which speedily swept the enemy from their strongholds throughout this central region from the Gulf to the Red River.

At the outset of the march, on the 12th and 13th of April, there was a prolonged engagement of Emory's and Weitzel's divisions with the enemy, at an entrenched position in the vicinity of Pattersonville, at

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the mouth of the Teche. After a series of sharp encounters, the rebels, having suffered a heavy loss, on the night of the 13th abandoned their positions.

Meanwhile, Grover had, with the force under his command, and a number of transports and gun boats, ascended Grand Lake from Brashear City, and effected a landing in the enemy's rear at Irish Bend. Having crossed the Teche at that place, our troops marched towards Franklin, and, on the 14th of April, routed the rebels after their retreat from the batteries below. These fled in confusion, burning, in their retreat, two gun boats and a number of steamers on the Teche. Banks advanced with his forces to New Iberia, and took possession of and destroyed in the vicinity the extensive salt works, which had been a constant source of supply to the rebels.

On the 14th of April, our fleet encountered the rebel ram Queen of the West, which, after her capture on the Red River, had been brought into the Atchafalaya River, and had now descended to Grand Lake to attack the advancing Union forces. As she was moving onward to the assault, a shell from one of the gun boats exploded a box of ammunition on her deck, when she was immediately enveloped in flames. Strenuous efforts were made by the fleet to save the lives of her crew, and ninety-five were taken from the vessel and the water. About forty, it was supposed, perished. The vessel was burnt to the water's edge, but her guns were saved.

Banks lost no time in pushing vigorously forward. On the evening of the 17th of April, Grover met the rebels at Bayou Vermilion. They were strongly entrenched, with a battery of six pieces of artillery. After destroying the bridge over the bayou, the enemy made a hasty retreat. Some delay occurred in rebuilding the bridge; but on the 19th, the march was resumed, and continued to the vicinity of Grand Coteau, and on the following day Opelousas was occupied by our troops. A cavalry advance was made to Washington, on the Courtebleau, a distance of six miles. Gen. Dwight was ordered to push forward through Washington towards Alexandria. This was done, with excellent success, notwithstanding the rebels had destroyed several important bridges over the bayous in their retreat. Butte-a-la-Rose was taken, on the 20th of April, by Lieut. Cooke of the navy, with his gun boat and four companies of infantry, and thus was secured what Banks called the key of the Atchafalaya. "We hold," he said, "the key of the position. Among the evidences of our victory are 2,000 prisoners, two transports, and twenty guns (including one piece of the Valvado battery), taken; and three gun boats and eight transports destroyed. The Union loss in these engagements was very slight."*

* While at Opelousas, Gen. Banks issued an order, dated May 1st, 1863, in which he proposed to organize a corps d'armée consisting of negroes, to be designated as the "Corps d'Afrique." The plan was, to have eighteen regiments of 500 in each (9,000 in all), representing all arms, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, with appropriate uniforms, etc. There was more or less diversity of opinion as to enlisting negroes and making them part of the army. The experience, however, of the next year, and Gen. Thomas's investigations and labors in connection with negro enlistments, proved favorable to the plan of using them as helpers in putting down the rebellion.

Following up these advantages, Banks, on the 8th of May, had advanced to and occupied Alexandria on the Red River, immediately after its capture by the naval force of Porter in one of his excursions from before Vicksburg. The co-operation of the two armies below and above Port Hudson was thus secured by an interior line of communication, while, what was of the utmost consequence, the rebel supplies from the west of the Mississippi were effectually cut off. In view of these various operations, under such men as Farragut, Porter, Grant, and Banks, the fall of the rebel stronghold at Vicksburg and Port Hudson was looked for confidently at an early day.

Immediately after his occupation of Alexandria, Banks moved down the Red River, making Semmesport on the Atchafalaya his rendezvous, where, crossing the Mississippi, he landed with a portion of his army, on the 21st May, at Bayou Sara, a few miles above Port Hudson. On the 23d, a junction was effected with the advance of Gens. Augur and T. W. Sherman, who had brought up their forces from Baton Rouge. The Union line now occupied the Bayou Sara road at a distance of five miles from Port Hudson. Augur had an engagement with a portion of the enemy at Port Hudson Plains, on the Bayou Sara road, in the direction of Baton Rouge, which resulted in repulsing the rebels with heavy loss.* On the 25th of May, the enemy was compelled to abandon his first line of works. Two days later, a general assault was made, which was kept up during the day. The rebels were driven into their works, and our troops moved up to the fortifications, holding the opposite sides of the parapet, with the enemy on the right. "Our limited acquaintance with the ground," according to Banks's statement, "and the character of the works, which were almost hidden from our observation until the moment of approach, alone prevented the capture of the post."*

The great strength of the rebel position at Port Hudson rendered a regular investment necessary. The garrison was completely cut off from supplies, and would be ultimately starved out, if not compelled to surrender by assault. Banks, on the 14th of June, made a proposal to the rebel commander to submit to necessity and spare useless slaughter; but he refused. Several unsuccessful assaults were made by our troops, which did not, however, prevent the pushing forward the siege. A storming party was called for and rapidly filled up; but, happily, their services were not required. The rebel general Gardner, having learned that Vicksburg had fallen, on the 4th of July, felt that he too could and ought to follow such an example. Accordingly, on the 8th of July, Port Hudson was unconditionally surrendered into the hands of Gen. Banks. The next day formal possession was taken of the

* Brigadier-General Thos. W. Sherman was severely wounded in the right leg with a solid shot, while leading the attack. He was removed to New Orleans, amputation was performed, and Gen. Sherman was relieved by the war department from active service.

* Gen. Banks took occasion to praise, in high terms, the conduct of the negro troops under his command. "They require only good officers, commands of limited numbers, and careful discipline, to make them excellent soldiers."

works. The surrender included 6,233 prisoners, 51 pieces of artillery, 2 steamers, 4,400 pounds of cannon powder, 5,000 small arms, and 150,000 rounds of ammunition.

It was a severe and heavy blow to the rebel cause, and, added to the disaster at Vicksburg, caused great discontent and much murmuring throughout the "Confederacy." On the other hand, the heart of the nation rejoiced, and loyal men everywhere resolved to make every effort for the speedy putting an end to the rebellion, and for restoring to our afflicted country the blessings of peace, unity, and concord.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1863.

OPERATIONS IN MISSISSIPPI: GRANT AND PORTER: SIEGE AND FALL OF VICKSBURG.

Attack on Arkansas Post — Fort Hindman taken — Complete success — Grant's movements — Plan as to Vicksburg — Canal project a failure — Porter sends the Queen of the West to run the batteries — Success — Col. Ellet on the Red River — Projects of approach to Vicksburg, by Tensas River, Moon Lake, etc. — Unsuccessful — Porter's effort by Steele's and Black's bayou — Another gun boat gets past Vicksburg — Grant puts his forces in motion towards New Carthage — Porter resolves to take eight gun boats and three transports past the batteries — Success of the daring undertaking — Other transports follow — Attack on Grand Gulf — Grant marches on Port Gibson — Victory — Col. Grierson's great cavalry raid — Grant's determination to secure his rear — Advance of our troops — Defeat of the rebels at Raymond and Jackson — Pemberton's efforts — Grant's plan of action — Battle of Champion's Hill, or Baker's Creek — Pemberton at the Big Black — Rebel rout complete — The army crosses the river and invests Vicksburg — Co-operation of the fleet under Porter — Lieut. Walker at Yazoo city — Assault on the works at Vicksburg — Another, three days later — Failure of both — Regular siege operations begun — Grant reinforced largely — Mortar batteries — Condition of Vicksburg — Explosion of the first mine — Assault — Second mine sprung — Pemberton proposes to surrender on July 3d — Vicksburg given up and entered by Grant on the 4th of July — Grant reports the result — Porter's share — Sherman's march after Johnston — Greatness of our success.

It had been arranged between Gen. W. T. Sherman and Admiral Porter, just before Gen. McClernand's arrival to take command (see p. 250) of the Army of the Mississippi, that an attack should be made upon Arkansas Post. It was desirable to do this for several reasons; the blow would fall entirely unexpected by the rebels; a victory would be of great service to rouse the spirit of the army after the failure of operations heretofore against Vicksburg; and the works there, called Fort Hindman, were sufficiently strong to encourage the rebels in various annoyances, which ought not to be permitted to exist. McClernand approved of the plan, and steps were taken at once to move the troops up the Mississippi to Montgomery Point, opposite the mouth of the White River. 1863.

On Friday, January 9th, three ironclads under Porter's personal direction, with all the light draft gun boats of the

fleet, moved up the White River, about fifteen miles, when, turning to the left, they passed through a cut-off, eight miles long, into the Arkansas River. Toward the close of the afternoon, preparations were made to land about three miles below Arkansas Post, which is about fifty miles from the mouth of the river. This was accomplished during the evening and part of the next day, and the troops advanced by divisions, so as to invest the fort and be ready to join the attack on the morning of the 11th January. Fort Hindman, against which they were marching, was a rather formidable work, being a regular square bastioned fort, the sides 300 feet in length, with casemates, and surrounded by a wide and deep ditch; it mounted twelve guns, including three Columbiads and four Parrotts, with outer defences; and there were in it about 5,000 men. Situated at a sharp bend of the river, it effectually controlled the passage of the Arkansas, protected Little Rock, the capital of the state, about 100 miles above, and sheltered the Post, where it was built, and the surrounding fertile country.

On the afternoon and during the evening of January 10th, the gun boats opened fire upon the fort, at the distance of about 400 yards, and kept it up for some time. About noon, the next day, a joint attack was begun by the naval and land forces, and was pressed so vigorously that, in the course of three hours, the rebels gave up the contest as hopeless; the white flag was hoisted, and our troops rushed into the works. The victory was complete; over 5,000 prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, 8,000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores were taken; and the rebels were cut off from further use of a position where they could do mischief. The loss on the part of McClernand was about 600, of whom 120 were killed. Porter's loss was slight, and the iron-clads and other vessels, though frequently struck, received no serious injury.

On the 16th of January, an expedition in light draft steamers, under Gen. Gorman and Lieut. Walker, ascended the White River to Duvall's Bluff, about fifty miles from Little Rock, and found the enemy's posts deserted. In consequence of the country being flooded by heavy rains the roads were unfit for cavalry and artillery movements, and hence an overland advance upon Little Rock was compelled to be given up. The expedition returned to Napoleon on the 19th of January.

Having effectually destroyed the rebel works and their surroundings, McClernand with his forces reached Napoleon on the 18th of January, and prepared to take his share in the attack upon Vicksburg. The next day, the transports moved down the river, and being detained by a severe storm, did not reach their destination, Young's Point, until the 21st of January. This Point is on the western side of the Mississippi, about nine miles above Vicksburg, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Yazoo River. The gun boats also dropped down to their stations, and by the end of the month, Grant had gathered his forces from Cairo and up the river, and with an increase of the iron clads under Porter, was prepared to

put into execution the plan which, on consultation, had been adopted as the only feasible one, all things considered.

The great strength of the defences of Vicksburg on the north, and the inutility of attempting an attack again in that direction, led Grant to the conviction that his approaches must be made from the southerly side. For this purpose, he must get his army below the city of Vicksburg, a task by no means easy of accomplishment, since the vast rebel batteries would almost certainly destroy all the transports which might undertake to sail past them. In this position of affairs, work was recommenced upon the canal across the peninsula on the western side of the river; but, as before, the project proved a failure, and early in March, a rapid rise in the river swept away the dam and flooded the entire vicinity. Meanwhile, it was an object of the first importance to cut off the rebel communication on the river between Vicksburg and Port Hudson, which Banks, with the fleet of Farragut was besieging, and to put a stop to the receipt of supplies which the rebels were drawing from Texas. Porter, therefore, resolved to run the risk of sending some of the gun boats down the river, which, if they succeeded in getting past the batteries, would be of especial value below. The first of the vessels which set out upon this daring undertaking was the wooden steam ram, Queen of the West (see p. 299). Col. Ellet, commander of the ram fleet, was on board the Queen, and gave a graphic account of his movement, in his report to Admiral Porter. Very early on the 2d of February, the Queen started on her perilous journey, and was struck only a few times, although hundreds of guns sent forth their iron rain for her destruction. Her cotton barricade got on fire, but the fire was finally put out by cutting the bales loose. Proceeding down the river, the Queen captured three rebel steamers and a number of prisoners, and on the 10th of February, set out on an expedition for much the same purpose, passing the Warrenton batteries, and reaching the Red River the following evening. During several days' active work, Ellet was quite successful in capturing rebel boats, etc., but through the treachery of a pilot, he was compelled to abandon the Queen, and to reach the Mississippi as best he could in his tender, the De Soto. Meeting, near Natchez, the Indianola, a splendid iron-clad, which had run the batteries on the night of the 13th of February, Ellet conferred with the commander of that vessel as to the expediency of attempting again to ascend the Red River, and destroy the rebel works at Gordon's Landing. Lieut. Brown thought the plan feasible, and the Era, one of the vessels captured by Ellet, led the way. Having advanced about three miles, they discovered the W. H. Webb, a very swift rebel steamer, coming towards them, who, as soon as she got sight of the Indianola, turned and fled. Lieut. Brown, on further reflection, concluded not to try to ascend the Red River, and Col. Ellet in the Era made his way up the Mississippi to a station below Vicksburg, after passing the fires at Grand Gulf, Warrenton, etc., without injury.

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A short time after, Brown left the vicinity of the Red River, and took the Indianola to the mouth of the Big Black, which enters the Mississippi at Grand Gulf, forty miles below Vicksburg. On the evening of the 24th of February, as she was preparing to move up the Big Black, two rebel steamers were seen approaching. One was the Webb, and the other the Queen of the West, which had been repaired after the affair on the Red River, and was now brought into action. Attended by several other vessels, the Webb and the Queen attacked the Indianola with great force and energy, who, on her part, responded with the utmost intrepidity. In the course of an hour and a half, the Indianola was struck seven fearful blows, and beginning to sink, she was run ashore and surrendered.*

Meanwhile, the canal project opposite Vicksburg having failed (see p. 305), other undertakings of a similar kind were entered upon, which seemed to promise better success. One was the cutting a channel from the Mississippi to Providence Lake, on the west side, and another, the cutting a channel to Moon Lake, on the east side of the river, and thence entering the Yazoo Pass. Lake Providence is situate in the north-east corner of Louisiana, about seventy-five miles above Vicksburg, and a mile or more west of the Mississippi. The Tensas River flows from it in a southerly direction, and, joining the Washita, the two form the Black River, which empties into the Red River. Grant's idea was, by cutting a canal into the lake to secure an inland passage, and avoid the batteries at both Vicksburg and Port Hudson. The canal was finished, and the water let in on the 16th of March, and a considerable region of territory was flooded; but on trying the pass, and finding serious difficulties in the way, especially as regarded the channel of the Tensas River, the whole matter was given up as impracticable.

The Moon Lake and Yazoo Pass project offered better prospects of success. The passage across the lake (which is eight miles below Helena, Arkansas) to the mouth of the pass is about eight miles, and thence through the pass twelve miles, the Coldwater River is reached. This, after a crooked passage of about forty miles, joins the Tallahatchie, which, in turn, pursues its tortuous way some fifty miles, when it unites with the Yallobusha, the two forming the Yazoo River, with a course of over 200 miles through a very fertile country, to its outlet into the Mississippi, a short distance above Vicksburg. The advantage of securing the navigation of this long and circuitous stream was to take Yazoo City, a hundred miles above the river, in the rear of the works at Haines' Bluff, and to gain a position whence Vicksburg could be approached from the interior. It

* Admiral Porter, in an interesting letter, tells of his sending a "sham monitor" to run the batteries during the night, and of its excellent success; for not only did it frighten the Queen of the West down the river, but it led to the rebel authorities ordering the blowing up of the Indianola. This was accomplished, happily, before they discovered how neatly they had been taken in, and while countermanding orders were under way to prevent it. We may also mention here, that a week later, another old coal barge was sent in the darkness down the river, and that the rebel batteries expended a large amount of ammunition and skill in the steady fire which they kept up upon it.

was necessary to cut the levee at the mouth of the Yazoo Pass, which was done, and an expedition sent by this route on the 25th of February. The stream is about 100 feet wide and arched over by cypress and other trees, lining its banks, which retarded the passage to the Coldwater River. Gen. Ross was in command, with a division of McClernand's corps and two regiments of sharpshooters on the gun boats. Coldwater was reached on the 2nd of March, after much difficulty and trial. The expedition passed on to Greenwood, where was Fort Pemberton, extending from the Tallahatchie to the Yazoo, the two rivers being here a few hundred yards apart. The land around the fort was overflowed, and the gun boats, after several hours' trial, found that they could not silence the rebel batteries. The project consequently was abandoned, and the expedition returned to Helena.

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Shortly before this, Porter started an expedition which came very near being an entire success. It consisted of five iron-clads and a detachment of Sherman's troops, and was conducted by Porter through Steele's and Black's Bayou, so as to reach Haines' Bluff by Deer Creek and Sunflower River. After eight days of toil and trouble, the rebels continually opposing fresh obstructions, Porter gave up the attempt as useless.

Farragut sent a messenger overland on the west side of the Mississippi, asking aid from the fleet above. Two rams, the Lancaster and Switzerland, attempted to run the batteries at Vicksburg, on the 25th of March. The Lancaster was destroyed by the firing of the rebel guns; the Switzerland, though badly injured, got past without being sunk. She was repaired, and did good service during the next fortnight in aiding the attack on the batteries at Grand Gulf, blockading the Red River, and destroying the enemy's transports and a large quantity of corn stored at Bayou Sara for rebel use.

All attempts against Vicksburg from the northerly side were henceforth abandoned as inexpedient, and Grant resolved, with Porter's aid, to get his troops below the city, and make his attack from the lower or rear side, which, it was well understood, was the most easily assailable, and promised the best results. Accordingly, on the 29th of March, Gen. McClernand, with the 13th army corps, moved from Milliken's Bend toward New Carthage, about thirty-five miles below on the Mississippi. Other corps were to follow as rapidly as supplies and ammunition could be transported to them. The progress was very slow and tedious, in consequence of the bad state of the roads, the breaking of the levee at Bayou Vidal, etc., and some weeks were spent in this necessary but fatiguing work.

While this movement of the army was going on, preparations were made for running transports and gun boats past the Vicksburg batteries, these being requisite in order to give the soldiers means of crossing for operations on the Mississippi side of the river. Eight gun boats, the Benton, Porter's flag-ship, the Lafayette, the Price, the Louisville, the Ca-

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rondelet, the Pittsburg, the Tuscumbia, and the Mound City, were selected for the service. All of these, except the Price, were iron-clads, and all had such additional protection as could be afforded by bales of cotton and of hay, heavy timbers, railroad iron, and other means which experience had taught to be efficient. The transports were the Forest Queen, the Henry Clay, both side-wheel steamers, and the propeller Silver Wave. They were laden with supplies, and protected, as far as possible, by hay and cotton placed round their machinery.

On the night of the 16th of April, everything was in readiness, and the expedition set out on its dangerous journey. The plan was, for the iron-clads to pass down in single file, a few hundred yards apart, and that when in front of the batteries they should pour in their broadsides, and under cover of the smoke, the transports should strive to pass unnoticed.* A little before eleven o'clock, the batteries opened their fire, and were at once responded to by the iron-clads discharging their broadsides of grape and shrapnel directly against the city. The transports endeavored to pass, as ordered, under cover of the smoke; the Forest Queen was disabled by a shot, the Henry Clay was set on fire and burned, but the Silver Wave escaped without any injury. On reaching Warrenton, the gun boats poured in their broadsides the instant they reached position, and so continuous and terrible was their fire that the rebels scarcely ever attempted a response. The Forest Queen was taken in tow by a gun boat, and the fleet, with the exception of the loss of the Henry Clay, and one man killed and two others wounded on the Benton, passed the dreaded ordeal in safety.

On the 22d of April, by Grant's order, six additional transport steamers, with officers and crew chosen from the regiments in the vicinity, conducting as many coal barges, were sent in like manner past Vicksburg. They suffered more or less injury; but all, with one exception, got below the batteries. Two tugs, with four hay barges, also, a few nights after, followed in safety. At the end of April, the army was fairly on its way from Milliken's Bend overland and past Richmond, by a military road constructed over swamps and bayous for about seventy miles to Hard Times, Louisiana, a point opposite Grand Gulf. 1863.

On the 29th of April, the 13th army corps reached the Mississippi, and the 17th was not far behind. Grant embarked a portion of the troops, and moved to the front of Grand Gulf. The plan was, that the iron-clads should silence the guns of the enemy, and that the troops should land under cover of the gun boats and carry the place by storm. The attack was begun about eight o'clock in the morning and continued for five and a half hours, during which time, as Porter stated, in his

* A correspondent of the New York *Times* gives a graphic account of the assembling of a party of ladies and gentlemen, including Gen. and Mrs. Grant, at a point a few miles above Vicksburg, for the purpose of witnessing the daring movement which was to take place that evening. The liveliness, however, of the party, as he reprovingly says, "indicated anything but an appreciation of the fact that the drama about to open was a tragedy instead of a farce."

dispatch, "we silenced the lower batteries, but failed to silence the upper one, which was high, strongly built, had guns of very heavy calibre, and the vessels were unmanageable in the heavy current. It fired but feebly toward the last, and the vessels all laid by and enfiladed it, while I went up a short distance to communicate with Gen. Grant, who concluded to land the troops and march over to a point two miles below Grand Gulf. I sent the Lafayette back to engage the upper batteries, which she did, and drove the persons out of it, as it did not respond after a few fires. At six P.M. we attacked the batteries again, and, under the cover of the fire, all the transports passed by in good condition. The Benton, Tuscumbia, and Pittsburg were much cut up, having 24 killed and 56 wounded, but they are all ready for service. We land the army in the morning on the other side, and march on Vicksburg."

Acting on information derived from an intelligent negro, that there was a good road from Bruinsburg, two miles below Grand Gulf, to Port Gibson, where the rebels were in force, Grant determined on landing the troops at Bruinsburg as speedily as possible. At daylight, on the morning of April 30th, the gun boats and transports began the work of ferrying them across the river. Port Gibson is situate on the Bayou Pierre, twenty-eight miles from its mouth, and between sixty and seventy miles south-west of Jackson, capital of the state. A railroad connected it with Grand Gulf. Grant's dispatch, a few days later, stated the result in few words: "We landed at Bruinsburg, April 30th, moved immediately on Port Gibson, met the enemy, 11,000 strong, four miles south of Port Gibson, at two A.M. on May 1st, and engaged him all day, entirely routing him with the loss of many killed, and about 500 prisoners, besides the wounded. Our loss is about 100 killed and 500 wounded. The enemy retreated towards Vicksburg, destroying the bridges over the two forks of the Bayou Pierre. These were rebuilt, and the pursuit has continued until the present time." 1863.

An important movement was successfully carried out at this time, for the purpose of facilitating Grant's operations and destroying the enemy's lines of communication; we refer to the bold cavalry raid under Col. B. H. Grierson. This brave officer had proposed some time before, this descent into Mississippi, which did not, however, receive the approbation of Grant until early in April, when he ordered Grierson to enter upon the work. He was stationed at Lagrange, Tennessee, about fifty miles east of Memphis, and after a series of skilful movements, tending to deceive the rebels as to his real purpose, he was prepared by the middle of April to march into Mississippi, and traverse, as he did, its entire length, passing between the great lines of communication, the Mobile and Ohio and Mississippi Railroads, passing in the rear of the works at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and coming out triumphantly, on the 1st of May, within the Union lines at Baton Rouge. For details, we must refer to Col. Grierson's

official report, which not only sets forth the courage and determined spirit of all connected with the expedition, but also presents an instructive picture of the internal condition of this portion of the "Confederacy." The substantial results may be expressed in a brief extract: "During the expedition we killed and wounded about 100 of the enemy, captured and paroled over 500 prisoners, many of them officers, destroyed between fifty and sixty miles of railroad, and telegraph, captured and destroyed over 3,000 stand of arms, and other army stores and property to an immense amount; we also captured 1,000 horses and mules. We marched over 600 miles in less than sixteen days. The last twenty-eight hours we marched seventy-six miles, had four engagements with the enemy, and forded the Comite River, which was deep enough to swim many of the horses." After speaking of the large and well appointed parties sent out against him, and of his being able to elude them or fight them to advantage, Grierson concludes in terms of praise of his officers and men, without whose hearty co-operation, under very trying circumstances, he could not have obtained such signal success.

It had at first been Grant's purpose to detach an army corps to co-operate with Banks against Port Hudson, and effect a junction of forces; but, on reflection, as time was all important to his plans, and as Banks could not furnish more than 12,000 men at best, he gave up the project, and resolved to devote all his energy and skill to an immediate advance upon the rebels.

After waiting for several days for supplies and the arrival of Sherman's corps, reconnaisances were made along the west side of the Big Black River, to within a few miles of Warrenton, and steps were taken to deceive the rebels, as far as possible, in regard to Grant's real designs at the present moment. Apparently, he was about to make a direct attack; but in reality, he was pushing forward McClernand and Sherman to the railroad, between Edward's Station and Bolton, while McPherson was to advance rapidly upon Raymond, and Jackson, the capital of the state. It was of prime importance, in Grant's estimation, to secure his rear by a march upon Jackson, by destroying the property of all descriptions of the enemy and the railroad; and then to march with all his force to the assault upon Vicksburg.*

The advance was begun on the 7th of May, and the utmost activity and enterprise was displayed by both officers and troops in the duty now before

* Pollard, speaking of Grant and his "most extraordinary and audacious game" in the Mississippi campaign, says, truly enough,—"in daring, in celerity of movement, and in the vigor and decision of its steps, it was the most remarkable of the war. The plan of Grant was, in brief, nothing else than to gain firm ground on one of the Confederate flanks, which, to be done, involved a march of about 150 miles, through a hostile country, and in which communication with the base of supplies was liable at any moment to be permanently interrupted. In addition, a resistance to his advance could be anticipated, of whose magnitude nothing was certainly known, and which, for aught he knew, might at any time prove great enough to annihilate his entire army. The plan involved the enterprise of running a fleet of transports past the batteries, crossing the troops from the Louisiana shore, below Vicksburg, to Mississippi, and then marching the army, by the way of Jackson, through the heart of the Confederacy, so to speak, to the rear of Vicksburg."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 43, 44.

them. On the 11th, McClernand reached Hall's Ferry, on the Big Black River, Sherman was at Auburn, about six miles north-east, and McPherson about eight miles further in the same direction. The next day, the advance division of Sherman's corps encountered a body of the rebels, chiefly cavalry, at Fourteen Mile Creek; but after some slight skirmishing, the enemy retreated toward Raymond, burning the bridge as they retired. A crossing, however, was speedily constructed, and the corps moved on its way.

The principal resistance was made by the rebels to obstruct McPherson's advance. As he was marching from Utica, on the branch road to Jackson, on approaching the town of Raymond, he was met, on the forenoon of May 12th, by a body of the enemy, under Gregg and Walker, numbering about 5,000. Skirmishing commenced early in the morning, and Logan's division, which was on the road in advance, was at once ordered forward to engage the enemy. The battle was opened about ten o'clock, and, after a conflict of more than two hours, resulted in the defeat of the rebels, and their abandonment of Raymond to the Union forces. Our loss was 51 killed, and 180 wounded; the rebel loss was 75 killed and 186 prisoners captured, beside the wounded.

McPherson's force was immediately pushed on, and the next day occupied Clinton, a small town about eight miles west of Jackson, on the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad. The tele-
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Gen. Crocker's division of McPherson's corps had the advance, and charged gallantly upon the enemy's position on the crest of a hill, in front of the town, driving the rebels before them at the point of the bayonet. On Sherman's coming up on the right, he soon found the enemy's weakness at that point, and caused them to retreat northwardly towards Clinton. After a fight of about three hours, in which the rebels displayed less than their usual spirit in battle, they gave up the contest, and Johnston, having set fire to the buildings filled with commissary and quartermaster's stores, made a speedy retreat. The arsenal, public works, factories, bridges, etc., were effectually destroyed. We are sorry to be obliged to state, in this connection, that there was also a large amount of pillaging by the soldiers, to the disgrace of themselves and the cause in which they were engaged.

Although Johnston had been unable to maintain his position, still, as Grant learned at Jackson, he had ordered Pemberton,* in very positive terms, to

* Pollard is bitterly severe on Pemberton; calls him "the creature of the private and personal prejudices of President Davis;" asserts that he was extremely un

march out of Vicksburg, and "re-establish the communications" by an assault upon Grant's rear. This Pemberton had undertaken to do, having, it was reported, some eighty regiments and ten batteries of artillery, and about 25,000 men in all. He was, however, too late to accomplish anything; Johnston had been put to flight, and Grant, by his rapid and skilful combinations, aided, as he was, by several of the best officers in the United States army, simply faced about, and advanced promptly to rout Pemberton in the same wise that he did in the case of Johnston. McPherson was ordered to move out on the Clinton road, and on the 15th of May was about a mile from Bolton, within supporting distance of Hovey's division of McClernand's corps; while McClernand, with the remaining divisions, was ordered to Edward's Station; he was, however, directed not to bring on a general engagement, unless he was sure of success. Blair moved with McClernand, and Sherman, with his forces, was soon to follow.

Early on the morning of May 16th, two days after the occupation of Jackson, the left wing of the army, under McClernand, advanced to the line of the railroad east of the Big Black River, and, in concert with Sherman's and McPherson's corps, came upon the main force of Pemberton in the vicinity of Edward's Station. Three miles south-east of this is a road which runs parallel with the railroad, crosses Champion's Hill, through which runs a small stream called Baker's Creek. Hovey, who was in the advance with his division, discovered, about nine o'clock, that the enemy were in front on Champion's Hill, to the left of the road, near Baker's Creek, apparently in force. Skirmishers were thrown out, and the division advanced cautiously across the open field at the foot of Champion's Hill, in line of battle. At eleven o'clock the battle commenced. The hill itself was covered with timber, and was flanked, on both sides, by deep ravines and gullies, and in many places covered with an impenetrable growth of scrubby white-oak brush. The woods, on both sides of the road leading up to the face of the hill, and winding back on the ridge a mile or more, were filled with sharpshooters, supported by infantry. Here the battle began, just as our men entered the edge of the timber, and raged terribly from eleven o'clock till between three and four, P.M. Hovey's division carried the heights, and making a dash on the first battery, drove the gunners from their posts and captured the pieces.

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The rebels having been reinforced at this point, made fresh efforts to dislodge our troops on the hill. Hovey was slowly driven back to the brow, but help coming up, the ground was recovered, and the rebels finally repulsed. At the commencement of the engagement, Logan's division marched

popular with the army, incapable, "never on a battle field in the war," and in a state of deplorable "ignorance and bewilderment as to the enemy's designs." As a pet and favorite of Davis, and with nothing else to recommend him, of course, in Pollard's opinion, only disaster could follow his being placed in command at Vicksburg. It is only fair, however, to remember that Pollard is no friend to Davis and his helpers at Richmond, and also that he is rather fond of using caustic and bitter language when the opportunity occurs.

past the brow of the hill, and, forming in line of battle on the right of Hovey, advanced in grand style, sweeping everything before them. At the edge of the wood in front of Logan the battle was very hotly contested. Two batteries and a large number of prisoners were captured by this division.

Between three and four o'clock, P.M., Osterhaus's and McArthur's divisions came into action on the extreme left, and by five o'clock Pemberton's troops gave way in great confusion. Loring, the rebel commander on the right, drew off his men and escaped, by taking a large circuit, to Canton, where he joined Johnston. Immediately troops were sent in pursuit of Pemberton, who retreated to the Big Black, where he purposed making one more effort before betaking himself to the entrenchments of Vicksburg.

At an early hour on Sunday, May 17th, McClernand's corps marched to the Big Black River bridge of the railroad, sixteen miles west of Champion's Hill battle ground, and twelve miles east of Vicksburg. The rebels were found to be strongly posted on both sides of the river, where, with the help of the excellent natural defences, and their rifle-pits and field guns, they promised apparently a vigorous resistance. But when our batteries were brought to play on their works, and when Lawler's brigade of Carr's division charged across the open fields, the rebels set fire to the bridge before their troops were across, and ignominiously fled. Pemberton and his officers could do nothing to rouse them; they rushed from the field in a species of terror, crying out, "all is lost!" and refused to fight at all. Seventeen cannon and about 2,000 prisoners fell into our hands by their panic-stricken conduct, and late at night the rebel troops reached Vicksburg, in a state which hardly admits of description.

On the morning of the 18th of May, Sherman's corps crossed the Big Black above, at Bridgeport, on a pontoon bridge, and the next day McClernand's and McPherson's corps, having repaired the bridge which had been partially destroyed, joined the forces on the other side before Vicksburg. The various roads were occupied, and important positions taken, investing the city from the direction of Warrenton on the left, to the bluffs on the Yazoo River, on the right. Sherman occupied the right of the line, McPherson the centre, and McClernand the left.*

The efficient co-operation of the fleet under Porter, deserves honorable mention in this place. Porter, having come over to the Yazoo to be ready for any

* The defeat at the Big Black caused some sharp crimination and recrimination between Johnston and Pemberton. Pollard sides with the former, of course; and in view of Pemberton being shut up within his defences, says, "As it was, the fall of Vicksburg had become but a question of time. Gen. Johnston was convinced of the impossibility of collecting a sufficient force to break the investment of the city, should it be completed. He appreciated the difficulty of extricating the garrison. It was with this foresight that, on learning that Pemberton had been driven from the Big Black, he ordered *the evacuation of Vicksburg*. He wrote, 'If Haynes's Bluff be untenable, Vicksburg is of no value, and cannot be held. If, therefore, you are invested in Vicksburg, you must ultimately surrender. Under such circumstances, instead of losing both troops and place, you must, if possible, save the troops. If not too late, evacuate Vicksburg and its dependencies, and march to the north-east.'" This was too much for Pemberton; and so he remained where he was until the end came on the memorable 4th of July, 1863.

help which he could render, heard Grant's cannonading, on the 18th of May, and inferred his success thus far. He dispatched a number of vessels up the Yazoo to open communications with Grant and Sherman. This he succeeded in doing, and learned the gratifying news of what had been accomplished. Having destroyed the formidable works at Haines' Bluff, Porter dispatched Lieut. Walker, in the De Kalb, up the Yazoo River, with sufficient force to destroy all the enemy's property in that direction, with orders to return with all dispatch, and only to proceed as far as Yazoo City, where the rebels had a navy-yard and storehouses. Walker proceeded at once to the work before him, and promptly and effectually performed it. Three rams of the most powerful kind, two just ready for use, and one, a monster of its class, 370 ft., and 75 ft. beam, on the stocks, were burned, as were also a vast stock of materials for naval purposes, machine shops, etc. The estimated value of the property thus destroyed was fully $2,000,000. On the morning of May 22d, Lieut. Walker returned with the vessels under his command to the mouth of the Yazoo River, having lost only one man killed and seven wounded in the expedition.

In the flush of the several victories which the army had recently gained, and supposing that Pemberton's force was almost entirely demoralized, Grant ordered a general assault to be made on the enemy's works, at two o'clock, P.M., on the 19th of May. Our troops behaved with great gallantry; but they were not able to make any impression of moment upon the rebel line. Within a few days, Grant's arrangements for drawing supplies from Memphis and above were completed, and under an impression that Vicksburg could be taken by assault, notwithstanding the experience of the 19th, he ordered another and determined onset to be made.* "There were many reasons," as Grant stated afterwards, "to determine me to adopt this course. I believed an assault from the position by this time could be made successfully. It was known that Johnston was at Canton with the force taken by him from Jackson, reinforced by other troops from the East, and that more were daily reaching him. With the force I had, a short time must have enabled him to attack me in the rear, and possibly to succeed in raising the siege.... Accordingly, on the 21st of May, orders were issued for a general assault on the whole line, to commence at ten A.M., on the 22d. Promptly, at the hour designated, the three army corps then in front of the enemy's works commenced the assault. I had taken a commanding position near McPherson's front, and from which I could see all the advancing columns from his corps, and a part of each of Sherman's and McClernand's. A portion of the commands of each suc- 1863.

* In accordance with Grant's request, Porter directed a vigorous attack from the mortar and gun boats upon the hill and water batteries of the city, inflicting considerable damage. The bombardment was at short range, the vessels advancing to within four hundred and forty yards of the batteries. "It was the hottest fire," said Porter, "the gun boats had ever been under." Unable to gain intelligence of the progress of the army, the gun boats fought on after Grant's assault had proved unsuccessful.

ceeded in planting their flags on the outer slopes of the enemy's bastions, and maintained them there until night. The assault was gallant in the extreme on the part of all the troops, but the enemy's position was too strong, both naturally and artificially, to be taken in that way. At every point assaulted, and at all of them at the same time, the enemy was able to show all the force his works could cover. The assault failed, I regret to say, with much loss on our side in killed and wounded; but without weakening the confidence of the troops in their ability to ultimately succeed."

It having become evident that Vicksburg was not to be taken by assault, Grant began a regular series of siege operations. They were commenced and carried on with vigor and perseverance, it being certain that, sooner or later, this rebel Gibralter must be surrendered to our arms. Day by day, during the month of June, the works were pushed closer to the enemy's fortifications. Batteries and rifle-pits were erected along the entire front. Mines were constructed at several points, especially in McPherson's front, with great secrecy and under careful watch; while from the peninsula opposite the doomed city, mortar batteries poured in, day and night, without cessation, thousands of shots and shells.*

In addition to all this steady working, Grant had taken care to secure, at an early day, large reinforcements, so that he was in a condition not only to push forward the siege with fixed determination, but also to keep a watch upon Johnston, and be ready to repulse any effort he might venture to make for the relief of Vicksburg. The position of Grant's army, resting on the Yazoo and supported by the gun boats, was so strong that the rebels were soon aware of the hopelessness of attempting to raise the siege.

The state of things in Vicksburg, meanwhile, was far from cheering or encouraging. The women and children, in order to escape the terrible bombardment, sheltered themselves in caves excavated in the hill sides; houses and streets were ploughed by shot and shell; provisions were becoming more and more scarce; mule and dog meat, bean meal and corn coffee, were in demand; and unburied corpses and the stench of dead animals, in the streets and elsewhere, tried the nerve and patience of the garrison to the utmost. One only hope remained, and that was the hope that Johnston might yet bring relief; but all such hope failed, and the end drew nigh. Surrender, or starving to death, was the alternative.*

In carrying forward the siege opera-

* On the 6th of June, an attack was made by the rebels upon the garrison, under Gen. Dennis, at Milliken's Bend. After a severe contest, on the morning of the 7th, which was kept up until noon, the rebels were repulsed. A week later, they were routed out of Richmond by an expedition from Young's Point, consisting of Mowry's command and the marine brigade under Gen. R. W. Ellet. The town itself was completely destroyed.

* Pollard denounces this as untrue: "The statement that the garrison of Vicksburg was surrendered on account of an inexorable distress, in which the soldiers had to feed on mules, with the occasional luxury of rats, is either to be taken as a designing falsehood or as the crudities of that foolish newspaper romance so common in the war. In neither case does it merit refutation," etc.—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 68.

tions, when the first mine was all in readiness, Grant ordered its explosion, and also certain parties of troops to be prepared to storm the rebel line at the right moment. At three o'clock in the afternoon of June 25th, the match was applied, and speedily a terrific explosion took place. Our troops rushed bravely to the charge; a bloody contest ensued with the half-starved garrison, and the loss was heavy on both sides; but Vicksburg was not yet taken. On the 1st of July, a second mine was sprung on the right of the Jackson road, which resulted in the entire demolition of the redan, the destroying a number of men who were countermining, and wounding others in the works, and leaving an immense chasm where the redan had stood.

The case was now hopeless.* Pemberton concluded that it was better to surrender than to continue the desperate defence, especially as, in any event, he could not hold out more than a few days. On the 3d of July, early in the morning, a flag of truce was displayed upon the works in front of Gen. A. J. Smith. Two rebel officers, Gen. Bowen and Col. Montgomery, were brought in under it blindfold, bearing with them a letter from Pemberton proposing an armistice, appointment of commissioners to arrange for capitulation of the city, etc. Grant's reply was brevity itself: "unconditional surrender." It seemed very hard to the rebel commander, and though he solicited a personal interview, which was granted, yet the result was substantially the same as at first named.* Grant was willing to allow something to assuage the wounded feelings of a defeated foe; he permitted them to march out and stack their arms in front of their lines, and then returning to the city, he required them to remain as prisoners until properly paroled. This course, as Grant said, "saved us the transportation of the rebel prisoners North, which, at that time, would have been very difficult, owing to the limited amount of transportation on hand and the expense of subsisting them. It left our army free to operate against Johnston, who was threatening us from the direction of Jackson, and our river transportation to be used for the movement of troops to any point the exi gency of the service might require."

Pemberton very gladly accepted the terms finally settled upon by Grant, and at ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of July, the surrender was fully consummated.† A week later, the par-

* There was no hope of relief from Johnston. It was all delusion. He had advised Pemberton (see note, p. 313) not to try a siege, for he would certainly be compelled to surrender; and Johnston at no time felt himself strong enough to venture an attack upon Grant. Some 8,000 rebel troops on the west of the Mississippi were expected to be of service; but on June 27th, Johnston sent Pemberton word that these troops "had been mismanaged, and had fallen back to Delhi."

* For the correspondence, and the interview between Grant and Pemberton, see Coppée's "*Grant and his Campaigns*," pp. 186—190.

† Pemberton's reasons for selecting the Fourth of July as the day of his surrender, though censured by Pollard as "a singular humiliation of the Confederacy, are nevertheless not wanting in shrewdness. "If it should be asked," he said, "why the Fourth of July was selected as the day for the surrender, the answer is obvious; I believed that, upon that day, I should obtain better terms. Well aware of the vanity of our foes, I knew they would attach vast importance to the entrance on the Fourth of July into the stronghold of the great river, and that, to gratify their national van-

oled officers and men marched out of Vicksburg to the Big Black River, whence they were distributed to different parts of the South. Vicksburg itself was immediately occupied by the divisions of Logan, J. E. Smith, and Herron; and, much to the disgust of Pollard and men of his stamp, a large portion of the citizens signified their cheerful acceptance of the change in the state of affairs, which brought "the key of the Mississippi" again under the protection of the stars and stripes.

Gen. Grant, in his report sent to Washington a few days after the surrender, summed up the result of his operations as follows: "The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg, the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and among the killed Generals Tracy, Tilghman and Green; and hundreds and perhaps thousands of stragglers, who can never be collected and re-organized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomotives, cars, steamboats, cotton, etc., and much was destroyed to prevent our capturing it.

"Our loss in the series of battles may be summed up as follows: "1,293 killed, 7,095 wounded, and 537 missing; total, 8,925. Of the wounded, many were but slightly wounded, and continued on duty; many more required but a few days or weeks for their recovery. Not more than one-half of the wounded were permanently disabled."*

The part taken by the navy in the capture of Vicksburg was of course less conspicuous than that of the army; yet the operations of Porter formed an essential element in reaching the desired end. As we have had occasion to note, he was always ready to do his share; and in the active employment of his fleet, for forty-two days, bombarding the city with their heavy guns, in mortar vessels, on scows, in guarding the river, and in a detachment of his force on shore, he reports an expenditure of ammunition from the mortars of 7,000 shells and from the gun boats 4,500.† Truly, as Porter said in his dispatch, "history has seldom had an opportunity of recording so desperate a defence on one side, with so much courage, ability, perseverance, and endurance on the other; and if ever an army was entitled to the gratitude of a

ity, they would yield then what could not be extorted from them at any other time."

* On this same 4th of July, 1863, the works of Gen. Prentiss, at Helena, Arkansas, were attacked by a body of rebels, some 9,000 in number, gathered by Holmes, Price, Marmaduke and others, at Little Rock. Gen. Prentiss sustained the attack from daylight till three o'clock in the afternoon, when the rebels were repulsed at all points, leaving 1,200 prisoners, and about 500 in killed and wounded.

† Grant's chief of artillery, Colonel Duff, gives a statement of the artillery shots fired during the siege. From the time of crossing the Mississippi River, May 1st, till the surrender, July 4th, 18,889 solid shot, 72,314 shell, 47,897 case, 2,723 canister, were expended, making a total of 141,823. This would be an average of 653 shots for each cannon used. If to these the musketry be added, the reader can form some idea of the vast amount of ammunition consumed.

nation, it is the Army of the Tennessee and its gallant leaders."

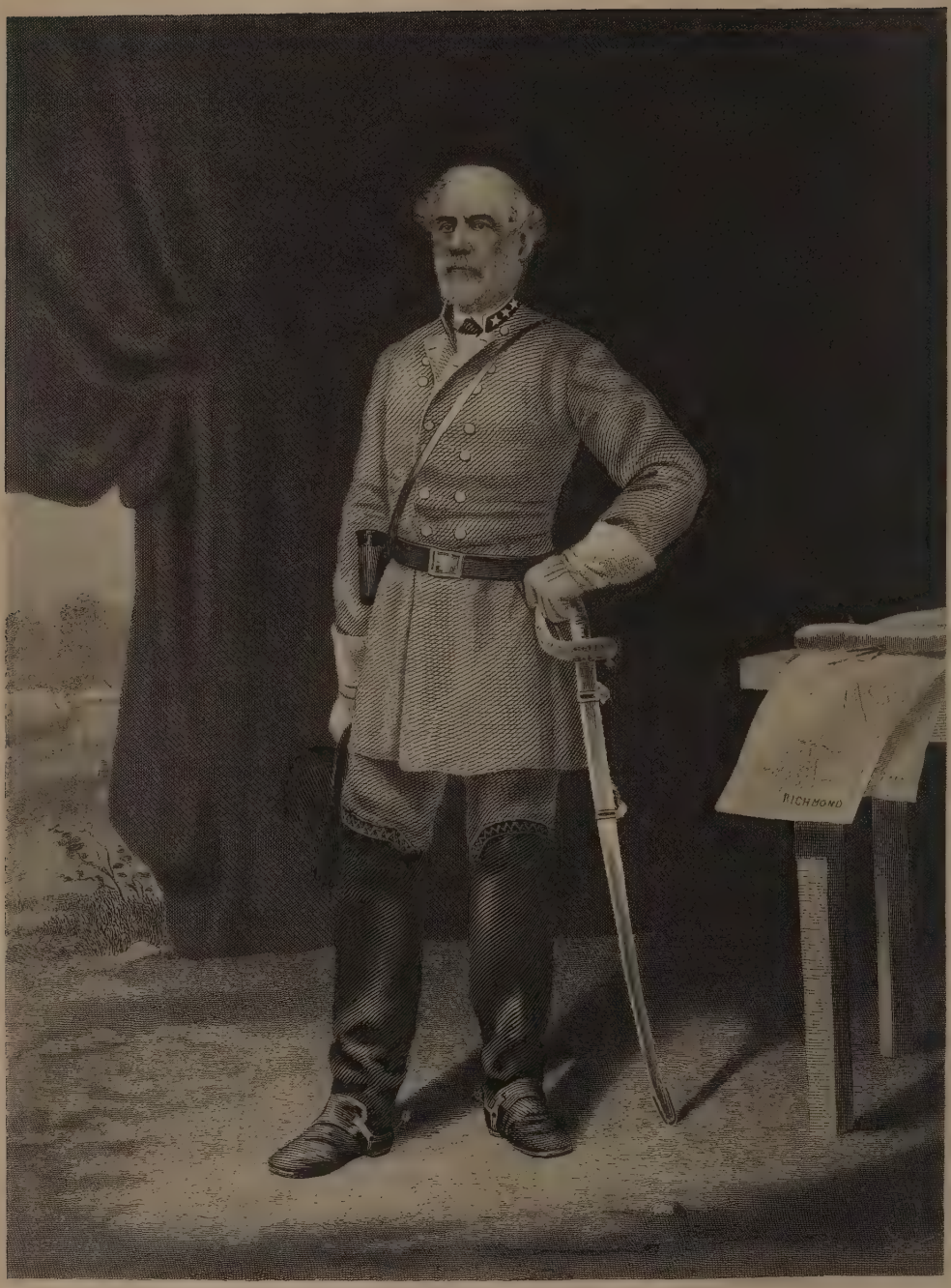
We may mention, in the present connection, that, just before the capture of Vicksburg, Grant had made all his arrangements to dispatch Sherman in pursuit of the rebel Gen. J. E. Johnston, who was making threatening demonstrations in the rear. Johnston, however, thought it best to retreat without venturing a battle, and Sherman, with a strong force, promptly set out in pursuit. Despite the fatigue the troops had undergone before Vicksburg, they pursued the enemy for fifty miles and left him in full retreat, destroying at the same time the great arteries of travel in the state, and exhausting the country. Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, was evacuated on the night of the 16th of July. Our army entered it again, and the city, beautifully situate on the Pearl River, and noted for evidences of taste and wealth, was doomed to entire destruction. The railroads in every direction for twenty-five and fifty miles were torn up, the bridges were effectually destroyed, and the ruin was complete. Sherman's loss was less than 1,000; that of the rebels was much greater, Sherman having taken over 1,000 prisoners during this brief campaign.*

Various other expeditions, of more or less moment, followed this of Sherman's; one, under Gen. Ransom, was sent to Natchez, about 100 miles below Vicksburg, on the river, and was particularly successful in securing 5,000 head of Texas cattle, and a large amount of ammunition, which had been crossed for the benefit of the rebels under Kirby Smith. The army was allowed some needed rest, and proper supplies were furnished; after which, Grant sent troops, under Steele, to co-operate with Schofield against Little Rock, Arkansas, and also a force under Ord and Herron to New Orleans, to reinforce Gen. Banks.

Thus the labor and toil of our army and navy were at last crowned with success. Port Hudson, as we have narrated in the preceding chapter, followed the fate of Vicksburg, and the Great River of the West thenceforth flowed in its entire course without let or hindrance from rebel obstructions or disloyal interference. There was now good ground to hope and expect that, ere long, rebellion and its terrible evils would be stricken out of existence.*

* A naval and military expedition, under Lieut. Walker and Gen. Herron, was sent, on the 13th of July, to Yazoo City. It was entirely successful. Four rebel steamers were burned, 300 prisoners taken, and 800 horses and mules captured. The gun boat De Kalb was destroyed by the explosion of a torpedo in the river.

* Secession writers can hardly find words to express "the surprise and consternation," and "the news falling like a thunder-clap from clear skies," consequent upon the fall of Vicksburg. "It compelled," says Pollard, "as its necessary consequence, the surrender of other posts on the Mississippi, and cut the Confederacy in twain. Its defence had involved exposure and weakness in other quarters. It had about stripped Charleston of troops; it had taken many thousand men from Bragg's army; and it had made such requisitions on his force for the newly organized lines in Mississippi, that that general was compelled or induced, wisely or unwisely, to fall back from Tullahoma, to give up the country on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and practically to abandon the defence of Middle Tennessee."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 70.



R E Lee

CHAPTER XXIX.

1863.

CAMPAIGN ON THE POTOMAC: LEE'S INVASION: BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

Army of the Potomac inactive — Rebel defensive policy — Change — Resolve to invade the North — Lee's army moves — Hooker's course — Cavalry engagement — Hooker follows Lee — Enemy in Shenandoah Valley — Winchester and Martinsburg — Our losses — Government preparations — Call for 100,000 militia — Gov. Curtin's efforts — Pleasanton's encounter with Stuart — Rebel cavalry in Pennsylvania — Lee's order as to supplies, etc. — Ewell's corps crosses the Potomac — Rebel army's arrangements — Early levies on Gettysburg and York — Early's self-laudation — Army of the Potomac advances to Frederick, Maryland — Hooker relieved of command — Gen. Meade appointed — His address to the army — Lee's course — Marches toward Gettysburg — A battle near at hand — Meade moves in direction of Gettysburg — Buford's cavalry encounter Hill's troops near the town — Reynold's comes to his support — Battle of July 1st — Rebel success — Meade's army comes up — Arrangements for the battle — Thursday, July 2d — Battle fought in the afternoon — Fierce assault on our left — Little Round Top secured — Ewell on our right — Partial success — Heavy loss during the day — Ewell driven back next morning — Battle of July 3d — Terrible cannonade — Pickett's charge unsuccessful — Rebels defeated — Pursuit of Lee — Severe losses — Meade's address to the army — President Lincoln appoints a day of thanksgiving — Prof. Jacobs's remarks.

WE left the Army of the Potomac, after the ill success at Chancellorsville, returned to its former quarters on the Rappahannock. This was early in May, 1863. (See p. 288.) We resume the narrative at this point, and shall prosecute it with the more pleasure because, after the mortifying issues of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, under Burnside and Hooker, this brave army was enabled to crown its career of gallantry and endurance, under Meade, with the most important victory of the war. The government authorities at Washington, as we have seen, (p. 288), promised that the army should speedily resume offensive operations in Virginia; but as it turned out, delays interposed, and nothing was attempted for several weeks. The rebel general took the initiative, and prepared to strike a blow which, if it should be successful, would give the "Confederacy" a position and consequence which it had never at any time been able to attain, and would require additional efforts and sacrifices in order to crush the wicked plans and purposes of traitors to their native land.

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The policy of defence, as the only really safe one, had been uniformly acted upon by the heads of the rebellion, except in the one instance of Lee's invasion of Maryland, in September, 1862. It was a policy exceedingly distasteful to large numbers in the army and elsewhere; Jackson had always longed to invade the North (p. 150); and there were frequent murmurings and complainings that victories, such as those at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, brought none of the fruits of victory. They only left matters as they were; whereas, it was urged, the conquerors

ought to receive the just rewards of their brave deeds, and despoil the enemy whom they had beaten on the field. "Carry the war into Africa" was the cry; "carry fire and sword into the northern states; let the people there have a taste of what war is, in the destruction of their cities, and towns, and homes, and fertile fields; it must be done; and one great success would soon drive them to give up the contest and yield to our demands." Thus the discontented and hot-headed "chivalry" fretted and fumed; and they succeeded finally in having their own way in this matter. Invasion was approved at Richmond; invasion was resolved upon; and Gen. Lee had, or thought he had, good practical reasons for making the attempt, just at this time. First, there were not only heavy losses in battle, and more or less of demoralization in the Army of the Potomac, but the various regiments whose term of service now expired insisted on returning home, which very largely depleted Hooker's force, to the extent altogether of some 30,000 men. Next, there were in the loyal states many expressions, in certain quarters, of sympathy with secession, and venomous denunciation of the government at Washington, and it was confidently thought that Lee and his men would be welcomed by numbers, as fighting in a just cause. Again, Lee was very greatly in need, especially of horses and mules, and supplies of all kinds, which, it would seem, he had only to advance into Pennsylvania and Maryland in order to obtain to any amount. Added to all this, the rebel army was in the highest spirits, considering itself equal to any undertaking, and as it had been reinforced and thoroughly reorganised, it was in a better condition than at any previous time in its history for a bold, forward movement; it looked with a sort of contemptuous feeling upon the army which had failed at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville; it was full of enthusiasm in view of the rich rewards consequent upon a successful invasion of the hated North.*

On the 3d of June, Lee began certain movements with reference to carrying out his main design. His army having been organized into three corps, under Longstreet, Ewell, and Hill, Longstreet's corps left Fredericksburg for Culpepper Court House on that day; it was followed by Ewell's corps the day after; while Hill, with his corps, occupied the lines at Fredericksburg. By the 8th of June, Longstreet and Ewell were at Culpepper, where they found Stuart with his cavalry, which had been concentrated there some time before the main movement had been undertaken. Hooker was not inattentive to what was going on. On the 6th of June, he sent Sedgwick's corps across the Rappahannock on a reconnaissance, the result of which was, that the enemy were still at Fredericksburg in force. Lee's plan was not yet discerned by Hooker. As, however, the rebel press

* "Gen. Lee resolved to manœuvre Hooker out of Virginia, to clear the Shenandoah Valley of the troops of the enemy, and to renew the experiment of the transfer of hostilities north of the Potomac. It was a blow to the summer campaign of the enemy, calculated to disarrange it and relieve other parts of the Confederacy, but above all, aimed at the prize of a great victory on northern soil, long the aspiration of the southern public."—Pollard's "*Third Year of the War*," p. 16.

indulged freely in significant intimations of events near at hand,* and as the gathering of Stuart's cavalry at Culpepper clearly indicated some purpose of evil which ought to be looked after, Hooker resolved to send a strong force against Stuart and break up his encampment. Accordingly, on the 9th of June, early in the morning, Pleasanton, with Buford's and Gregg's divisions of cavalry, and two brigades of infantry under Russell and Ames, crossed the Rappahannock at Beverley's and Kelly's Fords. Buford first encountered the enemy a short distance south of Beverley Ford, when a sharp conflict occurred. Gregg having crossed at Kelly's Ford, pushed on towards Brandy Station, and carried the heights. Stuart brought up a large force, and a determined fight ensued. Gregg, finding that Buford was not able to unite with him, fell back after a time and joined his troops with the other division; whereupon Pleasanton retired his force across the Rappahannock. His loss was about 500; the rebel loss was fully equal to ours. It was a noted engagement on this occasion, for the cavalry of both armies were not only in full force, but they fought in legitimate cavalry style, gallantly dashing to the charge and using their sabres with tremendous effect. In other respects, the movement of Pleasanton was of great moment, for it not only proved Lee's presence at Culpepper, but, by the capture of some rebel correspondence, disclosed clearly Lee's purpose of invading the North.

Hooker, on the 11th of June, advanced his right up the Rappahannock, and sent his cavalry to watch the upper forks of the river; but Lee, while Hooker was doing this, pushed forward his left into the Shenandoah Valley. Ewell's corps, on the 10th, passed the Blue Ridge at Chester Gap, crossed the Shenandoah, and marching rapidly, arrived before Winchester on the evening of the 13th, after an advance, from Culpepper, of seventy miles in three days. "A glance at the map will reveal the extraordinary situation of the Confederate forces at this time. On the 13th of June, with the Army of the Potomac yet lying on the Rappahannock, Lee's line of battle was stretched out over an interval of upwards of a hundred miles; for his right (Hill's corps) still held the lines of Fredericksburg; his centre (Longstreet's corps) lay at Culpepper; and his left (Ewell's corps) was at the mouth of the Shenandoah Valley!"* In this state of things, Hooker's course seemed to be plain; he must regulate his movements so as to defend the approaches to the capital, and also advance as rapidly as possible on Lee's

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* "So hopeful were the leaders of the rebellion in the success of this their project, that they did not deem it necessary to keep their intentions a secret. Many weeks before their attempted invasion, their newspapers freely referred to it as an event that would surely happen, and boasted loudly of the manner in which they would fatten on the spoils they would take from the rich farmers and well-filled storehouses of the North."—Jacobs's "*Notes on the Rebel Invasion*," p. 6.

* "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 314. Mr. Swinton, noting Lee's implied contempt of his opponent, criticizes the neglect of Hooker in not striking the exposed rear of this long line, and either destroying Hill or compelling Lee to hasten back to his support. This would have put an end to the invasion. But Halleck, at Washington, did not favor any steps of the kind; Hooker, therefore, ought probably to be held excused for not taking an initiative which promised so excellent results.

flank, awaiting the further development of that general's designs. He accordingly broke up camp on the Rappahannock, June 13th, moved on the direct route towards Washington, by way of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, and reached Fairfax Court House on the evening of the 15th of June.

The enemy's earliest demonstration was in the Valley of the Shenandoah, upon the outposts at Winchester and Berryville. Jenkins, with his cavalry brigade, was sent forward toward Win-
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Gen. Milroy was in command at Winchester at this time, with a force of about 10,000 men; McReynolds was at Berryville, with his brigade; and Martinsburg was held by Tyler, as an outpost of Harper's Ferry. Neither Winchester nor Martinsburg was susceptible of a good defence; and the withdrawal of the garrisons had been advised, though not ordered, as early as the 11th of June, by Halleck, at Washington. On the 13th, Rodes's division of the rebel force appeared before Berryville, when Col. McReynolds, with his command, fell back to Winchester, pursued by the enemy, a portion of the rear guard escaping in the direction of Harper's Ferry. On arriving at Winchester in the evening, he found Milroy closely pressed by the enemy. On the evening of the next day, June 14th, Early carried the outer works of the town by storm. That night Milroy, after spiking his guns, left with the whole of his command on his retreat to Harper's Ferry, taking with him his artillery horses and wagons. Four miles from the town, on the Martinsburg road, he was intercepted by rebel troops, and had to fight his way, as best he could, through their midst, his loss being very great. Rodes, meanwhile, proceeded from Berryville to Martinsburg, where he took 700 prisoners and a quantity of stores. Tyler, with the main body of his command, after a sharp fight, made good his retreat to Harper's Ferry. Thus, the lower part of the Valley was swept of the Union forces, and the rebels captured over 4,000 prisoners, 29 pieces of artillery, 270 wagons and ambulances, and 400 horses, together with a large amount of military stores.*

In view of the threatened invasion, preparations were at once made for the defence of Pennsylvania. Gen. Couch, on the 9th of June, was assigned to the department of the Susquehanna, having his headquarters at Harrisburg; and Gen. Brooks, at the same time,

* Milroy's defence of the post intrusted to his care, Mr. Swinton tells us, was infamously feeble, and the worst of that long train of misconduct that made the Valley of the Shenandoah to be called the "Valley of Humiliation." A court of inquiry was ordered, on the report of which the president decided against court-martialing Milroy.

took charge of the department of the Monongahela, with his headquarters at Pittsburg. Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, issued a proclamation, on the 12th of June, calling on the people to rouse themselves in the existing emergency. So soon as the attack on Winchester became known at Washington, Mr. Lincoln, on the 13th of June, issued a proclamation, in which he declared that "the armed insurrectionary combinations now existing in several of the states, are threatening to make inroads into the states of Maryland, Western Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, requiring an additional military force for the service of the United States." He therefore called into the service 100,000 militia to serve for six months; from Maryland 10,000, Pennsylvania 50,000, Ohio 30,000, West Virginia 10,000; he also, with Gov. Seymour's prompt acquiescence, called for 20,000 men from New York.

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Gov. Curtin issued another proclamation, on the same day that the president's was sent forth, appealing earnestly to those "who hate treason and its abettors, and invoking them to rise in their might and rush to the rescue in this hour of imminent peril." The governor's words hardly produced their proper effect, and in less than a week, he had to call upon the people again; but now, the rebels were actually in Pennsylvania, committing depredations very extensively, and as this was an argument they felt to the full, they bestirred themselves accordingly. The governors of West Virginia, Ohio, and Maryland, also issued spirit-stirring appeals to the people, and there was a general disposition in all the states to furnish the necessary aid.

The rebel commander, inspirited by his success thus far, endeavored to entice Hooker further from his base, and thus gain an opportunity to strike a blow at Washington. With this object in view, Hill's corps having been sent to join Ewell's in the valley, Longstreet, with his corps augmented by three brigades of Pickett's division, moved from Culpepper along the eastern side of the Blue Ridge, and took position at Ashby's and Snicker's Gaps. His front was secured by Stuart's cavalry, against whom Hooker sent Pleasanton with his energetic force. A sharp encounter occurred, on the 17th of June, at Aldie, which served in part to develop Lee's position; and again, on the 21st, our cavalry met Stuart's troopers on the road between Aldie and Ashby's Gap, and drove them through Middlebury and Upperville, and beyond. "It was a most disastrous day to the rebel cavalry," said Pleasanton, in a dispatch. "Our loss has been very small, both in men and horses. I never saw the men and troops behave better, or under more difficult circumstances. Very heavy charges were made, and the sabre was used freely, but always with great advantage to us."

The great success of Ewell at Winchester, noted on a previous page (p. 322), was immediately followed up by the passage of a body of 1,500 rebel cavalry, under Jenkins, across the Potomac, who passed through Hagerstown and Greencastle, and then advanced to Chambersburg, which town they entered without opposition on the

evening of the 15th of June. Horses, cattle, forage, goods (paid for in confederate scrip) were freely seized upon; the bridges on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, from Harper's Ferry to Cumberland, a distance of a hundred miles, were destroyed by Imboden, and the road itself torn up to a considerable extent; and the rebels displayed the utmost activity in supplying their needs out of the property of the rich farmers of Pennsylvania. No wonder that an unparalleled excitement was roused in the loyal states, and intense interest manifested in the movements of that army on which rested the grave responsibility of repulsing and driving out the daring rebels.

As Hooker was not to be lured away from the direct defence of the capital in order to make an attack upon Longstreet, Lee resolved at once to carry out his original purpose of invasion, and to give up the hoped-for chance of any blow against Washington. Accordingly, Ewell, having been relieved by Hill and Longstreet, began to move with the advancing column on Sunday, June 21st. On the same day, Lee issued an order to his army, regulating the mode of procuring supplies "while in the enemy's country," as he phrased it. No private property was to be injured or destroyed. The chiefs of the commissary, quarter-master, ordnance, and medical departments were authorized to make requisitions upon the local authorities or inhabitants for the supplies they might need, payment for which should be tendered, and if refused, receipts should be given for the property taken. If property was withheld or concealed, it was liable to peremptory seizure.*

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The day following this order, June 22d, Ewell's corps crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, passed thence to Hagerstown, and entered Greencastle early in the afternoon. On the 23d, Chambersburg was re-occupied by Rodes's division of Ewell's force. The next day, Lee, with the main body of his army, crossed into Maryland at the fords at Shepherdstown and Williamsport, and moved up the Cumberland Valley on the west side of the Cotoctin Mountains. His advance was made in two divisions, one by way of the Harrisburg and Chambersburg Railroad towards Harrisburg, and the other from Gettysburg eastward to the Northern Central Railroad from Baltimore to Harrisburg, and thence to York and Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. On the 25th of June, the enemy was at Carlisle, from which Gen. Knipe, who was stationed at the place with two New York militia regiments, retired to Harrisburg from the presence of a superior force.

Ewell, on entering Chambersburg, issued an order to the inhabitants, forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to his command, and admonishing all citizens of the country to abstain from all acts of hostility, upon the penalty of "being dealt with in a summary

* Pollard complains bitterly that Lee did not take occasion to retaliate "the ferocity of the enemy," by laying waste and ravaging Pennsylvania while he had an opportunity. "Such tenderness, the effect of a weak and strained chivalry, or more probably that of deference to European opinion, is another of the many instances which the war has furnished of the simplicity and sentimental facility of the South."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 23.

manner." On the 27th of June, the main body of Ewell's, Longstreet's, and Hill's corps were encamped near Chambersburg.* Early's division was detached for the purpose of crossing South Mountain, and proceeded as far east as York, while the remainder of the corps proceeded to Carlisle. Imboden, in pursuance of his instructions, had been actively engaged on the left of Ewell during the progress of the latter into Maryland, in destroying railroad bridges, etc.

Several hundred of the enemy's advance guard of cavalry rode into Gettysburg, on the afternoon of June 26th, "shouting and yelling," says an observer, "like so many savages from the wilds of the Rocky Mountains; firing their pistols, not caring whether they killed or maimed man, woman or child; and rushing from stable to stable in search of horses." The same afternoon, Gordon's brigade, consisting of 5,000 men, of Early's division of Ewell's corps, entered Gettysburg, driving before them a Pennsylvania militia regiment, which had been stationed as an outpost of the town.† Early who accompanied this brigade, immediately demanded of the authorities a large amount of supplies, viz.:—1,200 pounds sugar, 600 pounds of coffee, 60 barrels of flour, 1,000 pounds of salt, 7,000 pounds of bacon, 10 barrels of whiskey, 10 barrels of onions, 1,000 pairs of shoes, and 500 hats, amounting in value to $6,000; or in lieu thereof, $5,000 cash. On being assured, however, that the demand was entirely beyond any possibility of their meeting it, Early did not attempt any forcible requisition, and comparatively little damage was done to the town.

Hurrying forward, Early passed through Hanover the next morning, and on Sunday, June 28th, entered and occupied York. His headquarters were in the town, with the larger part of his force, and he made an immediate demand for money and supplies. The authorities were called upon for $100,000 in United States Treasury notes, 200 barrels of flour, 40,000 pounds of fresh beef, 30,000 bushels of corn, 1,000 pairs of shoes, 1,000 pairs of stockings, and 1,000 coats and caps, beside various other articles, amounting in value to not less than $150,000; but the rebels did not get more than $30,000 in cash and subsistence. At Wrightsville, on the Susquehanna, our troops there retreated across the river, and the bridge having been fired, the rebels were prevented from ravaging east of the Susquehanna.*

Early retreated from York on the 30th of June, and in doing so took great credit to himself and his men for

* Stuart with his cavalry had been left east of the Blue Ridge, in order to harass Hooker in crossing the Potomac, after which, he was ordered to pass into Maryland, and take position on the right of the advancing column. Not being able to effect anything, he crossed below the point where Hooker passed over the Potomac, and thus found the army between him and Lee, which necessitated, on Stuart's part, a wide detour. He reached Carlisle on the 1st of July, after Ewell had left the place.

† From the appearance of the ragged, dirty, shoeless, and hatless rebel troops, on the present occasion, it appears that the "chivalry" had not improved since the former invasion (see p. 228).

* The same day, a train of 178 wagons was captured by the rebels between Rockville and Tenallytown; a number of army officers were taken prisoners near Rockville by some of Stuart's cavalry; and at Edwards' Ferry fifteen barges, loaded with government stores, were burnt by Stuart's men. A raid, of no great moment, was made in several directions by Stuart, almost to the capital; he then marched through Westminister to Carlisle.

their excellent conduct: "Had I applied the torch without regard to consequences, I would have pursued a course that would have been fully vindicated as an act of just retaliation for the unparalleled acts of brutality perpetrated by your own army on our soil. But we do not war upon women and children, and I trust the treatment you have met with at the hands of my soldiers will open your eyes to the odious tyranny under which it is apparent to all you are groaning."

The Army of the Potomac, meanwhile, was slowly advancing to its work. Having crossed the Potomac, on the 25th and 26th of June, at Edwards' Ferry, the army advanced to Frederick, Maryland, where Hooker established his headquarters, and whence he might move upon Lee in the direction which seemed most advantageous. It appears to have been his purpose to menace the rebel rear by a movement towards Chambersburg, and he ordered Slocum to march with the 12th corps to Harper's Ferry, and taking with him the garrison there, under French, 11,000 strong, to push forward the proposed demonstration; but Halleck interfered. Hooker remonstrated, in earnest terms, and pointed out that the garrison at the Ferry was of no earthly use in the present state of affairs; but the general-in-chief was not to be moved; Maryland Heights must be held; "much expense and labor had been incurred in fortifying them." Hooker, indignant at having his plans interfered with, and probably not altogether comfortable in other respects, determined to throw up his command. On the 27th of June, he requested to be relieved, and the next morning an order came from Washington, acceding to his request, and appointing Gen. George G. Meade to the command of the Army of the Potomac.*

The appointment was an excellent one, probably the best that could have been made, and both the officers and the army felt every confidence in the judgment, courage, and skill of their new commander. Warned by what had taken place on previous occasions, Meade's address to the army, June 28th, was simple, unadorned by rhetorical flourishes, and straightforward:—"By direction of the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. As a soldier, in obeying this order, an order totally unexpected and unsolicited, I have no promises or pledges to make. The country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view constantly the magnitude of the interests involved, and let each man determine to do his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Providence the decision of the contest." 1863.

At this date, Lee was preparing to cross the Susquehanna and strike Harrisburg, but having received information from a scout that Meade's army

* Mr. Swinton, who does not spare Halleck for his vexatious interference, thinks that "the conduct of Gen. Hooker cannot be accounted noble or highminded. A truly lofty sense of duty would have dictated much long suffering, in a conjuncture of circumstances, amid which the success of the campaign might be seriously compromised by the sudden change of commanders.' See Swinton's "*Army of the Potomac*," pp. 321–323.

was advancing northward, and that the head of the column had reached South Mountain, he was compelled, by this rapid gathering on his flank, to concentrate his forces on the east side of the mountain, in order to preserve his communications with the Potomac. Accordingly, Longstreet and Hill were ordered to proceed from Chambersburg towards Gettysburg, about twenty miles eastward, to which point Ewell also was directed to countermarch from York and Carlisle.

It was evident, from the state of things, that a collision between the two armies could not be far distant. Meade, having compelled Lee to loose his hold upon the Susquehanna, was carefully considering where to select a position in which to receive battle on advantageous terms.* The line of Pipe Creek, on the ridge between the Monocacy and the waters running into Chesapeake Bay, seemed adapted to his purpose; but no decision was yet formed, and various circumstances soon after occurring, led, providentially, to the making choice of Gettysburg as the point where the rebels were to be signally repulsed. On the 29th of June, Meade's army was in motion, and at night was in position, the left at Emmittsburg and the right at New Windsor. Buford's division of cavalry was on the left flank, with its advance at Gettysburg; Kilpatrick's division was in front at Hanover. The next day, in view of the approaching deadly struggle, Meade issued an address to the army, in which, with the utmost earnestness, he besought the officers and soldiers to bear in mind what vast interests depended on their steadiness and good conduct. "Homes, firesides, and domestic altars are involved. The army has fought well heretofore. It is believed that it will fight more desperately and bravely than ever, if it is addressed in fitting terms. Corps and other commanders are authorized to order the instant death of any soldier who fails to do his duty at this hour."

On the night of June 30th, the right wing of the army was ordered to Manchester, in rear of Pipe Creek, the centre was directed towards Two Taverns and Hancock, while the left wing, consisting of the 1st, 11th, and 3d corps, under Gen. Reynolds, moved forward to occupy Gettysburg the next morning. Buford, with his cavalry, passing through the town, pushed out reconnaissances west and north, to ascertain, if possible, the movements of Lee's army. On the morning of Tuesday, June 30th, a portion of Hill's corps advanced on the Chambersburg road as far as the crest of Seminary Hill, half a mile north-west of the village, but did not remain, retiring towards Cashtown. About nine o'clock, the next morning, July 1st, Buford found himself engaged, rather unexpectedly, with the van of Hill's force, about a mile west of the town. Aware of the importance of retarding Hill's advance, Buford skilfully arranged his men and used his artillery to good effect. In less than an hour, Reynolds reached Gettysburg, and dashing

* Gen. French, who was in command at Harper's Ferry, was ordered, on the 28th of June, to leave that post, which was represented, incorrectly, however, as destitute of supplies; to occupy Frederick with 7,000 of his men, and with the remaining 4,000 to remove and escort the public property to Washington.

through the town, hastened to Buford's support. He deployed his advance division immediately, and attacked the enemy, at the same time sending orders for the 11th corps (Howard's) to advance as rapidly as possible. Reynolds found himself engaged with a force greatly outnumbering his own, and had scarcely made his dispositions for the action, when a ball from one of the enemy's sharpshooters struck him, and he fell mortally wounded, at the head of his advance.* This devolved the command of the 1st corps upon Doubleday, and the charge of the field on Howard, who arrived about midday, with the 11th corps, then commanded by Gen. Schurz. Howard pushed forward two divisions under Schurz and Barlow to support the 1st corps, which had bravely and nobly withstood the rebel assault, on the ridge to the north of the town. The other division of the 11th corps under Steinwehr was posted, by Howard, with three batteries of artillery, on Cemetery Hill, on the south of the town of Gettysburg, a most important step, and as it happened, the one which, in Meade's hands, secured the repulse of the rebels.

Up to this time the battle had been with the forces of the enemy debouching from the mountains on the Cashtown road, known to be Hill's corps. In the early part of the action success was on our side—Wadsworth's division of the 1st corps having driven the enemy back some distance, and capturing numerous prisoners, some 1,500 or more, among them Gen. Archer of the rebel army. This took place in the rear of the seminary, near Willoughby's Run, at about the middle of the day. The arrival of reinforcements to the rebels on the Cashtown road, and the junction with Ewell's corps, coming on the York and Harrisburg roads, which occurred between **1863.** one and two o'clock P.M., enabled the enemy to bring vastly superior forces against both the 1st and 11th corps, outflanking our line of battle and pressing it so severely that, at about four P.M., Howard deemed it prudent to withdraw these two corps to Cemetery Ridge, on the south side of the town, which operation was successfully accomplished—not, however, without a loss in prisoners of 2,500 to 3,000, arising from the confusion incident to the being pressed by the enemy while portions of both corps were passing through the town.

About the time of the withdrawal just noted, Hancock arrived, having been sent by Meade, on hearing of the death of Reynolds, to take command on the field, until he himself should reach the front. Hancock, in conjunction with Howard, proceeded to post troops on Cemetery Ridge or Hill, and to repel an attack made on our right flank, which was promptly done. The rebels, seeing the strength of the position occupied, desisted from any further at-

* Prof. Jacobs, speaking of Gen. Reynolds, says: "He has been charged with rashness, with fool-hardiness, and with prematurely bringing on the battle. But it would, perhaps, be more just to say that he had but little direct agency in bringing it on; that it was unavoidable; that it was forced on us by the rebels; that if they had not been held in check that day, they would have pressed on and obtained the impregnable position which we were enabled to hold; and that, most of all the hand of Providence, who gave us a signal victory, was in the arrangements of that day."—"*Notes on the Rebel Invasion*," 1863, p. 26.

tack this day. About seven P.M., Slocum and Sickles, with the 12th corps, and part of the 3d, reached the ground, and took post on the right and left of the troops previously posted. The rebels, according to the accounts of eye-witnesses, were much elated with the results of the contest thus far, and they expressed themselves as abundantly able to cut up Meade's army in detail, fatigued as it was by long marches, and with only two corps which had as yet arrived. On the other hand, the prospect was much more gloomy and disheartening to our men; yet, though the hours of that first of July night were weary with painful expectation, they did not give way to despondency; they nerved themselves to fight for the cause of truth and right, in the confidence that truth and right would prevail.*

Meade, satisfied that Lee would renew the attack in full force the next day, and also that the position already secured offered most valuable means of defence, resolved to give battle at this point. Early in the evening of July 1st, he ordered all the corps to concentrate at Gettysburg, the trains being sent meanwhile to the rear at Westminster. Headquarters at Taneytown were broken up at eleven o'clock that night, and Meade arrived on the field at one o'clock A.M., Thursday morning, July 2d. So soon as it was light Meade proceeded to inspect the position occupied, and to make arrangements for placing the several corps as they should reach the ground. By seven o'clock, the 2d and 5th corps, with the rest of the 3d, had reached the ground, and were posted as follows: The 11th retained its position on the cemetery side, just opposite to the town. The 1st was posted on the right of the 11th, on an elevated knoll, Culp's Hill, connecting with the ridge extending to the south and east, on which the 2d was placed. 1863. The right of the 12th rested on a small stream, Rock Creek, at a point where it crossed the Baltimore turnpike. Cemetery Ridge extended in a westerly and southerly direction, gradually diminishing in elevation till it came to a very prominent ridge, called Round Top, running east and west. The 2d and 3d corps were directed to occupy the continuation of Cemetery Ridge, on the left of the 11th. The 2nd, pending the arrival of the 6th, was held in reserve. While these dispositions were being made, the enemy was massing his troops on the exterior ridge, distant from the line occupied by us from a mile to a mile and a-half. At two P.M., the 6th corps (Sedgwick's) arrived, after a march of thirty-two miles since nine o'clock of the evening before. On Sedgwick's arrival, the Army of the Potomac was about equal in numbers to that of the rebels, whose line was about five miles in stretch, and was in part well concealed by a fringe of woods. Imme-

* It is interesting here to compare Lee's statements, in his report, in regard to the movements and operations of the 1st of July. Having spoken of his men driving our forces through Gettysburg with heavy loss, and claiming that he had taken 5,000 prisoners and several pieces of artillery, he gave as his reason for not pressing the attack, that he was waiting for his troops to come up. He was, moreover, in doubt as to the amount of Meade's force, and as to fighting a general battle so far from his base.

diately on the arrival of the 6th corps, the 5th was directed to remove over to the extreme left, and the 6th to occupy its place as a reserve for the right.

Thursday morning, July 2d, did not present quite so bright a prospect to the rebels as the night before. Then, they were jubilant over expected success; now, on further examination of the position of our army, and being aware of large reinforcements having arrived, Lee saw plainly that it was no such easy task as had been anticipated to drive back Meade; hence, he made his arrangements leisurely and with care before beginning the attack. "Here I cannot but remark," says Mr. Everett in his Address,* "on the providential inaction of the rebel army. Had the contest been renewed by it at daylight, on the 2d of July, with the 1st and 11th corps exhausted by the battle and the retreat, the 3d and 12th weary from their forced march, and the 2d, 5th, and 6th not yet arrived, nothing but a miracle could have saved the army from a great disaster. Instead of this, the day dawned, the sun rose, the cool hours of the morning passed, the forenoon and a considerable part of the afternoon wore away, without the slightest aggressive movement of the enemy. Thus time was given for half of our forces to arrive and take their place in the lines, while the rest of the army enjoyed a much needed half-day's repose."

Having perfected his arrangements, Lee gave the signal for the attack a little before half-past four o'clock, when a terrific cannonading began, accompanied by an infantry charge on our left. His plan was to seize the position held by Sickles with the 3d corps, that general having pushed his troops beyond the point which Meade wished and intended, and then to use this position from whence to assail the more elevated ground beyond, and gain possession of the crest of the ridge. This work was assigned to Longstreet and his men. Ewell was ordered to attack the high ground on our right, and Hill was directed to threaten the centre and prevent reinforcements being sent to either wing of our army.

It was a fearful struggle in which Sickles immediately became involved, at a peach orchard near the Emmitsburg road. Fierce as was the assault of the rebels, it was steadily met by our men; but at last they began to give way. Sickles rallied them again, and they arrested and hurled back the advancing column for a short time; but finding themselves opposed by an overwhelming mass of the enemy, and hard pressed, Sickles himself being severely wounded, they gave way a second time. It was a most critical moment. The rebels had thrust a portion of their force under Hood between the extreme left of Sickles and Round Top, and as Little Round Top was not yet occupied, Hood might have massed his division, pushed boldly for the rocky summit, and thus grasped the key of the battle ground. But help arrived at the opportune moment. Hancock sent a portion of the 2d corps to cover the

* On the 19th of November, 1863, a National Cemetery was consecrated at Gettysburg, with suitable and imposing ceremonies. The Hon. Edward Everett delivered the address on this interesting occasion, and a dedicatory speech was made by President Lincoln.

right flank of Sickles' corps, and at five P.M., Sykes's command came up and took position on the left of Sickles's men. Happily, Gen. Warren, chief engineer, reached Little Round Top, which was being used as a signal station, just at the time of Hood's attack. He instantly obtained a portion of Sykes's command to seize and occupy this all-important point; this was accomplished after a most furious hand-to-hand contest, in which Hood's men made a most desperate effort to gain the position, but were repulsed and hurled back. At six P.M., Crawford's division of the 5th corps, consisting of two brigades of Pennsylvania Reserves, having until this time been held in reserve, went into a charge with loud shouts and most determined spirit, and drove the rebels down the rocky front of Little Round Top, across the valley below, and over the next hill into the woods beyond, taking 300 prisoners. This gallant charge saved our left from further loss, although Birney, who had taken command of the 3d corps when Sickles was wounded, was pressed so hard, and with such large numbers of the enemy, that he was obliged to fall back nearly half a mile, and reform behind the line originally held on or near the Emmitsburg road.

Owing to some cause unexplained, Ewell's demonstrations on our right against the forces on Cemetery and Culp's Hills, were very much delayed, and it was nearly sunset when he ordered the attack. The artillery began to play, and Early's division advanced against Cemetery Hill, and Johnson's against Culp's Hill. The assault was fiercely made; but it was resolutely met; the rebels were killed in great numbers, and driven back with frightful loss. Johnson's attack on Culp's Hill was more successful, for Geary's force, stationed there, had been so much weakened by detachments sent to aid the left in its great extremity, that only a single brigade, under Green, remained; and hence the rebels, after some two hours' fighting, penetrated our lines to the breastworks on the furthest right, and retained their foothold during the night. This closed the second day's struggle, in which our loss was fearfully large—some 20,000—but the real advantage was still in our hands, and Meade and his corps commanders were quite confident of being able to maintain their position, and effectually repulse the rebel host under Lee.

Gen. Buford's division of cavalry, after its arduous services at Gettysburg, on the 1st of July, was, on the 2d, sent to Westminister, to refit and guard our trains. Kilpatrick's division, which, on the 29th and 30th of June and 1st of July, had been successfully engaging the rebel cavalry, was, on the 3d, sent to our extreme left, on the Emmitsburg road, where good service was rendered in assaulting the enemy's line and occupying his attention. At the same time Gen. Gregg was engaged with the rebels on our extreme right, having passed across the Baltimore turnpike and Bonaughton road, and boldly attacked Lee's left and rear.

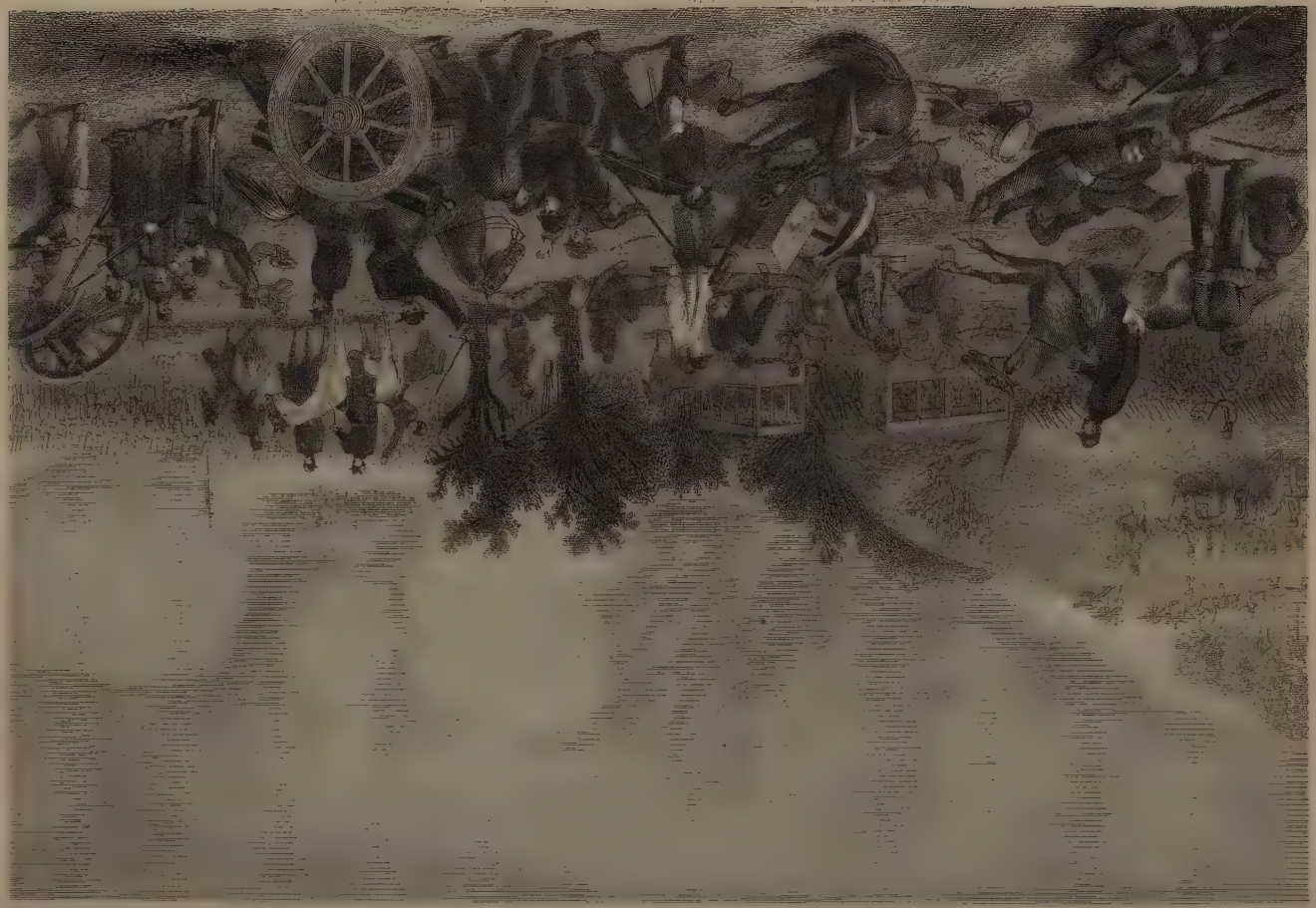
The lodgment effected by Ewell's troops, on the night of the 2d of July, was esteemed by Lee important for his purposes, his idea being that Ewell

should take possession of Culp's Hill and the Baltimore road, and then throw his whole force upon and break our right. This purpose, however, was defeated by Meade, who ordered a powerful artillery force against the point entered by the enemy, and opened a heavy fire, at four o'clock in the morning of July 3d. Geary, with his force, having returned during the night, immediately attacked the rebels with great spirit, and having been reinforced by a brigade of the 6th corps, he succeeded, after a four hours' sharp contest, in driving the rebels back and re-occupying his former position. Thus our right flank was secured, and Lee turned his attention to another point of attack.

For several hours there was entire silence in all directions; Lee was preparing his last great effort; Meade was waiting for the shock. The rebel artillery, nearly 150 guns, was placed on the ridge occupied by Longstreet and Hill, and a few minutes after one o'clock in the afternoon of this eventful day, the portentous silence was broken. Our artillery, which crowned the left and left centre, was not so great in number as that of the enemy, but it was very effective in its important position. For nearly two hours some 250 great guns "belched forth the missiles of death, producing such a continuous succession of crashing sounds as to make us (we quote Professor Jacobs) feel as if the very heavens had been rent asunder,—such as were never equaled by the most terrific thunderstorm ever witnessed by mortal man. The air was filled with lines of whizzing, screaming, bursting shells and solid shot." The cannonade gradually ceased, without having produced any noticeable effect, and then came "the tug of war." Successive lines of rebel infantry advanced over the intervening space, resolved, if possible, to carry the heights, where our men coolly but resolutely awaited them. It was a terrible, an awfully bloody struggle. Pickett's division of Longstreet's men dashed forward with such impetuosity as fairly to mount the crest of Cemetery Ridge; but it was in vain; they were cut down, discomfited and broken. Pettigrew's division of North Carolina fresh troops on Pickett's right, had been foolishly told that they would meet only Pennsylvania militia; but, on receiving the first fire, their eyes were opened; the cry ran through the ranks, "the Army of the Potomac!" They quailed before the dreaded enemy, and they broke in disorder, leaving 2,000 prisoners and fifteen stands of colors in our hands. The rebels, meanwhile, showed considerable activity on their extreme right, opposite Little Round Top, from which Hood's division strove to drive our men and turn our flank; but they were not successful. A vigorous charge was made upon the enemy, and they were thoroughly repulsed, with severe loss.

Thus, as the sun was setting, the third day of the great battle was brought to its close. The rebels were beaten; Lee gave up all hope of breaking through Meade's position, and immediately devoted himself to preparation against assault and for a speedy retreat.* Gen. Meade, in his report,

* Mr. Swinton exercises the office of military critic



gives his reasons, at large, for not entering instantly, and with his entire force, upon a vigorous pursuit of Lee and his army. The reader, on consulting the report, must judge of the soundness of Meade's conclusions. The cavalry was sent off directly, and on the 12th of July, Meade passed through South Mountain, intending to attack Lee the next day near Williamsport; but during the night the rebel general retreated into Virginia, and finally occupied the line of the Rapidan.* Meade's army resumed its position on the Rappahannock.

The losses in the battle of Gettysburg were painfully severe and heavy. Gens. Reynolds, Weed and Zook were killed; Gens. Barlow, Barnes, Butterfield, Doubleday, Gibbon, Graham, Hancock, Sickles and Warren were wounded; while of officers below this rank, and of men, there were 2,834 killed, 13,733 wounded, and 6,643 missing, making an aggregate of over 23,000.

Gen. Lee, for prudential reasons, probably, made no report of his losses, simply stating that they were "severe." On his retreat he left, at various points along the road, 7,540 wounded to be cared for by our army and people. Gen. Meade took 13,621 prisoners, while the killed, wounded and missing are estimated to be over 20,000; making Lee's loss, besides a large number of general officers, to be fully one-third of the entire army with which he so confidently invaded the loyal states.

In speaking of the battle on the 3d of July, Lee uses brief and general terms: "The morning was occupied in necessary preparations, and the battle recommenced in the afternoon, and raged with great violence until sunset. Our troops succeeded in entering the advanced works of the enemy, and getting possession of some of his batteries; but our artillery having nearly expended its ammunition, the attacking columns became exposed to the heavy fire of the numerous batteries near the summit of the ridge, and, after a most determined and gallant struggle, were compelled to relinquish their advantage, and fall back to their original positions, with severe loss."

The day after the battle, July 4th, Gen Meade issued an address to the Army of the Potomac, in which he bestowed the high praise and commendation to which it was so fully entitled, saying, in conclusion, "It is right and proper that we should, on suitable occasions, return our grateful thanks to the Almighty Disposer of events, that, in the goodness of his Providence, He has thought fit to give victory to the cause of the just."

A few days later, the news arrived

with some pretentiousness, and certainly with great freedom. As in the case of McClellan at Antietam, so here, in Meade's case, he sharply censures the not pursuing immediately the rebel army and completely routing them, as he holds to have been perfectly possible, if not quite a certainty.—See "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 370.

* Gen. Lee, during his retreat, addressed his troops, July 11th, in which he reminded them of long and trying marches in penetrating the country of the enemy, besought them to think of the glorious past, nerve themselves for victory, etc. "You have fought," he said, "a fierce and sanguinary battle, which, if not attended with the success that has hitherto crowned your efforts, was marked by the same heroic spirit that has commanded the respect of your enemies, the gratitude of your country, and the admiration of mankind." It is hardly to be expected that the routed army derived much comfort from such words as these.

of the great successes on the Mississippi, at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. There was great rejoicing throughout the loyal states, and there seemed now good ground to hope that the mad struggle of the rebellion was approaching its end. President Lincoln, as was every way proper and becoming, issued a proclamation, July 15th, appointing Thursday, August 6th, as a day of national thanksgiving, which day was duly and devoutly observed.*

* Prof. Jacobs, in his interesting "*Notes on the Rebel Invasion*," published soon after Lee's retreat, compares the battle of Gettysburg with that of Waterloo in its far-reaching consequences. His remarks are of sufficient value to be worth quoting in this connection:—"The battle of Waterloo resulted in effectually crushing the power of Napoleon and the grinding despotism that he was exercising over Europe. It broke to pieces that army in whose track followed desolation and famine, and whose final triumph must have resulted in the destruction of all the then existing governments of the civilized world. The battle of Gettysburg resulted, first, in checking the progress and then in destroying the power of a well-disciplined and defiant army, which had come to the North for the express purpose of robbery and of spreading terror and desolation in its track, and by the capture of Baltimore and Washington, of dictating to us the most humiliating terms of peace. The sway of Napoleon over subject Europe would not have been more tyrannical and destructive of the vital interests of the people, than would have been the establishment, by a decisive victory of Lee, of an overbearing slave power as a controlling influence in our country. The fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, which followed immediately after the battle of Gettysburg, though of the highest importance to the country, is, nevertheless, not equal in its influence to the breaking of the power of an army which was striking a blow at the heart of the nation. In the defeat, therefore, of Lee, the corner stone of that fabric which the rebellion sought to erect on human bondage and the distinction of the races of men, which God has made of one blood, is crushed to pieces, and the bright days of a happy future loom up before our vision, when we shall once more be a united and prosperous people."

Book Ninth.

FROM THE

DEFEAT OF LEE AT GETTYSBURG

TO THE

DEATH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

1863—1865.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

1863.

BURNSIDE AND DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO: MORGAN'S DARING RAID: EAST TENNESSEE.

General state of affairs — Relative position and tone of the rebels and the people of the loyal states — Views as to peace, etc. — Burnside in command of the department of the Ohio — State of the department — Burnside's fitness for the post — General Order, No. 38 — Case of C. L. Vallandingham — His arrest, trial, sentence, etc. — Newspapers brought under the order — Burnside's force — Inadequate to the wants of the department — Rebel notions and policy as to invasion of the free states — Morgan's famous raid into Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio — Details of his wanton destruction of property, and of the steps taken to cut him off — Exciting race — Morgan caught at last — Escapes afterwards from prison — Burnside's preparations for advance into East Tennessee — Leaves Lexington, August 16th — By unfrequented roads crosses the Cumberland Mountains — Entrance into Knoxville, Tennessee — Joy and enthusiasm of the inhabitants at release from rebel despotism and cruelty — Public property seized by Burnside — De Courcy sent against Cumberland Gap — Other force sent — Burnside demands the surrender — The Gap given up to him — The loss severely felt by the rebels — Davis's complaints — Burnside's further movements to September 14th, 1863.

THE tremendous blows inflicted upon the rebels at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Port Hudson, of which we have given an account in preceding chapters, "changed all the aspects of the war (according to a zealous secession writer) and brought the South from an unequalled exaltation of hope to the very brink of despair." In similar wise, the government and people of the loyal states indulged in the pleasing prospect of a speedy dying out of the rebel power and capability of continuing the war, and of the consequent return of peace, with its manifold blessings and privileges. It was deemed hardly credible that the leaders of the rebellion could either persuade or compel those over whom they exercised dominion, to go on with the struggle; and if any one had predicted that they would be able for two years to withstand the

force brought to bear against them, and to sustain the trials of want and well nigh famine, and the gradual but sure approach of final and complete defeat, he would have been considered a very lugubrious prophet. Nevertheless, the stern logic of facts showed clearly that, as the arch traitors at Richmond had resolved to venture all upon the cast of a die, that as with them success was everything, even though they brought ruin and misery upon all around them, so these disasters to the secession cause were not allowed, if they could hinder it, to produce any permanent discontent. There was no lowering of the haughty tone assumed by the rebels. They claimed great elasticity and power of rising superior to misfortune. They swallowed their mortification, and talked as if the cutting the "Confederacy" in twain, and the ignominious results of invasion of the North, were rather to be rejoiced over than otherwise. Davis had the assurance, a few days after the defeat of Lee, to declare that a victorious peace, with proper exertions, was yet immediately within his grasp. It is true, that popular confidence in Davis and his co-workers in the management of affairs, was very considerably diminished; but this did not prevent the rebellion from going on. The leaders were determined it should go on to the death, and numbers of others, however little they thought of Davis and the Richmond officials, had got their pride aroused to its highest pitch, so that they, too, resolved to fight to the end for the cause in which they had imperilled their all.

1863.

Both the rebel leaders and the government and people of the loyal states seemed at this time to have some uncertain, shadowy idea that the war was nearly finished; both gave credence to the notion that one or the other would soon be wearied or worn out; but both lay under a mistake. The rebels were in no humor to give it up as yet; they meant to hold out, even though affairs might speedily become desperate, and certain defeat was ultimately before them. On the other hand, while few perhaps believed that the rebel capability of resistance was so great as it proved to be, it was simply impossible for loyal men ever to submit to the rending of the country in pieces, as secession proposed. The supporters of the Union, having never wavered from their determination to put down the rebellion and preserve the integrity of the Republic, could not be wearied into a yielding to the demands of traitors, even if it should take ten years or twice ten years to bring the war to an end. As time rolled on this mistake was corrected; the rebels saw the folly of imagining that the North would ever lay aside its settled purpose; and the loyal people only wondered, but were never discouraged, at the persistency of the rebels in their wicked designs.

Henceforth, too, it began to be better understood than at an earlier date that, so long as the leaders in this unnatural struggle could maintain organized military forces, just so long the rebellion would be able to continue its existence, and necessitate military and naval operations on our part. Of course, more money and more men were need-

ed; both were readily to be obtained; both *were* obtained; and despite more or less of factious opposition, and sympathizing with secession and its destructive purposes, the work went bravely on. Conscious of rectitude and of the perfect justice of their cause, the people, as a body, never wavered, never admitted a thought of giving up, never faltered in urging forward the war to its conclusion.

In this position of affairs, and actuated by these principles and views of duty, the government steadily sought to render the army and navy as efficient as possible, and through the able and energetic officers and men to attack and subdue the rebel strongholds, and places occupied by them, so soon as the work could be accomplished.

Burnside, who had been succeeded by Hooker in command of the Army of the Potomac, at the close of January, 1863, (see p. 244), was put in charge of the department of the Ohio, on the 26th of March following. This department comprised the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Western Virginia, and Kentucky east of the Tennessee River, including Cumberland Gap, with headquarters at Cincinnati. The position was an important one, and by no means easy to fill. It required nerve, decision, and activity, all of which Burnside was thought to possess. The southern borders of Kentucky were alive with those pests of the war, the guerrillas, and the state itself was again seriously threatened with invasion. There were, too, in this department, considerable disaffection and lukewarmness towards the government; and certain noisy politicians and sympathizers with secession were doing all in their power to annoy, and vex, and hinder the efforts which were being put forth to break down the rebellion. These were comparatively few in number, it is true, but they were bold, loud-mouthed, and unscrupulous; and it was deemed a matter of duty to apply the proper remedy.

On the 13th of April, Burnside issued his general order, No. 38, which was expressed in very decided terms: "The commanding general publishes for the information of all concerned, that hereafter, all persons found within our lines, who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country, will be tried as spies or traitors, and, if convicted, will suffer death. . . . 1863.
The habit of declaring sympathies for the enemy will not be allowed in this department. Persons committing such offences will be at once arrested, with a view to being tried as above stated, or sent beyond our lines into the lines of their friends. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department; all officers and soldiers are strictly charged with the execution of this order."

The warning contained in the document just given was significant, and clearly evinced the determination of the government. An opportunity for the application of Burnside's order speedily occurred. There was in Ohio, at this date, a number of gentlemen who were styled, or styled themselves, "peace democracy." Prominent among these was C. L. Vallandingham, a member of

Congress from Ohio. He had made himself conspicuous at Washington for persistent efforts to hinder, obstruct, and carp at the proceedings and views of the government in regard to measures for suppressing the rebellion; and being now at home he indulged himself in public speaking in various parts of Ohio. He was one of those who, under claim of privilege fairly to discuss and review public proceedings, took occasion to denounce the government in unmeasured terms; he declared, in a public speech, that the war was "wicked, cruel, and unnecessary," "not being waged for the preservation of the Union," but "for the purpose of crushing out liberty and erecting a despotism;" characterizing Burnside's order, No. 38, as "a base usurpation of arbitrary authority," and inviting resistance to it by saying, "the sooner the people inform the minions of usurped power that they will not submit to such restrictions upon their liberties the better."

This course of conduct was held to be so inexcusable, and so injurious to the effective prosecution of the war against the rebels, with whom Vallandingham evidently strongly sympathized, and whose traitorous designs he certainly favored, that Burnside took steps at once for his arrest. The speech referred to above was made on the 1st of May, at Mount Vernon, Knox county, Ohio, and, on the night of the 4th of May, he was arrested by order of Burnside, at his residence at Dayton, carried to Cincinnati, and imprisoned. The next day, Vallandingham applied, through his counsel, Senator Pugh, to the Circuit Court of the United States for the writ of *habeas corpus*. A letter from Burnside was read in court, setting forth the considerations which led him to make the arrest, after which Vallandingham's counsel made a long and able argument on the case. The writ was refused, and Burnside's course was justified on the ground of military necessity.

On the 16th of May, the military commission, of which Gen. R. B. Potter was president, found Vallandingham guilty of the charge brought against him, and sentenced him to close confinement till the end of the war. Mr. Lincoln changed the sentence to transportation through the Union lines. Vallandingham was handed over to the rebels under Bragg, and finally made his way to Canada.*

In the further carrying out the repressive policy in his department, Burnside, on the 1st of June, prohibited the circulation, within the limits of his jurisdiction, of certain newspapers, which, in his judgment, were quite as active in doing mischief, and quite as necessary to be restrained, as popular speakers like Vallandingham and others.† Prominent among these was the New York *World*, whose articles and opinions, it was alleged, tended "to cast reproach upon the government, and to

* We may state, in this connection, that Vallandingham was nominated by his political friends for governor of Ohio, and much use was made, in his behalf, of charges of cruelty, usurpation, etc., on the part of the government. At the election, however, in October, John Brough was elected over Vallandingham by 100,000 majority. In June, 1864, Vallandingham was allowed to return to Ohio without hindrance.

† See Woodbury's "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*," pp. 265—277.

weaken its efforts to suppress the rebellion, by creating distrust in its war policy, and its circulation in war-time being calculated to exert a pernicious and treasonable influence." The publication of the Chicago *Times* was also, at the same time, ordered to be suppressed, "on account of the repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary sentiments." President Lincoln, in view of the great delicacy and difficulty of questions connected with the liberty of the press, revoked this order of Burnside, and the newspapers were allowed to go on their own way as usual.

Burnside, on assuming command of the department, felt the necessity of an increase of force, to enable him to accomplish the work of establishing and maintaining order and efficiency, as well as to secure the deliverance of East Tennessee. At his earnest request, two divisions of the 9th corps, then in camp at Newport News, were sent to him. By the aid of these he was able to do something towards checking Pegram's movements in Kentucky. Burnside's line of defence was necessarily long, and had various weak points in it. Troops were posted in localities offering most favorable means of guarding the line and repressing the enemy; and the lines of railroads, leading to the extreme front in Western Kentucky and Tennessee, then held by Rosecrans, were watched and protected with great care. Still, Burnside was painfully conscious that his available force was inadequate for the work to be done. Congress had authorized the organization of a body of troops in Kentucky, 20,000 in number, and Burnside gladly took the requisite steps to secure their service at the earliest moment.

A movement upon East Tennessee was arranged between Gens. Burnside, Rosecrans, and Thomas; and Burnside, on the 2d of June, proceeded to Lexington to take the field; but a dispatch from Washington, received that day, required him to send reinforcements to Grant, operating against Vicksburg. As, by this order, some 8,000 men were taken from him, Burnside was reluctantly obliged to postpone, for a time, the intended movement into Tennessee.

It will be remembered by the reader, as was noted on a previous page (see p. 320), that the rebel leaders, at this date, thought that an aggressive policy would be better for their interests than the one they were pursuing. In accordance with this view, Lee, as we have seen, invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania, with high hopes and expectations. A similar desire for making inroads into the loyal states was felt in other quarters, and a plan was laid by the rebels to break through our lines in Western or Central Kentucky, cross the Ohio, plunder the southern tier of counties of Indiana and Ohio, and either escape into West Virginia, or make a bold march through Pennsylvania and join Lee in his invasion of the North. The leader of the projected expedition was the noted rebel raider, John H. Morgan, a man excellently adapted for this kind of work, by his dashing energy and skill, and his utter lack of scrupulousness in seeking to attain his ends. This famous raid was remarkable in the annals of the war for the reckless

zeal with which it was prosecuted, the wanton destruction of life and property which attended it, and its ultimately complete failure.

Morgan's command having been strengthened by several picked regiments from Tennessee, his force being between 3,000 and 4,000 cavalry, with a battery of artillery, set out, on the 27th of June, from Sparta, Tennessee, and, by a rapid march, entered Kentucky, reaching the Cumberland in the vicinity of Jamestown. Here he was watched by a brigade of cavalry, with artillery, under Colonel Wolford, but managed, on the night of the 2d of July, to cross the river lower down, at Burkesville, the water being high, improvising a number of flats for the occasion. There was some skirmishing with the Union cavalry guarding the fords, and in the vicinity of Columbia, whither the enemy proceeded. Morgan then moved on Green River, where, on the morning of the 4th of July, he found his progress arrested at the turnpike bridge, by some 200 men of the 25th Michigan cavalry, under Col. Moore, in an entrenched position. An attack was made by Morgan, which, however, resulted in a repulse and very severe loss, especially of officers.

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After this mishap, Morgan crossed above at New Market, and by the next morning reached Lebanon. He found the town garrisoned by a force of about 400 men, under Col. Hanson, who, stationing his troops in the depot and other buildings, kept up a contest of seven hours, but was at last obliged to surrender, the artillery having set fire to the houses. The town was sacked, and Morgan's command freely supplied with arms and ammunition from the captured regiment. From Lebanon the enemy proceeded to Springfield, on their way toward the Ohio. At Bardstown, on the 6th of July, twenty men of the 4th United States cavalry were supriseed, and after defending themselves in a stable, while their ammunition lasted, surrendered. At Shepherdsville, on Salt River, Morgan stopped a passenger train from Louisville. Twenty soldiers in the cars were captured, and the express and mail matter, with the valuables of the passengers, freely pillaged.

Passing through Lawrenceville, Morgan and his men reached Brandenburg, on the Ohio, on the 7th of July, a place which, it was said, had many southern sympathizers among its inhabitants. There they were speedily enabled to cross the river into Indiana, by gaining possession of two steamboats which came along opportunely for their purposes.

On the morning of the 8th of July, the crossing commenced on the two boats. There was some resistance offered to their passage by a company of home guards, with a single gun, from Leavenworth, in the vicinity, on the Indiana shore. The party, however, was speedily overpowered when Morgan's advance landed. The guards were cut up or captured, and their Parrot gun taken. On the morning of the 9th, Morgan's entire force was landed on the Indiana shore.

The Union troops, which were gathering on the track of Morgan in full pursuit—Colonel Wolford, with his brigade

from Jamestown, joining Gens. Hobson and Shackelford at Springfield—arrived at Brandenburg just after the crossing of Morgan. Hobson was in command, his entire force of Kentucky and Ohio cavalry and mounted infantry, with a howitzer battery and section of artillery, numbering about 3,000. Gen. Judah's division was also summoned from Southern Kentucky, but not arriving in Louisville till after Morgan had crossed the Ohio, was sent up the river in boats to intercept the rebels on their retreat. Hobson immediately crossed the river at Brandenburg, landing his force on the Indiana side before dawn of the 10th of July. The rapid and serpent-like movements of Morgan, now that the pursuers were upon his track, were desperate efforts to escape, rather than any settled plan of invasion.

The alarm speedily became general. No one knew when or where, with any precision, the bold raider would strike; but all were well aware that complete ruin, burning, robbery, pillage, and such like, followed in his train.

Gov. Morton, of Indiana, called the people of the state to arms, and the response was universal. In Ohio, Gov. Tod was equally on the alert. Large war meetings were held at Columbus, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana. At Louisville, Kentucky, on the recommendation and under the direction of Gen. Boyle, measures were taken to organize the citizens to resist the enemy. At Cincinnati, Gen. Burnside was in consultation with the authorities, providing for the defence of the city. Troops were being gathered on all sides to resist or intercept the invaders. Yet, for two weeks, Morgan, by his boldness and skill, managed to keep ahead of his pursuers, traversing the highways of Indiana and Ohio, and ravaging some of the best of the southern portions of those states.

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Fleeing with all speed through the south-eastern counties of Indiana, harassed meanwhile by the militia along the road, Morgan more than once attempted to find a crossing back into Kentucky; but was in every case baffled. After a brief rest in Harrison, he crossed the state line into Ohio, July 13th, burning the bridge over the White Water River behind him. Some apprehensions were felt at Cincinnati, owing to exaggerated accounts of Morgan's force; but he had no intention of visiting that city. Passing through Glendale, Springdale, and other towns, allowing his men only time enough to ravage in every direction, and seize upon all the horses within reach, he crossed the Miami River at Miamiville, at which time our troops were only four hours behind him. A portion of Morgan's force endeavored, on the 14th of July, to reach the Ohio by way of Batavia, but did not succeed. Onward dashed Morgan and his men, now almost desperate; onward pressed our determined cavalry, despite the serious inconvenience arising out of the rebels having carried off the fresh horses, and left the jaded ones behind. Day and night the pursuit was kept up. Judah led his column along the roads nearest the Ohio; Hobson and Shackelford pressed forward by roads farther from the river; while the gun boats on the Ohio were on the alert, and gave the

rebels shot and shell whenever opportunity offered.

Having burned the bridge over the Scioto River, on the 16th of July, Morgan passed through Piketown, which surrendered at once, to Jackson, where he was joined by his whole force. Thence, on the 18th, he pushed rapidly for the Ohio, near Pomeroy, hoping to make his escape into Kentucky. Trees were cut down and laid across the roads, and everything was done to impede his progress. In the course of the afternoon, however, the rebels reached the Ohio, at Buffington Island, near Pomeroy, where they made a desperate attempt to ford the river. But they were driven back, the gun boats lending efficient aid; and the next day, being hemmed in and vigorously attacked, they surrendered.* Dick Morgan, Basil Duke, and over 700 men fell into our hands, with all their ill-gotten plunder; but John Morgan was not with them. Shackelford at once started in pursuit. Another effort was made to get across the Ohio, about fourteen miles above Buffington, where a portion of Johnson's regiment, some 300 in number, managed to swim the river and escaped. Shackelford followed the rebel leader in a westerly direction nearly sixty miles, when he came up with him and his men, who, after a brief fight, gave themselves up. It turned out, however, that only a small part of Morgan's force was captured at this time; the cunning raider having slipped away with 600 men for another race. Somewhat exasperated at this result, Shackelford and his brave helpers continued the pursuit, starting at daybreak on the 21st of July. For several days and nights they followed him in his zig-zag course, his appetite for wanton plundering and destruction unappeased. By burning the bridges, and in other ways, he managed to put off the evil day for a brief period; but Shackelford was not to be baffled or wearied out. On the morning of July 26th, when near New Lisbon, he finally came up with and caught the noted trooper, who, with about 400 of his men surrendered. The next day, he was taken to Cincinnati and placed for safe keeping in the Ohio penitentiary.*

This troublesome matter having been thus disposed of, in the way above narrated, Burnside was at liberty to continue his preparations for the long intended advance into East Tennessee.

* The scene of the action at Buffington, and all the roads in the vicinity, were literally strewn with the fruits of their raiding operations, and their army equipments. There were buggies, rockaways, spring and lumber wagons, without number; rolls of silk, muslin, calico, and other dry goods; bags full of men's clothing, hats, boots, and shoes, linen, laces, kid gloves, cutlery, men's and women's under garments—even children's petticoats—lying about in every direction, mingled with carbines, shot guns, rifles, sabres, pistols, and cartridge-boxes. Many of the latter were found to contain jewelry instead of ammunition. The woods were full of horses and mules. In places the ground was covered with pieces of greenbacks and other currency, stolen and torn by the rebels on surrendering. We are sorry to say, that very little, if any, of this spoil ever found its way back to its rightful owners.

* Morgan was placed here for lack of a proper military prison. Some four months afterwards, on the 28th of November, he managed to escape, with six others, and in December he was heard from, advertising in a southern paper for recruits to form a new band of followers. Pollard is quite jubilant over Morgan's "brilliant expedition." He says that M. destroyed thirty-four important bridges, and in the way of steamboats, railroads, public stores, depots, etc., destroyed not less than $10,000,000 worth.—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 104.

The 9th army corps had been detached from Burnside's command to reinforce Gen. Grant. This had somewhat delayed Burnside's proceedings, and he was at last compelled to make his arrangements independently of the support and presence of his favorite corps. Rosecrans, with whom Burnside was to co-operate, had pushed forward his lines as far as Winchester. On the 16th of August, he crossed the Cumberland Mountains, reached the Tennessee River on the 26th, established his headquarters at Stevenson, Alabama, and was ready for further advance. Burnside, on his part, was actively engaged in his portion of the work.* On the same day that Rosecrans left Winchester, August 16th, he left Camp Nelson and started for Lexington. His plan was to make his way by unfrequented roads, and thus take the rebels by surprise. Having arranged his force, about 18,000 in number, to march in three columns, the first set out by way of London, under the commanding general; the second, consisting of the 23d army corps, under Gen. Hartsuff, by way of Somerset; and the third, under Gen. J. White, by way of Jamestown, Kentucky.

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On the 20th of August, Burnside reached Crab Orchard, by way of Danville and Stanford. On the 22d, he marched to Mount Vernon, twenty miles, and on the following day to London, twenty-five miles. On the 24th, he made Williamsburg, thirty miles further south. On the 26th, he was joined by Hartsuff, at Chetwood, twenty-eight miles from Williamsburg. The enemy being reported near, he directed a cavalry regiment to reconnoitre toward Jackborough. From Chetwood the march was continued across New River up the Cumberland Mountains to Montgomery, Tenn., forty-two miles distant on the summit of the range, where the column arrived on the 30th of August. Here it was met by Gen. White's command. Col. Burt having been sent forward with a cavalry brigade, reported that the rebel Gen. Pegram, with a body of cavalry, held a very strong position at the gap near Emory Iron Works, leading into Clinch River Valley. Additional troops were sent forward with the expectation of a battle on the morning of the 31st, but with daylight it was discovered that the enemy had fled.

The road to Knoxville was now clear. Having reached Emory River, seventeen miles from Montgomery, Gen. Burnside ordered Col. Foster, with a mounted brigade, to make a forced march over a direct road to Kingston, six miles further. Being anxious to save the most extensive and important bridge over the Tennessee, at Loudon, twenty miles from Kingston, Burnside directed Shackelford, with his cavalry brigade, to push on as rapidly as possible; but they were unable to prevent its being burned by the rebels.

The rebel commander in this region, Buckner, was astounded by the sudden appearance of Burnside's force, and not

* On the importance to the rebels of holding East Tennessee, as well as its importance to the Union arms, and also respecting the sufferings and trials, of the most terrible description, of loyal men in that region, see Woodbury's "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*," p. 303; also, Pollard's "*Second Year of the War*," p. 204.

knowing what to expect, he instantly evacuated East Tennessee, and left in such a hurry as not to find time to apprize the rebels at Cumberland Gap of his movements, or to give them any orders as to the course they were now to pursue. Thus Burnside, after a very severe and trying march across the Cumberland Mountains, of some 250 miles in two weeks' time, found himself master of the situation.

The advance, under Col. Foster, entered Knoxville on the 1st of September, and two days later, Burnside was welcomed there with enthusiasm and joy rarely if ever equalled during the war. It was, in fact, a perfect ovation which met the deliverers upon their entrance. The town was decorated with flags, some of which had been hidden for more than two years; and the people, lining the roads and streets, cried out, "Welcome, Gen. Burnside, welcome to East Tennessee!" "Bless the Lord! The old flag's come back to Tennessee!" A public meeting was held, at which Burnside made some appropriate remarks, and the citizens congratulated themselves upon their deliverance from the grinding despotism under which they had so long groaned. A large amount of public property claimed by the rebel authorities, as machine shops, foundries, cars, locomotives, etc., fell into Burnside's hands. About 2,000,000 pounds of salt, a large quantity of wheat (the fruits of the tithe tax), and many thousand bags were also taken. "From that day," says Woodbury, "the rebel rule in East Tennessee was ended, the great western line of rebel communication was taken from the hands that had abused its facilities, and the power of the Union became supreme. The frantic and desperate efforts which the rebels subsequently made to regain their lost authority were all completely foiled. Their season of triumph had passed. Their doom was sealed."

Just before leaving Kentucky, Burnside ordered Colonel De Courcy, with a brigade of infantry, to march upon Cumberland Gap by the direct route through London and Barboursville. Learning, on the 4th of September, that the rebel force defending the Gap was strong, and likely to offer resistance, he dispatched Shackelford, with his brigade, on the 5th, from Knoxville, with instructions to seize all avenues of escape to the south. He followed himself, with another body of infantry and cavalry, on the 7th, and arrived within four miles of the Gap on the 9th, after a forced march of sixty miles. De Courcy and Shackelford had both demanded a surrender, which Frazier, the rebel commander, refused. On Burnside's arrival, the demand was renewed, and after some parleying acceded to. In explanation of the extraordinary isolation in which Frazier was left, rebel officers asserted that Bragg had peremptorily ordered him to remain. Fourteen pieces of artillery and 2,000 prisoners were captured at Cumberland Gap, and its loss was pronounced, by a rebel journal, to be "one of the most disgraceful occurrences of the war."* 1863.

* Davis, in his message to the rebel Congress, subsequently spoke of this surrender in the following terms:—"The country was painfully surprised by the

Meantime, a column of cavalry ascended the Valley to Bristol, driving the enemy across the Virginia line, and destroyed the railroad bridges over the Holston and Watauga Rivers, so as to prevent the return of the rebels into East Tennessee. The main body of Burnside's army was now ordered by the general-in-chief to concentrate on the Tennessee River, from Loudon west, in order to connect with Rosecrans's army, which reached Chattanooga on the 9th of September. Burnside, not being in good health, wished to resign; but the president refused to accept his resignation at that date. He accordingly put his troops in motion to occupy the different points necessary to guard his line of defence, the Holston River, and to hold the gaps of the North Carolina mountains. The rebels under Gen. S. Jones, about 10,000 in number, were making all the resistance in their power, harassing our outposts and watching for opportunities of attack; but Burnside, by his activity and zeal, was fully equal to the emergency. By the middle of September, he had taken effectual steps to guard a line of 176 miles in length from the left of Rosecrans, with whom he was in direct communication, nearly to the Virginia boundary.

Gen. Halleck congratulated Burnside on his success, and went on to say: "It is important that all the available forces of your command be pushed forward into East Tennessee. All your scattered forces should be concentrated there. So long as we hold Tennessee, Kentucky is perfectly safe. Move down your infantry as rapidly as possible toward Chattanooga, to connect with Rosecrans. Bragg may merely hold the passes of the mountains to cover Atlanta, and move his main army through Northern Alabama, to reach the Tennessee River and turn Rosecrans's right, and cut off his supplies. In this case he will turn Chattanooga over to you, and move to intercept Bragg." On the 17th of September, Burnside received another dispatch from Halleck, at Washington, dated the 14th, which read thus: "There are several reasons why you should reinforce Rosecrans with all possible dispatch. It is believed that the enemy will concentrate to give him battle. You must be there to help him."

Leaving, for the present, Burnside and the operations required at his hands, we turn to the movements of Rosecrans and the important results consequent thereupon.

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intelligence that the officer in command of Cumberland Gap had surrendered that important and easily defensible pass, without firing a shot, upon the summons of a force still believed to have been inadequate to its reduction, and when reinforcements were within supporting distance, and had been ordered to his aid. The entire garrison, including the commander, being still held prisoners by the enemy, I am unable to suggest any explanation of this disaster, which laid open Eastern Tennessee and South-western Virginia to hostile operations, and broke the line of communication between the seat of government and Middle Tennessee."

CHAPTER II.

1863.

DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND: ADVANCE TO CHATTANOOGA: BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA.

Position of Rosecrans and his army— Rebel attack on Fort Donelson repulsed — Colburn and his force captured by the rebels —Various skirmishes, raids and contests of minor importance — Rosecrans's preparations — Execution of spies — Army begins to advance in June — Position of Bragg and his forces — Rosecrans's plan successfully carried out—Advance on Chattanooga in August — Progress of the army across the Cumberland Mountains — Chattanooga evacuated by the rebels — Halleck's fears — Rosecrans's reply — Reinforcements called in from every direction — Hooker sent out with 11th and 12th corps — Scant supplies — Bragg's movements — Address to his soldiers — Rosecrans's position for battle — Bragg begins the battle—Description of the battle of Chickamauga — Heavy losses — Rosecrans falls back on Chattanooga — Bragg's movements to cut off supplies — The separate commands combined — Gen. Grant in charge of the Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee — Rosecrans relieved of his command — Gens. Thomas, Sherman, and Burnside in command of the several departments.

After the battle of Murfreesborough (see p. 253), several months were spent by Gen. Rosecrans and the Army of the Cumberland in bringing up supplies, opening lines of communication, and establishing a base of operations for an advance upon the rebels at Chattanooga. Various raids and skirmishes occurred in this interval, the rebels manifesting much activity, and interfering seriously with Rosecrans's supplies, but not gaining any special or permanent advantages. Several of these assaults and engagements may properly here be noted.

On the 3d of February, an attack was made upon Fort Donelson by the rebels under Wheeler and Forrest, with about 4,000 men and eight pieces of artillery. Col. A. C. Harding was in command of the post, with about 500 available men of his regiment, one company of cavalry, and Floyd's battery of artillery. The enemy began in the afternoon by throwing solid shot into the fort, and made several feints at storming the works. Forrest twice sent a flag of truce, urging his superior force and demanding a surrender, which Harding resolutely refused. At eight o'clock in the evening, the enemy had invested the work on three sides to the river above and below, and were about pressing the final attack which, as the defenders were nearly out of ammunition, promised to be successful. At this moment, however, a number of gunboats, under Capt. Fitch, which were convoying transports from below, opportunely arrived on the spot, and warned of the attack, skilfully opened fire upon the assailants. The gun boats, effectively placed, speedily drove off the enemy. Their loss in killed and wounded was not less than 900. Col. Harding's loss was thirteen killed and fifty-one wounded.

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On the 4th of March, Col. Colburn, with some 1,800 men, attempted a reconnaissance from Franklin towards Springfield, encountering in his way Van Dorn's column of the rebel force, estimated to be over 7,000 men. The enemy retreated, drawing Colburn into a gorge, where he was surrounded, and nearly all his force captured. Two weeks later, on the 20th of March, Col. Hall, while on a reconnaissance, with about 1,400 men, met the famous raider J. H. Morgan, whose force was between 2,000 and 3,000. Hall succeeded in repulsing the enemy, after a sharp contest of three and a half hours. On the 25th of March, the rebel cavalry leader, Forrest, made a raid on the Nashville and Columbia Railroad, burning the bridge and capturing Col. Bloodgood's command at Brentwood. Gen. G. C. Smith, arriving opportunely with about 600 cavalry, attacked the enemy in the rear, and recovered a large portion of the property captured at Brentwood, pursuing the rebels to Little Harpeth, where they were reinforced. On the 10th of April, Van Dorn, with a large mounted force, attacked Franklin, but was repulsed by Gen. Granger, with a loss of nineteen killed, thirty-five wounded left on the field, and forty-eight prisoners.* Gen. J. J. Reynolds made a raid upon the Manchester and McMinnville Railroad, destroying the depot, rolling stock, supplies, and other property, and capturing 180 prisoners. Col. Streight, with about 1,800 men, started, April 9th, on a raid into Georgia to cut the enemy's communication. After heavy losses in skirmishes with Forrest's cavalry, and when near its destination, he was forced to surrender. On the 22d of May, Gen. Stanley made a raid upon Middleton, capturing eighty prisoners and 200 horses, 600 stand of arms, and other property. On the 4th of June, Forrest made a raid upon Franklin, and on the 11th, attacked Triune. His losses in these unsuccessful skirmishes were estimated at over 100, while ours were only seventeen killed and wounded.

During the months of preparation, alluded to above, Rosecrans was actively and earnestly engaged in seeking to strengthen his army by a thorough system of discipline, and also to excite in the minds of his men a proper sense and appreciation of the nature of the conflict which was being carried on between law and order on the one hand, and wicked and causeless rebellion on the other. Writing at this date, Rosecrans characterized the "Confederacy" as kept alive by "an oligarchy of traitors to their friends, to civil liberty, and human freedom. Wherever they have the power, they drive before them into their ranks the southern people, and they would also drive us. Trust them not; were they able, they would invade and destroy us without mercy. Absolutely assured of these things, I am amazed that any one could think of peace on any terms. When the power of the unscrupulous rebel leaders is removed, and the people are free to consider and act for their own interests, which are common with ours

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* This man Van Dorn, an unscrupulous debauchee, was shot in open daylight, at his quarters, early in May, by a Dr. Peters, with whose wife he had been guilty of adultery.

under this government, there will be no difficulty in fraternization."*

Early in June, there was a military execution in this department, which attracted some attention from the audacity displayed by two rebel officers, L. A. Williams and W. J. Peter, in playing the parts of spies. Towards evening, on the 8th of June, it appears that two persons rode into Col. Baird's quarters at Franklin, Tenn., representing themselves to be Col. Austin and Major Dunlap, Inspectors-general of the United States Army. They had with them counterfeit official papers from Gen. Rosecrans, and told a well concocted story of their being plundered by the rebels on their way. They were admitted into camp, had an opportunity of noting its defences, and just before departing borrowed money of the officer in command. When they had left, *en route* for Nashville, as they said, the suspicion suddenly flashed upon Col. Baird that they were spies; and he immediately ordered them to be pursued and arrested. This was done; Rosecrans, in reply to a telegram, stated that no such persons were known to him; and on being searched, they were clearly proven to be spies. By Rosecrans's direction, they were tried by a court martial the same night, were found guilty, and the next morning, at nine o'clock, were hung in the presence of the garrison.

Although urged by the military authorities at Washington, and aware of the expectation of the public in regard to his making an early advance, Rosecrans had not unduly hurried himself. He had taken time to recruit his army, to procure horses for his dismounted cavalry, and, as far as possible, to perfect all his arrangements, while he was carefully watching the dispositions of the enemy in his front. So that it was the month of June before the Army of the Cumberland was in motion.

The rebel Gen. Bragg, after the battle of Murfreesborough, (p. 253), withdrew his forces to Shelbyville, Tullahoma, and the line of the Duck River, which crosses the state in a westerly direction to the Tennessee, at its nearest point, about thirty miles south of the line held by Rosecrans. Bragg's force was understood to be strongly entrenched in its main positions, while in front the occupation of the roads running south from Murfreesborough, with the natural features of the country, gave it additional security against attack. It was Rosecrans's plan, in his advance, to neutralize these advantages by turning Bragg's position and making a flank attack on his right, and thus to reach his immediate base of operations at Tullahoma, on the Chattanooga Railroad. In this way, he purposed compelling the enemy to an engagement on ground of his own choosing, or forcing him to a retreat.

On the 24th of June, the camps were broken up at Murfreesborough, and the army began its march in three corps, the right under McCook, the centre under Thomas, and the left under Crittenden. By an admirably combined movement, Rosecrans was able to deceive the rebels by threatening an ad-

* Major-General Rosecrans in reply to a resolution of the Honourable the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, Murfreesborough, Tenn., February, 1863.

vance in force on their left at Shelbyville, while the mass of his army seized Hoover's, Liberty, and other Gaps, by hard fighting. They then moved on Manchester, and having thus turned the right of the enemy's defence of Duck River, directly threatened Bragg, who was forced to fall back to Tullahoma, hotly pursued by Granger, after he had brilliantly carried Shelbyville. Dispositions were immediately made to turn Tullahoma, and fall upon the rebel rear; but Bragg abandoned his entrenched camp, and rapidly fell back toward Bridgeport, Ala., pursued as far as practicable by our forces. "Thus ended," to use Rosecrans's words, "a nine days' campaign, which drove the enemy from two fortified positions, and gave us possession of Middle Tennessee, conducted in one of the most extraordinary rains ever known in Tennessee, at that period of the year, over a soil that almost becomes a quicksand. Our operations were retarded thirty-six hours, at Hoover's Gap, and sixty hours at and in front of Winchester, which alone prevented us from getting possession of his communications and forcing the enemy to a very disastrous battle. These results were far more successful than was anticipated, and could only have been attained by a surprise as to the direction and force of our movements." The losses, in all, were 560; 1,634 prisoners were taken, together with six pieces of artillery, abundance of stores, etc.

The next step in following up the enemy to their important position at Chattanooga, which was now fortified, and the approaches to which offered the best opportunities of defence, was undertaken during the month of August. The difficulties in the way of pursuing the rebels were unusually great. The Union army was now in position from McMinnville to Winchester, with advances at Pelham and Stevenson; and in order to reach Chattanooga from above, it had to cross the Cumberland Mountains to the upper waters of the Tennessee River, while the river, in its tortuous course, and a continuation of the mountain passes, were interposed below.*

On the 16th of August, Rosecrans, having put the railroad to Stevenson in condition to procure supplies, commenced his advance across the Cumberland Mountains, Chattanooga and its covering ridges on the south-east, being what is termed, in military language, his objective point. In order to command and avail himself of the most important passes, the front of his movement extended from the head of Sequatchie Valley, in Tennessee, to Athens, Alabama, and thus threatened the line of the Tennessee River from Whitsburg to Blythe's Ferry, a distance of over 150 miles. The banks of the Tennessee were reached on the 20th of August, and the next day Chattanooga was shelled to some extent. Pontoon, boat, raft and trestle bridges were rapidly prepared at Caperton's Ferry, Bridgeport, the mouth of Battle Creek and Shell Mound; and, excepting the cavalry, the army made its way across the Tennessee in the very face of the rebels. Thomas, by the 8th

* Rosecrans, in his report of the battle of Chickamauga, gives a carefully-prepared outline of the topography of this region. It is well worth the reader's attention and consultation.

of September, had moved on Trenton, seizing Frick's and Stevens's Gaps on the Lookout Mountain; McCook had advanced to Valley Head, and taken Winston's Gap; while Crittenden had crossed to Wauhatchie, was in communication on the right with Thomas, and threatened Chattanooga by the pass over the point of Lookout Mountain.

Having thus passed successfully the first mountain barrier south of the Tennessee, Rosecrans decided to use his right in threatening the rebel communications, while, with his centre and left, he should seize the gaps and commanding points of the mountains in front. On the 9th of September, Crittenden made a reconnaissance, and developed the import fact that the rebel force in Chattanooga had evacuated that place on the day and night previous. While Crittenden's corps quietly took possession of Chattanooga, which was, as we have said, the objective point of the campaign, Rosecrans, with the remainder of his army, pressed forward through the difficult passes of the Lookout and Missionary Mountains, apparently directing his march upon Lafayette and Rome.*

From various reports of spies and deserters, and from the fact that Chattanooga was given up without a struggle, it was supposed that Lee was receiving reinforcements from Bragg; and the authorities at Washington were seized with an apprehension that Rosecrans might be drawn too far into the mountains of Georgia, where he could not be furnished with supplies, and where also he might be attacked before Burnside could bring him any help.

In reply to Halleck's dispatch, cautioning him on this subject, Rosecrans, on the 12th of September, telegraphed to Washington that, although he was sufficiently strong for the enemy then on his front, there were indications that the rebels intended to turn his flanks and cut off his communications. He, therefore, decided that Burnside should move down his infantry toward Chattanooga, on his left, and that Grant should cover the Tennessee River toward Whitsburg, to prevent any raid into Nashville. Rosecrans was of opinion that no troops had been sent from Bragg's army, but that Bragg was being reinforced by Loring from Mississippi. Burnside, as we have noted (see p. 347), was directed to hurry forward his infantry, as rapidly as possible, toward Chattanooga. Hurlbut at Memphis, and Sherman at Vicksburg, were ordered to send all the available forces at those points to Corinth and Tuscumbia, to operate against Bragg, and to prevent his turning the right flank of Rosecrans's army and recrossing the river into Tennessee. Schofield in Missouri,

* "A splendid opportunity was now presented to Bragg. The detached force in McLemore's Cove was Thomas's corps. Being immediately opposite Lafayette, at and near which Gen. Bragg had all his forces concentrated, it was completely at the mercy of the latter. It was only necessary that Gen. Bragg should fall upon it with such a mass as would have crushed it; then turned down Chattanooga Valley, thrown himself in between the town and Crittenden, and crushed him; then passed back between Lookout Mountain and the Tennessee River into Wills's Valley, and cut off McCook's retreat to Bridgeport; thence moved along the Cumberland range into the rear of Burnside, and disposed of him." This, apparently so easy of accomplishment, was not attempted, and owing to the delay of the rebels, Rosecrans was able to escape the risk which was run under the supposition that the rebels were retreating.—See Pollard's "*Third Year of the War*," p. 114.

and Pope in the North-west department, were directed to send forward to the Tennessee line every available man in their departments; and the commanding officers also in Indiana, Ohio and Kentucky, were ordered to make every possible exertion to secure Rosecrans's lines of communication. Meade, too, was urged to attack Lee, while his army was in its present reduced condition, or at least prevent him from sending off further detachments. It was deemed unadvisable to send any more troops into East Tennessee or Georgia, on account of the impossibility of supplying them in a country which the enemy had nearly exhausted. Burnside's army was on short rations, and that of the Cumberland very inadequately supplied; and in the case of Rosecrans, while he had a large number of animals in his depots, the horses for the artillery, cavalry and trains were dying off for want of forage.*

On the 14th of September, the army of Rosecrans was occupying the passes of Lookout Mountain, with the enemy concentrating his forces near Lafayette to dispute his further advance. Bragg's threatened movements, to the right and left, were merely cavalry raids to cut the line of Rosecrans's supplies, and threaten his communications with Burnside. Bragg's main army was only awaiting the arrival of Longstreet's corps, to give battle in the mountains of Georgia. It had been reinforced by troops from Johnson in Mississippi, and by the prisoners released on parole at Vicksburg and Port Hudson and declared by the rebel authorities to have been exchanged,*—a course of conduct, by the way, which Gen. Halleck vigorously denounced. The line of Rosecrans extended, at this time, from Gordon's Mills to Alpines, a distance of some forty miles. By the 17th of September, his troops were brought within supporting distance, and the next day a concentration was begun towards Crawfish Spring. On the morning of the 18th, Thomas's troops pressed on toward Gordon's Mills, and McCook moved up directly in his rear. During the forenoon, Granger made a reconnaissance across the Chickamauga, at Reid's Bridge; Cols. Minty and Wilder were sent, the former to watch Ringgold road crossing, and the latter to resist any advance from Napier Gap; and although heavy cannonading ensued, they held their ground until a body of the enemy approaching their rear, they were compelled to retire. During the night, McCook's force, although greatly fatigued, moved northward to Pond Spring, seventeen miles south of Chattanooga. Crittenden, who

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* Halleck, in this connection, says, that hearing nothing from Grant or from Sherman's corps at Vicksburg, it was determined, on the 23d of September, to detach the 11th and 12th corps from the Army of the Potomac, and send them by rail, under the command of Hooker, to protect Rosecrans's line of communication from Bridgeport to Nashville.

* Bragg, on the 17th of September, from his headquarters in the field, at Lafayette, Georgia, issued an order in very urgent terms, endeavoring to rouse the spirit of his troops. "Having accomplished," he said, "our object in driving back the enemy's flank movement, let us now turn on his main force, and crush it in its fancied security. Your general will lead you. You have but to respond to assure us of a glorious triumph over an insolent foe. I know what your response will be. Trusting in God and the justice of our cause, and nerved by the love of dear ones at home, failure is impossible, and victory must be ours."

was ahead of Thomas, had placed Van Cleve's division on the left of Wood, at Gordon's Mills, and Palmer on his right; Thomas, in consequence, pushed still further to the left. Johnson's two brigades were given to Thomas and posted on Van Cleve's left, while Negley, who was already in position at Owen's Gap, a little way south of Crawfish Spring, thirteen miles from Chattanooga, was ordered to remain there, temporarily attached to McCook's corps. The whole of Rosecrans's force was now on the west side of the Chickamauga, within easy supporting distance.

Bragg, moving his army by divisions, crossed the Chickamauga at several fords and bridges north of Gordon's Mills, near to which he endeavored to concentrate before giving battle. This was on the morning of Saturday, the 19th of September, McCook's corps forming the right of our line of battle, Crittenden's the centre, and Thomas's the left. The battle was begun about ten o'clock, when the left wing of Rosecrans was attacked by heavy masses, and vigorous efforts were made to turn our left, so as to occupy the road to Chattanooga. But in this the rebels failed entirely of success. The centre was next assailed, and temporarily driven back, but, being promptly reinforced, maintained its ground. As night approached, the battle ceased, and the combatants rested on their arms. The attack was furiously renewed, on the morning of the 20th, against our left centre. Division after division was pushed forward to resist the attacking masses of the enemy, when, by an unfortunate mistake a gap was opened in the line of battle, of which the enemy took instant advantage, and striking Davis in the flank and rear threw his whole division into confusion. Pouring in through this break in our line, the enemy cut off our right and right centre, and attacked Sheridan's division, which was advancing to support our left. After a gallant but fruitless effort against the rebel torrent, he was compelled to give way, but afterward rallied a considerable portion of his force, and by a circuitous route joined Thomas, who now had to sustain the whole force of the attack. Our right and part of the centre had been completely broken, and fled in confusion from the field, carrying with them to Chattanooga their commanders, McCook and Crittenden, and also Rosecrans, who was on that part of the line. Thomas, however, still remained immovable in his position. About 3.30 P.M., the enemy discovered a gap in the hills in the rear of his right flank, and Longstreet commenced pouring his massive column through the opening. Granger, who had been posted with his reserves to cover our left and rear, arrived upon the field at this critical moment. Thomas pointed out to him the gap through which the enemy was debouching, when quick as thought he threw upon it Steadman's brigade of cavalry, and broke the enemy. We held the gap, but the rebels again and again tried to retake it. About sunset, they made their last charge, when our men, being out of ammunition, moved on them with the

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bayonet, and they gave way to return no more. In the meantime the enemy made repeated attempts to carry Thomas's position on the left and front, but were as often driven back, with great loss. During the night, Thomas fell back to Rossville, leaving the dead and most of the wounded in the hands of the enemy;* and, on the night of the 21st, he withdrew the remainder of the army within the defences of Chattanooga. The rebel loss was estimated at about 18,000; our loss, in all, was something over 16,000. There were about 2,000 prisoners captured.†

Having retreated to Chattanooga, as above related, Rosecrans withdrew his forces from the passes of Lookout Mountain, which covered his line of supplies from Bridgeport. These were immediately occupied by the troops of Bragg, who also sent a cavalry force across the Tennessee above Chattanooga, which destroyed a large wagon train in the Sequatchie Valley, and captured McMinnville and other points on the railroad. By this means the rebels almost entirely cut off Rosecrans's army from its supplies. Fortunately, however, the line of railroad was well defended, and the enemy's cavalry, being vigorously attacked by Col. McCook at Anderson's Cross Roads, on the 2d of October, by Mitchel at Shelbyville on the 6th, and by Crook at Farmington on the 8th of October, were put to rout and mostly captured.

In the judgment of Rosecrans, "the battle of Chickamauga was absolutely necessary to secure our concentration and cover Chattanooga. It was fought in a country covered with woods and undergrowth, and wholly unknown to us. Every division came into action opportunely, and fought squarely, on the 19th. We were largely outnumbered, yet we foiled the enemy's flank movement on our left, and secured our position on the road to Chattanooga."*

It being deemed inexpedient to have separate commands or armies operating in the same field, the authorities at Washington determined to place the entire force in this region under a single commander, so as to secure both unity of design and a more perfect co-operation than had heretofore been practicable Gen. Grant was, almost of course, immediately fixed upon for this

* Secession critics are very energetic in denouncing Bragg's inactivity and neglect in pursuing our army in its retreat. According to them, it would have been an easy thing to have crushed utterly the Union forces, if Bragg, in consequence of the darkness and the density of the forests, had not refused to move, contenting himself with gathering up the fruits of victory on the battle field.

† Pollard asserts that the rebels took over 8,000 prisoners, and that the Union loss was many thousands greater than that of the rebels. "Chickamauga," he says, "conferred a briliant glory upon our arms, but little else. Rosecrans still held the prize of Chattanooga, and with it the possession of East Tennessee. Two thirds of our nitre beds were in that region, and a large proportion of the coal which supplied our foundries. It abounded in the necessaries of life. It was one of the strongest countries in the world, so full of lofty mountains that it had been called, not unaptly, the Switzerland of America. As the possession of Switzerland opened the door to the invasion of Italy, Germany and France, so the possession of East Tennessee gave easy access to Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 128.

* The defeat of Rosecrans was looked upon as disastrous, and its results as very alarming; he was, too, considered to be obstinate and impracticable.—See Col. Badeau's "*Military History of Ulysses S. Grant*," vol. i. pp. 421–424.

position, and having left New Orleans, where he had been suffering from an injury occasioned by a fall from his horse, he reached Louisville on the 18th of October. The same day, he issued a general order, assuming command of the new "Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee." He also gave a stirring notice that "the headquarters of the division will be in the field." Rosecrans was relieved of his command, and Gen. Thomas was put in his place, in charge of the Army of the Cumberland; Sherman was assigned to the command of the Army of the Tennessee; and Burnside, (who was soon after succeeded by Foster), to that of the Army of the Ohio. The narrative of further operations against the rebels, as carried forward vigorously and successfully un- Gen. Grant's direction, we defer to the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

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GRANT'S CAMPAIGN: BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA: SIEGE OF KNOXVILLE.

Bragg's investment of Chattanooga — Holds Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge — Expects to starve out our men — Sherman's advance and Grant's orders — Plan to seize the hills in Lookout Valley — Successful — Supplies obtained — Hooker and his force — Attacked by the enemy — Grant's plans against Bragg — Bragg's blunder in detaching Longstreet — Position of Grant's army and preliminary arrangements — The battle begun, November 23d, in fine style — Carried forward the next day with spirit and success — Various details — Grant's activity — The struggle of November 25th — Successes thus far — In the afternoon, the Ridge carried by storm — Extreme daring and gallantry of our men — Rebel panic — Bragg decamps hastily in the night — Retreats to Dalton — Losses, etc. — Grant's dispatches characteristic — Burnside in East Tennessee — Longstreet's march against him — Contests at several points — Burnside besieged at Knoxville — Scarcity of supplies — Longstreet makes an assault, November 29th — Failure and consequent retreat — Sherman's advance — Burnside relieved of command — Gen. Grant's congratulatory order.

The rebel commander, Bragg, after Rosecrans's retreat to Chattanooga, followed closely on his steps, and investing the place, thought that his best plan was to starve Rosecrans out. Communication by the river, and by the railroad on the southern bank to the camp of Thomas, twenty-eight miles distant, was interrupted by the position of Bragg's force; and hence it became necessary to send supplies to Chattanooga by a circuitous and difficult road, over two ranges of mountains, by wagon transportation, upon which route the rebel cavalry had opportunity to operate with advantage. Chattanooga itself was well fortified and protected from a direct assault, but the river below was commanded by Bragg's troops at Lookout Mountain and its vicinity. Bragg occupied not only the mountain just named, but also the adjacent one,

connecting Missionary Ridge, running in a south-westerly direction directly in front of Rosecrans's camps, which were thus freely exposed to view from the heights. A battery of rifle 24-pounders was placed at a commanding point of Lookout Mountain, from which, at a distance between two and three miles, shells were thrown into Chattanooga, without, however, doing any material damage. The rebels also held Lookout Valley on the westerly side of the mountains, where a creek of the same name runs into the Tennessee. Bragg, looking to a speedy evacuation of Chattanooga, for the want of food and forage, was so confident of success in the starving out process, as to declare that he "held the enemy at his mercy, and that his destruction was only a question of time." But the result showed, as Pollard phrases it, "how vain were the sanguine expectations and the swollen boast of this ill-starred and unfortunate commander."

Gen. Sherman, previous to this, had been engaged in opening the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad eastward towards Huntsville, with the design of effecting a communication with Chattanooga. He was employed on this task, working resolutely in the face of the enemy eastwardly from Corinth, through Iuka; but when Grant took command, Sherman, in accordance with orders received from Grant, abandoned the railroad, crossed the Tennessee at Eastport, moved by the north bank to Stevenson, where he united with the right wing of the Army of the Cumberland. Hooker was ordered to move to Bridgeport, on the right bank of the Tennessee, thirty miles below Chattanooga, and crossing at that point, he was to march by the main wagon road through Whitesides to Wauhatchie. Palmer, with the 14th corps, was ordered to move to a point on the north bank opposite Whitesides. Then he was to cross, and follow in Hooker's track, holding and guarding the road in his rear. Grant, who had reached Chattanooga on the 23d of October, and ascertained the critical condition of affairs there in regard to supplies, saw plainly that the rebels must be dislodged, and communications opened, or disastrous consequences would follow. Hence the movements, above noted, were urged forward, and an excellently contrived plan of Gen. W. F. Smith, chief engineer of Grant's army, having been adopted, speedy relief was looked for. The plan was to take a force of about 4,000 men, proceed down the river to Brown's Ferry, and seize the range of steep hills at the mouth of Lookout Valley; in this way, if the expedition were successful, Hooker's and Palmer's movements would be facilitated and rendered more secure, and the river would be open for steamboats to Brown's Ferry.

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On the night of the 26th of October, 1,800 men, under Gen. Hazen, were embarked at Chattanooga, in sixty pontoon boats, in which they floated down the Tennessee with the current, round the sharp bend of the river below Lookout Mountain, unobserved by three miles of pickets, until they reached the point proposed, Brown's Ferry, six miles by the river from Chattanooga. Landing at two points, they seized the pick-

ets, and obtained possession of the spurs near the river. The remainder of the force, under Smith, who had marched by the north bank, were ferried over before daylight, strengthening the party under Hazen. By ten o'clock, A.M., the pontoon bridge, 900 feet long, was completed; the points occupied were well entrenched; the artillery was put in position so as to command the main road from Chattanooga Valley to Lookout Valley; and the rebel force between Lookout and Shell Mound, finding themselves in a critical position, hastily retreated behind the creek. Thus, Smith's plan was thoroughly carried out, and henceforth Chattanooga was relieved of all fears of starvation.

Hooker, on the 26th of October, crossed the Tennessee, and occupied Lookout Valley, Geary holding the advance at Wauhatchie; while Palmer, following in Hooker's rear, as above noted, formed a strong moving base for that general's operations. The rebels were chagrined at the success of the expedition under Smith, and were determined if possible to retrieve their loss. Accordingly, on the night of the 28th and morning of the 29th of October, an attack was made upon Geary's division by two brigades, under Hood, of Longstreet's corps, and a desperate effort was made to cut off and capture Geary. Not only was the attack a failure, but Howard's corps being moved rapidly to the right, both the rebels were repulsed and the remaining crests lying west of Lookout Creek were seized and held by our troops.*

Our loss, in these operations of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of October, in opening communications on the south side of the Tennessee, from Chattanooga to Bridgeport, was reported to be—76 killed, 339 wounded, and 22 missing; that of the enemy was supposed to be about 1,500.

In carrying out his plans, Grant's next effort was to see if he could not drive out Bragg and the rebels entirely from the position they held on Lookout Mountain. He was not content with simply relieving Chattanooga; a much greater work was before him, and he devoted all his energies to its accomplishment. Happily, Bragg made a great blunder, which proved of essential advantage to Grant's purposes. The rebel general, thinking it good policy to cut off Burnside in East Tennessee, detached Longstreet from his army, early in November, to attack Burnside and take Knoxville. This, of course, weakened Bragg materially, and enabled Grant so to arrange his movements as to be almost certain of victory. Sherman, with his corps, was at Bridgeport on the 14th of November, and was quite ready to take his part in the work to be done. Grant sent word to Burnside, explaining his purpose, and urging him to occupy Longstreet at various points, and to draw him further and further away from Bragg, only taking

* Gen. Thomas, in congratulating Hooker and his troops on the "brilliant success gained over his old adversary, Longstreet," on this occasion, gave it as his opinion, that "the bayonet charge of Howard's troops, made up the side of a steep and difficult hill, over two hundred feet high, completely routing and driving the enemy from his barricades on its top, and the repulse by Geary's division, of greatly superior numbers, who attempted to surprise him, will rank among the most distinguished feats of arms of this war."

care to hold Knoxville at all hazards. If besieged there by Longstreet, Grant expected ere long to afford him relief by beating and dispersing Bragg's army, which would compel Longstreet to retreat into Virginia.

Hooker, holding Lookout Valley, faced the enemy on the mountain, and Thomas occupied the central position with his line of works before Chattanooga, with Missionary Ridge in front of him. Sherman was ordered, with his force, to a point on the right bank of the river above the town, with the intention of crossing and seizing the northern extremity of the ridge, which was unfortified. A cavalry force was also directed to proceed to the right and rear of the rebels, so as to cut the railroad between Cleveland and Dalton, and thus sever Longstreet's southern communications with Bragg. In this way, Hooker and Sherman would hold each flank of the enemy, while Thomas would be ready to pierce their centre. The preliminary arrangments were admirably made. Sherman's troops marched from Bridgeport by way of Whitesides, crossed the river at Brown's Ferry, moved up the north bank, keeping concealed from the enemy, and reached a point not far from the mouth of the North Chickamauga. More than a hundred pontoon bridges were carried overland, so as to secure the passage of the river. The site selected for the bridge was just below the South Chickamauga, which offered advantages for posting the artillery. Sherman's force arrived on the 23d of November, consisting of the 15th corps and one division of the 16th, all under the command of Gen. Blair; and at two o'clock in the morning of the 24th, 8,000 men were conveyed to the point selected for the bridge. By noon of that day two bridges had been laid, one, 1,400 feet long, over the Tennessee, the other, 200 feet long, over the South Chickamauga, to furnish a route for the cavalry. During the day, the remainder of his command reached the position assigned, and Sherman's men speedily rendered it unassailable by the enemy. At the same time, a brigade of cavalry, under Col. Long, was sent to cut the railroad, which was effectually accomplished.

All his arrangements having been effected to his satisfaction, and every preparation made for the important battle now at hand, Grant, on the 23d of November, at half past eleven, ordered a demonstration against Missionary Ridge, to develope the force of the enemy holding it. The troops marched in fine order, as if on parade, and were watched by the rebel pickets from the summits of the ridge, 500 feet above our troops. Their opinion was, that it was a review and drill, so openly, deliberately, and with such precision was the movement made. The line advanced, preceded by skirmishers, and at two o'clock, P.M., having reached our picket lines, opened briskly upon the rebel pickets, who replied, and then ran into their rifle-pits. Our skirmishers followed them into the pits, along the centre of Thomas's line of 25,000 troops, until we opened fire. It was a complete surprise to the rebels, in open daylight. At three P.M., the important advanced position of Orchard Knoll, and the lines right and left, were secured, and

arrangements were made for holding them during the night.

At daylight, the next morning, November 24th, Thomas had 5,000 men across the Tennessee, and established on its south bank, and commenced the building of a pontoon bridge about six miles above Chattanooga. The steamer Dunbar, formerly owned by the rebels, rendered effective aid in this crossing, carrying over 6,000 men. By nightfall, Thomas had seized the extremity of Missionary Ridge nearest the river, and was busily occupied in entrenching himself. Howard, with a brigade, opened communication with him from Chattanooga on the south side on the river. Skirmishing and cannonading continued all day, on the left and centre.

In carrying out his part of the work, Hooker scaled the slopes of Lookout Mountain, and from the valley of Lookout Creek drove the rebels around the point, captured some 2,000 prisoners, and established himself high up the mountain side, in full view of Chattanooga. This raised the blockade, and now steamers were ordered from Bridgeport to Chattanooga. All night the point of Missionary Ridge on the extreme left, and the side of Lookout Mountain on the extreme right, blazed with the camp fires of loyal troops. The day had been one of dense mists and rains, and much of Hooker's battle was fought above the clouds, which concealed him from view of the rest of the army, but from which his musketry made itself plainly heard. At nightfall the sky cleared, and the full moon, which has been poetically styled "the traitor's doom," shone upon the striking and beautiful scene, until one o'clock in the morning, soon after which a brigade sent from Chattanooga crossed the Chattanooga Creek, and opened communications with Hooker. Grant's headquarters during the afternoon of the 23d, and during the 24th of November, were in Wood's redoubt, except when in the course of the day he rode along the advanced line, and visited the headquarters of the several commanders in Chattanooga Valley.*

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As the day dawned, November 25th, the stars and stripes were waving on the peak of Lookout Mountain. The rebels had evacuated the mountain. Hooker moved to make a descent, and, striking Missionary Ridge at Rossville Gap, to sweep on both sides and on its summit. The rebel troops, as soon as it was light enough, hurried regiments and brigades along the narrow summit of Missionary Ridge, either concentrating on the right to overwhelm Sherman, or marching for the railroad and raising the siege. They had evacuated the Chattanooga Valley, and it was now a question whether they would abandon that of the Chickamauga. The cannonading was commenced and continued all day, the headquarters being constantly under fire. Howard marched the 11th corps to join Sherman, and Thomas chased the enemy's pickets into their entrenchments at the foot of Missionary Ridge. Sherman made an assault against Bragg's right, entrenched on a high knoll next

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* See Gen. Meigs's dispatch to the secretary of war, under date of November 26th, 1863. For a spirited narrative of this important battle and its results, in which his hero looms up grandly, see Coppée's "*Grant and his Campaigns*," pp. 224–239.

to that on which Sherman himself lay fortified. The assault was gallantly made, and as gallantly and persistently carried forward; no better service was done that day than that by Sherman, in stemming the furious attacks of rebel masses which Bragg had sent to crush him, and in his judicious counter attacks.

A general advance was ordered at half past three P.M., and the storming of the ridge began with a strong line of skirmishers, followed by a deployed line of battle, some two miles in length. At a given signal the line moved rapidly and orderly forward. Our men charged the rifle pits at the foot of the ridge. The taking of these was all they had been ordered to do; but when the rebels, in large numbers, swarmed out of the rifle pits and fled before them, our brave soldiers were seized with an irresistible impulse to mount the very heights, despite the storm of shot and shell which rained down upon them from above. Onward they dashed, and officers and men, in a perfect furor of excitement, forced their way up the steep sides and broken and crumbling face of the ridge. The attempt seemed wonderfully rash and perilous, for there were not less than forty pieces of artillery on the heights, and thousands of muskets, ready to strike down the bold assailants. Nevertheless, with cheers answering to cheers, our men rushed forward and upward. Color after color was planted on the summit, while musket and cannon vomited their thunder upon them. A fierce musketry fire broke out on the left, where, between Thomas and Sherman, a mile or two of the ridge was still occupied by the rebels. Bragg left the house in which he had had his headquarters, and rode to the rear as our troops crowded the hill on either side of him. Grant proceeded to the summit, and then first learned its wonderful height. Some of the captured artillery was put into position. Artillerists were sent for to work the guns. The rebel log breastworks were torn to pieces, carried to the other side of the ridge, and used in forming barricades across, and a secure lodgment was soon effected. The other assault to the right of our centre gained the summit, and the rebels threw down their arms and fled.* Hooker coming in favorable position swept the right of the ridge and captured many prisoners. By sunset the ridge was taken, and the day was ours. Chickamauga was avenged.

Nightfall put an end to the fighting, and prevented a general pursuit of the flying enemy. Bragg's remaining troops left early in the night, and his forces moved rapidly on the road to Ringgold and thence to Dalton, firing and de-

* Pollard, speaking of this matter, says: "A disgraceful panic ensued. The whole left wing of the Confederates became involved, gave way, and scattered in unmitigated rout. The day was lost, and shamefully lost." He also quotes Jeff. Davis's words, thus:—"After a long and severe battle, in which great carnage was inflicted on the enemy, some of our troops inexplicably abandoned positions of great strength, and, by a disorderly retreat, compelled the commander to withdraw the forces elsewhere successful, and finally to retire with his whole army to a position some twenty or thirty miles to the rear. It is believed, that if the troops who yielded to the assault had fought with the valor which they had displayed on previous occasions, and which was manifested in this battle on the other parts of the line, the enemy would have been repulsed with very great slaughter, and our country would have escaped the misfortune, and the army the mortification of the first defeat that has resulted from misconduct by the troops."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 158.

stroying the railroad in their flight. Sherman, the next morning, set out in pursuit by way of Chickamauga Station on the Dalton Railroad, while Hooker moved toward Ringgold. At this place, the rebels under Cleburne made a fierce resistance; but though our men suffered severely, it was of no advantage to the enemy. Had it not been for the necessity of caring for Burnside and Knoxville, Grant would have followed Bragg and probably destroyed his army entirely.

Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing was reported to be about 5,600. Six thousand prisoners were captured, and a large number of the wounded was left in our hands. Forty pieces of artillery, about 7,000 small arms, and a large train, were also taken from the rebels. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was over 2,500, beside more than 6,000 missing.

Grant's dispatches during the battle are marked by brevity and point; the concluding one, on the evening of November 25th, is worth quoting here: "Although the battle lasted from early dawn till dark this evening, I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg. Lookout Mountain-top, all the rifle-pits in Chattanooga Valley, and Missionary Ridge entire, have been carried, and are now held by us. I have no idea of finding Bragg here to-morrow." It was even so; Bragg decamped with all speed, and the Chattanooga campaign ended in rescuing Kentucky and Tennessee from the rebels, and in affording the means of immediately relieving Burnside, at Knoxville, from the danger to which he was exposed.* "The way was now thrown open to Atlanta," as Col. Badeau remarks, "and all the rich country in its rear; the very heart of the rebellion was laid bare; the great bulwark of the would-be Confederacy was broken down, was become, instead, a sally-port for the national armies; the rebel hosts, that had stood in the way, were thrust aside, and Chattanooga, thenceforth, was as terrible a menace to rebellion as in times past it had been defiant to loyalty."

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Burnside (see p. 347) was busily occupied, meanwhile, in securing, to the fullest extent in his power, the defence of East Tennessee. He held firmly the railroad and the line through Cumberland Gap, and he protected the left flank of Rosecrans and foiled the rebels in that quarter. Grant having assumed charge of the new department, including Tennessee, Burnside was continued in his command, and urged to exert all his ability and energy toward securing a decisive victory over the enemy. Bragg, as has been noted (p. 358), detached Longstreet, at the beginning of November, to march against Burnside and drive him out of Knoxville. Some unimportant engagements occurred, and our forces suffered severely at Philadelphia and Rogersville; but the campaign did not open till

* "Considering the strength of the rebel position," says Halleck, "and the difficulty of storming his entrenchments, the battle of Chattanooga must be considered the most remarkable in history. Not only did the officers and men exhibit great skill and daring in their operations on the field, but the highest praise is due to the commanding general for his admirable disposition for dislodging the enemy from a position apparently impregnable."

about the middle of November. Longstreet, with a force of 20,000 men, advanced by way of Loudon and Lenoir, and crossed the Tennessee, on the 14th of November, near the former place. The advance of Longstreet's force was met with great courage and determination by our men, and was driven back two miles to the river. Following the directions of Grant, Burnside deemed it best to retire to Lenoir, and thence to Campbell's Station, twelve miles from Knoxville, a point of considerable importance to make a stand at, in order to secure the passage of the trains and provide for the defence of Knoxville. The battle at Campbell's Station illustrated the best qualities of our officers and men, and though they were assaulted with great fury by the rebels, they succeeded in inflicting a damaging blow upon Longstreet's force. During the night of the 16th of November, Burnside drew off to Knoxville, and the next day placed his troops in position in front of the city, and prepared for the siege which was to follow. On the 18th, the rebels made a fierce attack, intending to push back our cavalry and enter the town as victors; but they were completely repulsed, after an obstinate struggle, and fairly forced away from our lines. The loss, on our part, was severe, particularly in the death of the gallant Gen. Sanders, who, as Burnside said, "left, both as a man and a soldier, an untarnished name."

Knoxville was now closely besieged by Longstreet, and preparations were made to carry the works by regular approaches. The investment extended about half the circuit of the town, upon the northern, western, and southern side. Communication with Cumberland Gap was cut, on the night of the 16th of November, by the enemy's cavalry, and by the night of the 18th, the siege was well established. On Burnside's part, every care was taken to strengthen the fortifications, so as to resist any assault which might be made. Grant's dispatches to Burnside urged anew the necessity of his maintaining his position, and promised succor at the earliest possible moment.

Longstreet and his men seemed to be of opinion that, in a brief space of time, they could starve out Burnside and compel a surrender; but although his communications had been cut, and supplies were growing less and less, still the brave commander in Knoxville held firmly to his post. In consequence of Grant's brilliant success at Chattanooga, Longstreet's position became critical, and as he disliked exceedingly to give up and leave Knoxville in our hands, he resolved to make a final effort to carry the works by assault. Early on the morning of the 29th of November, the assaulting column, composed of three brigades, made their appearance. They approached to within 100 yards of the fort unharmed. Then commenced a series of desperate and daring attacks, stubborn resistance, death, and carnage. Hour after hour was it kept up, this deadly struggle, and the ditch was piled with the dead and the dying. More than a thousand killed, wounded and prisoners, was the cost of the assault of Fort Sanders. Nobly did it sustain the

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reputation of its namesake and avenge his fall!* The loss in the fort was less than twenty. Burnside offered the rebels the privilege, between ten, A.M., and five, P.M., of burying their dead and removing the wounded, which was thankfully accepted. In a congratulatory order, on the 30th of November, Burnside highly praised his troops, "for their conduct through the severe experiences of the past seventeen days," and assured them "of the important bearing it had on the campaign in the West."

With this last effort, Longstreet felt it necessary to give up the siege of Knoxville. His position was now becoming perilous by the advance of Sherman, who, after the defeat of Bragg at Chattanooga, was sent with his own and Granger's forces into East Tennessee to cut off the rebel general and relieve Burnside. In anticipation of his arrival, Longstreet broke up his camps, and retreated on the line of the railroad toward Virginia. On the 4th of December, Sherman's advanced guard reached Knoxville, and the same night the rear guard of Longstreet's forces abandoned their works. Two days later, Sherman had an interview with Burnside in Knoxville, at which it was determined to be inexpedient to attempt any formal pursuit of Longstreet. Willcox, who was in charge of operations in the Upper Valley, did excellent service in holding Cumberland Gap and preventing troops from Virginia joining the rebel commander; but Longstreet continued through the winter to annoy and harass our force in Tennessee, and in the spring joined Lee for the campaign of 1864.

Sherman, having left Granger and his men at Knoxville, returned with the rest of his command to Chattanooga; and Burnside, at his own urgent request, was relieved from further duty in Tennessee. On the 11th of December, he formally transferred the command of the Ohio to Gen. J. G. Foster, a personal friend and brave and distinguished officer.

President Lincoln, in view of the brilliant success of the campaign, not only sent Grant and the army his special thanks and congratulations, but also recommended a thanksgiving day for the people's observance. Gen. Grant issued a congratulatory order, December 10th, and bestowed upon the brave officers and men under his command the highest commendation in his power. "The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you," he said. "Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy rebellion are daily with you. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered."*

* For a more full account of the Siege and Defence of Knoxville, see Woodbury's "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps*," pp. 327—351.

* Mr. Lincoln also the next day sent Gen. Grant the following letter:—"Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you and all under your command my more than thanks—my profoundest gratitude for the skill, courage and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all! A. Lincoln."

CHAPTER IV.

1863.

DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH: SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.

Admiral Foote's appointment and death — The rebel ram Atlanta attacked by the Weehawken, one of the monitors — Capture, after brief contest — Admiral Dahlgren appointed to command the South Atlantic fleet — Operations on Morris Island — Gen. Gillmore's dispatch on the subject — Alarm in Charleston, and strenuous efforts for defence — Gillmore pushes forward operations — Assault on Fort Wagner — Details — Heavy loss and failure — Conduct of rebel authorities as to exchange of negro prisoners — Gillmore's batteries — Tremendous force and power — Fort Sumter bombarded, August 17th-24th — Result — Beauregard and Gillmore — Fort Wagner pressed — Rebels evacuate Morris Island — Attempt to gain possession of Fort Sumter repulsed — Severity of the bombardment of Charleston — Its virtual reduction and non-importance — Rebel view — Other operations in the South and West — Expedition under Gen. Franklin to occupy Sabine City — Report of the expedition, which was unsuccessful — Gen. Banks sails for the mouth of the Rio Grande — Enters Brownsville — Gen. Steele in Arkansas — Takes Little Rock — Union strength in the state — Quantrell and his band of ruffians — Attack on Lawrence, Kansas — Murders and destruction of property — Cabell's force of guerrillas, Indians, etc. — Detachment under Coffey routed — Quantrell attempts to seize and murder Gen. Blunt — Prospect ahead.

WITH the appointment of Gen. Gillmore to succeed Gen. Hunter we closed, in a previous chapter, our record of affairs in the department of the South (see p. 297). We now resume the narrative at this point, and ask the reader's attention to the siege of Charleston, which was conducted with so great zeal and ability on the one hand, and resisted with so much stubbornness on the other. At this same date (June, 1863), Rear-Admiral A. H. Foote was appointed to succeed Rear-Admiral Dupont in command of the South Atlantic blockading squadron; but, while on his way to enter upon his duties, while passing through New York, he was seized with that fatal illness which resulted in his death a few days subsequently. He died on the 26th of June, and passed away acknowledged by all as a "gallant and self-sacrificing Christian sailor and gentleman."

Just before Admiral Dupont retired from his position as commander of the squadron, he was able to report the gratifying intelligence to the government of an achievement worthy of note by one of the monitor vessels in the department. This was the capture in Warsaw Sound, of the rebel ram Atlanta, formerly a Clyde-built steamer, and prepared with a ram and iron plating of the most formidable description. Having completed her armament, consisting of two 7-inch **1863.** and two 6-inch rifled guns, and taken on board an ample supply of ammunition and stores for a regular cruise, with a complement, officers and men, of 165, the Atlanta left Savannah, on the evening of the 16th of June, by way of Wilmington, for Warsaw Sound, fully prepared to attack the blockading squadron.

In anticipation of this attempt of

the rebel vessel to get to sea, Dupont had dispatched, some days before, the Weehawken, Capt. John Rodgers, from Port Royal, and the Nahant, Commander J. Downes, from North Edisto, to the assistance of Commander Drake, who, in the Cimerone, was maintaining the inside blockade at Warsaw Sound. At six o'clock on the morning of the 17th of June, the Atlanta came in sight, accompanied by two wooden steamers, filled, it was said, with spectators from Savannah who had come out to witness a certainly expected victory. As the Atlanta was bearing down, reserving her fire for close quarters, she was anticipated by Rodgers, who at once engaged her with the Weehawken. Eleven shots were fired in all—five by the Weehawken and six by the Atlanta. The first 15-inch shot fired by Capt. Rodgers took off the top of the Atlanta's pilot-house and wounded two of her three pilots. Another 15-inch shot struck half way up her roof, killing one and wounding seventeen men.* In consequence of these injuries, the Atlanta grounded, and immediately after surrendered. The whole action occupied only about fifteen minutes, and the Weehawken sustained no injury of any sort. The Atlanta, not seriously damaged, was speedily brought, with her officers and crew, to Port Royal.*

On the death of Admiral Foote (see p. 365) Admiral J. A. Dahlgren was appointed to the command of the South Atlantic fleet. He was the inventor of the gun which bears his name; and in consequence of his scientific reputation, it was deemed advisable to send him to Charleston to co-operate with Gillmore, and to bring all the resources of science to bear in order to reduce that rebellious city. He proceeded at once to Port Royal, and on the 6th of July, took command of the squadron.

The attack by the fleet under Dupont, in April of this year, on the works in Charleston harbor, not having met with the success which was expected, (see p. 295), it was now deemed most advisable, as preliminary to further offensive movements, to effect a lodgment on Morris Island, on the northern side, where batteries might be erected of sufficient force, with the new ordnance, for battering down Fort Sumter, and thus opening a way for the operations of the fleet. Concealed batteries were erected by the troops, under Gen. Vodges, on Folly Island, adjoining Morris Island, on the south, which effectually commanded the entrance to the ship channel on that side. On the 10th of July, the needed force having arrived, the batteries opened upon the enemy, and when their guns were silenced, a charge was made by the infantry, who had crossed in boats, and the works were captured. Gillmore's dispatch in regard to these matters was as follows: "I have the honor to report

* The secretary of the navy quoted "this most marked and extraordinary conflict" as an illustration of the value of the monitor vessels, and the new 15-inch ordnance now first brought into use in naval warfare. "This remarkable result," he added, "was an additional testimony in favor of the monitor class of vessels for harbor defence and coast service against any naval vessels that have been, or are likely to be, constructed to visit our shores. It appears, also, to have extinguished whatever lingering hopes the rebels may have had of withstanding our naval power by naval means." Rodgers was soon after raised to the rank of commodore.

that at five o'clock on the morning of the 10th inst., I made an attack on the enemy's fortified position on the south end of Morris Island, and after an engagement, lasting three hours and a quarter, captured all his strongholds on that part of the island, and pushed forward my infantry to within 600 yards of Fort Wagner. We now hold all the island except about one mile on the north end, which includes Fort Wagner and a battery on Cummings's Point, mounting at the present time fourteen or fifteen heavy guns in the aggregate. . . . . On the morning of the 11th instant, at daybreak, an attempt was made to carry Fort Wagner by assault. The parapet was gained, but the supports recoiled under the fire to which they were exposed, and could not be got up. Our losses in both actions will not vary much from 150 in killed, wounded, and missing. We have taken eleven pieces of heavy ordnance and a large quantity of camp equipage. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded will not fall short of 200.

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This attack, with the prospect which it held out for the future, caused much uneasiness and alarm in the city of Charleston. The mayor, on consulting with Beauregard, advised and earnestly requested all women and children, and other non-combatants, to leave the city as soon as possible; and the governor of the state issued a proclamation, calling for 3,000 negroes to work on the fortifications, urging the pressing need of increasing and strengthening the defences of Charleston. The newspapers of the city dilated upon the consequences of the success of our army, giving it as their opinion that, "with the capture of Charleston, the whole state would soon be at the mercy of the foe, and the great cause of southern independence would be put in fearful jeopardy."* The portion of Morris Island not yet taken by Gillmore was well fortified. Fort Wagner was a very strong work; as were also Battery Gregg at Cummings's Point, Fort Moultrie, opposite Fort Sumter, on the north side of the harbor, Fort Ripley, Fort Johnson, Castle Pinckney, and numerous batteries at various points; the rebels, in fact, having in position and afloat, for the defence of Charleston, not less than 376 guns.

After the failure of the assault on Fort Wagner, above noted, Gillmore pushed forward operations with a vigorous hand. While congratulating his troops on their success thus far, he said, frankly and fairly, "our labors are not over. They are just begun; and while the spires of the rebel city still loom up in the dim distance, the hardships and privations must be endured before our hopes and expectations can find full fruition in victory." He now set to

* The Charleston *Mercury* remarked, truthfully enough: "It appears to us to be useless to attempt to disguise from ourselves the situation. The Yankees having gotten possession of the southern half of Morris Island, there is but one way to save the city of Charleston, and that is by the steady and unflinching use of the bayonet. If the fight on Morris Island is to be now a fight by engineering and cannon merely, the advantage is with the enemy. With their iron-clads on the water and their men in occupation of the land, it is likely to be a mere question of time. The fall of Fort Wagner ends in the fall of Charleston. Fort Sumter, like Fort Wagner, will then be assailable by both land and sea, and the fate of Fort Pulaski will be that of Sumter."

work actively to bring his heavy guns into position, not only for an attack upon Wagner, but upon all the rebel works, and also to throw shells into the city of Charleston. The siege works were urged forward, and the enemy were annoyed in every way possible with sharpshooters and shells. In similar wise, the rebels threw shells, night and day, which exploded over the men at work in the trenches; and the guns of Gregg and Sumter were busily plied against the Ironsides and the monitors, which, by their steady firing, kept Fort Wagner silent.

On the 18th of July, Gillmore having placed a number of heavy guns and mortars in position, within 800 yards of Fort Wagner, determined on making another attack. The bombardment, which was to have opened at daylight, was delayed by a heavy thunderstorm during the night of the 17th, and it was not till about midday that the batteries, in concert with the fleet, opened a tremendous fire on the fort. This continued through the afternoon into the evening, the fort making little reply during the whole time, and, whatever damage may have been sustained, showing no sign of surrender. The casualties, during these six hours, were few and unimportant on either side.

As the evening set in, and the impression gained ground that the works had been evacuated, another attempt to occupy them was determined upon. Two brigades, under Gen. Strong and Col. Putnam, were formed upon the beach, with the regiments disposed in column, the colored or negro regiment (54th Massachusetts) being in advance. This movement of the troops was observed by the rebels in Sumter, and fire was at once opened upon them, happily without doing injury, as the shells went over the heads of the men. Strong's brigade, under this fire, moved along the beach, at slow time, for about three-quarters of a mile, **1863.** when the men were ordered to lie down. In this position they remained half an hour, Sumter, meanwhile, being joined in the cannonade by the rebels in Battery Bee, but without effect upon our troops. It was now quite dark, and the order was given for both brigades to advance, General Strong's leading and Colonel Putnam's within supporting distance. The troops went forward at quick time and in deep silence, until, when within 200 yards of the work the negro troops gave a fierce yell and rushed up the glacis, closely followed by the other regiments of the brigade. The enemy met them with grape, canister, hand grenades, etc., and forced them back with severe loss. Other troops followed, but did not obtain any better success. Three companies of a New Hampshire regiment, led by Strong, in person, actually gained the ditch, and, wading through the water, found shelter against the embankment. Here was the critical point of the assault, and the second brigade, which should have been up and ready to support their comrades of the first, were unaccountably and unfortunately delayed. Strong then gave the order to fall back, and lie down on the glacis, which was obeyed without confusion. It was while waiting here, exposed to the heavy fire, that Strong was severely wounded. Finding that the

supports did not come, Strong ordered his brigade to retire, which was done steadily and quietly. Soon afterward the other brigade came up, and, as far as possible, atoned for their past tardiness by their present deeds of valor. Rushing impetuously up the glacis, undeterred by the fury of the enemy, whose fire was unintermitted, several of the regiments succeeded in crossing the ditch, scaling the parapet, and descend- into the fort. Here a hand-to-hand conflict ensued; but though our men fought desperately, the enemy succeeded after a time, by aid of reinforcements, in repulsing our attack. About midnight, the order was given to retire, and the troops fell back to the rifle-pits outside of their own works. The loss on this occasion was very severe, numbering in killed, wounded and missing 1,530. The rebel loss was stated by them at about 150 killed and wounded.

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An exchange of wounded prisoners was, a few days after the engagement, agreed upon, after a conference of Gen. Vodges, Col. Hall and Dr. Cravens, under a flag of truce, with Gen. Haywood and other rebel officers. On the afternoon of the 23d of July, the rebel wounded were placed on board a hospital boat, and the next day entered Charleston harbor. She was met by the steamer Alice, which had recently run the blockade, and brought the rebels a cargo of machinery and supplies. The number of wounded brought was 105, leaving 140 behind, as unable to be moved with safety. It was particularly observed that none of the wounded negro prisoners were among those returned. On being inquired for, Col. Anderson, the officer in charge, answered, rather brusquely, that their return was a matter of future consideration with his government. Thirty-eight of the rebel wounded were delivered up, the exchange being made on parole without regard to numbers. Gen. Gillmore, in a note to Beauregard, August 5th, speaking of this keeping back the negro wounded, said, that he could not but regard the whole transaction as a palpable breach of faith on Beauregard's part, and a flagrant violation of his pledges as an officer.

Gillmore next made extensive preparations to plant new batteries, armed with the heaviest guns used in the service, so as to bombard not only Forts Wagner and Sumter, but also the city of Charleston. In the reduction of Fort Pulaski (see p. 151), the heaviest gun employed was the rifle 42-pounder. Now, 200 and 300-pounder Parrott rifle guns were brought into use; and some three weeks were spent in erecting the batteries whence they were to discharge their terrible missiles. The nearest of these batteries were located a little short of two miles from Fort Sumter, about a quarter of a mile from Fort Wagner, and a mile from Battery Gregg. On the night of August 13th, our works were advanced within 420 yards of Wagner, without any suspicion on the part of the rebels. Soon after daylight, a fire was opened from Wagner, Gregg and Sumter, which continued for two hours, and was answered with great vigor from our batteries. On the 15th, Fort Sumter was brought under fire for the first time by our batteries, and the

range accurately and carefully secured. Seven shots were fired for this purpose from a 200-pounder Parrott, at a distance of two miles and a half. One of these went through the gorge wall, making a hole four or five feet in diameter, and demonstrating the power of these guns.

On the morning of August 17th, the bombardment of Fort Sumter was begun in earnest, and continued without cessation until it was, to all intents and purposes, in ruins. Admiral Dahlgren's force moved up at the same time, and attacked Forts Gregg and Wagner. The latter was entirely silenced, and the former nearly so, between nine and ten o'clock. Two of the monitors then moved to within a mile or so of the south-east front of Sumter, and opened fire upon it. In the course of the afternoon the fleet retired, keeping up, however, a fire upon Fort Wagner, to prevent the rebels remounting the guns. The result of this active and unceasing bombardment was briefly stated by Gillmore, in a dispatch, under date of August 24th: "I have the honor to report the practical demolition of Fort Sumter as the result of our seven days' bombardment of that work, including two days of which a powerful northeasterly storm most seriously diminish-

1863. ed the accuracy and effect of our fire. . . . I deem it unnecessary at present to continue the fire upon the ruins of Sumter. I have also, at great labor, and under a heavy fire from James Island, established batteries on my left, with effective range of the heart of Charleston, and have opened with them, after giving Gen. Beauregard due notice of my intention to do so."*

Fort Sumter having been thus rendered virtually useless to the rebels, Gillmore next proceeded to perfect his operations against Fort Wagner. The siege was pressed with vigor. On the 26th of August, a fourth parallel and sap having been completed, which extended very close to Wagner, it was determined to gain possession of a ridge of sand which interposed and was needful for our operations. It was bravely carried by the 24th Massachusetts, and a number of prisoners taken. In the first week of September, a vigorous bombardment was kept up from the Ironsides and other vessels of the fleet and the batteries on shore. At length Gillmore's efforts were crowned with success, and on the 7th of September, Morris Island was evacuated by the rebels. Under the same date, Gillmore reported the fact to the war department at Washington, stating, among other things, that "Fort Wagner is a work of the most formidable kind, its bomb-proof shelter, capable of holding

* Allusion is here made to a correspondence between Gillmore and Beauregard. The former, on the 21st of August, sent a demand to Beauregard for the immediate evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to open fire upon the city of Charleston. The rebel commander being absent from his headquarters at the time did not receive the communication till the next morning, when he replied, in his usual style, denouncing Gillmore's conduct as "atrocious, and unworthy any soldier;" threatening also some terrible retaliation, and dilating upon the wickedness of firing upon a city "filled with old men, sleeping women and children." Gillmore's answer was in good temper and quite to the point. He put aside most of Beauregard's remarks as requiring no notice at his hands, and deferred for two days the bombardment of the city.—For this and a previous correspondence in July, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, pp. 137—142.

1,800 men, remaining intact after the most terrible bombardment to which any work was ever subjected. We have captured nineteen pieces of artillery and a large supply of excellent ammunition. The city and harbor of Charleston are now completely covered by my guns." Several additional pieces of artillery were subsequently found, making, with the eleven guns taken when the troops first landed, an aggregate of thirty-six pieces captured on the island.*

On the night of the 8th of September, an attempt was made to gain possession of Fort Sumter. About thirty boats were fitted out, manned by over 100 sailors, under Lieut. Williams, and about 100 marines, under Capt. Macawley. The boats were towed near the fort, and the assault made; but the rebels were prepared, and repulsed the attack. Three of the boats were smashed, and all who landed were either killed or captured. Our loss numbered in all about eighty.

Although Fort Sumter was not yet occupied by our troops, nor the other powerful forts in the harbor reduced, still the army and navy, having possession of Morris Island, held the key of the position. The firing was kept up at intervals upon Charleston and Fort Sumter, which latter still enjoyed the empty privilege of flaunting the rebel flag from its walls in the face of our men. The forts on Morris Island were enlarged and strengthened by Gillmore, so as effectually to command Fort Sumter and guard perfectly the entrance to the harbor. That part of Charleston within the reach of the shells was greatly injured, and almost entirely abandoned by its inhabitants; there was, however, but little further progress made in the siege during the remainder of the year. An attempt was made by the rebels, by way of variety, on the night of the 6th of October, to blow up the steamer Ironsides. A sort of nondescript vessel, with a cigar-shaped hull, carrying a formidable torpedo suspended to her bows, bore down upon the Ironsides, and the torpedo exploding against the sides of the frigate, a great body of water was thrown up, jarring the Ironsides, but inflicting no serious damage.

At the close of the year, the secretary of the navy, in his annual report, briefly noted the result of the operations, above spoken of, in the southern department: "Since the fleet, under Admiral Dahlgren, has remained inside the bar, and we have had possession of Morris Island, the commerce of Charleston has ceased. Not a single blockade-runner has succeeded in reaching the city for months, and the traffic which had been to some extent, and with large profits, previously carried on, is extinguished. As a commercial mart, Charleston has no existence; her wealth, with her trade, has departed. In a military or strategic view the place is of little consequence; and whether the rebels are able by great sacrifice and exhaustion to hold out a few

* Gillmore congratulated the army on their signal success, especially in regard to Fort Sumter: "It has yielded to your courage and patient labor. Its walls are now crumbled in ruins, its formidable batteries are silenced, and, though a hostile flag still floats over it, the fort is a harmless and helpless wreck."

weeks, more or less, is of no importance."*

Some further operations in the South and West, at this time, we may here, for convenience sake, put on record in closing the present chapter. Gen. Banks, as we have stated on a previous page (p. 318), was reinforced by Gen. Grant, after the capture of Vicksburg and the fall of Port Hudson, and an expedition was fitted out, early in September, under Gen. Franklin, to occupy Sabine City, at the mouth of the Sabine River, on the dividing line between Louisiana and Texas. The defences at Sabine Pass consisted, as nearly as could be ascertained, of two 32-pounders, placed *en barbette*, a battery of field pieces, and two boats used on the bay, converted into rams. Franklin's force, consisting of 4,000 men, left New Orleans in transports, September 4th, accompanied by a squadron of four gun boats, the Clifton, Sachem, Arizona and Granite City. The plan was for the attack to be made by the gun boats, each one having about forty-five sharpshooters on board; then, so soon as the rebels should be driven from their defences and the rams destroyed, the transports were to advance and land the troops. The expedition reached the entrance to the harbor, September 7th, and a reconnaissance having been made the next morning, an immediate attack was determined upon. "At six, A.M.," writes one of the officers, "the Clifton stood in the bay, and opened fire on the fort, to which no reply was made. At nine, A.M., the Sachem, Arizona and Granite City, followed by the transports, stood over the bar, and with much difficulty, owing to the shallowness of the water, reached anchorage, two miles from the fort, at eleven, A.M., the gun boats covering the transports. At half-past three, P.M., the Sachem, followed by the Arizona, advanced up the eastern channel to draw the fire of the forts, while the Clifton advanced up the western channel, followed by the Granite City, to cover the landing of a division of troops under Gen. Weitzel. No reply to the fire of the gun boats was made until we were abreast of the forts, when they opened with eight guns, three of which were rifled, almost at the same moment. The Clifton and Sachem were struck in their boilers, enveloping the vessels in steam. There not being room to pass the Sachem, the Arizona was backed down the channel, and a boat was sent to the Sachem." The officers and crews of the Clifton and Sachem, and about ninety sharpshooters, who were on board, were captured. The Union loss, in killed and wounded, was about thirty. The whole expedition now returned to Brashear City, whence, after considerable delay, the army moved forward by Franklin and Vermillionville and occupied Opelousas.* **1863.**

* For the rebel view of the position of affairs in respect to Charleston, the reader can refer to Pollard. He ridicules the statements concerning Fort Sumter and the progress of our naval force, and asserts that while "a large besieging force was in sight of the spires of Charleston, yet the city was safe, and proclaimed to the Confederacy new lessons of brilliant courage and hope."—"*Third Year of the War*," pp. 85–98.

* Pollard rather boasts of this "brilliant victory won by the little Confederate garrison of Sabine Pass against the fleet of the enemy;" and says, "the result of this gallant achievement was the capture of two fine gun boats, fifteen heavy guns, over 200 prisoners,

On the 27th of October, an expedition under Gen. Banks sailed from New Orleans. It consisted of about twenty vessels, accompanied by three gun boats, and was destined to the mouth of the Rio Grande, which is the boundary line between Texas and Mexico. During the first three days out the weather was fine, but the next day a storm arose, and one light draft steamer and two schooners were lost, but no lives. The expedition anchored off the mouth of the river, October 31st, and on the next day a force was landed on Brazos Island. By the 4th of November, the troops were all landed, and the day following Banks entered Brownsville, on the Rio Grande, which place had become an important depot of rebel trade in connection with Matamoras.

After the surrender of Vicksburg (p. 318), Gen. Steele was sent to Helena, Arkansas, and was ordered to form a junction with Gen. Davidson and drive the rebels south of the Arkansas River. On the 1st of August, Steele advanced against the rebel force, who fell back toward Little Rock. Having reached the Arkansas, he pressed actively forward, threw a part of his troops across the river, drove the rebels in disorder before him, and entered Little Rock on the 10th of September. His entire loss did not exceed 100; while he was successful in capturing 1,000 prisoners and much public property. Our cavalry continued to press the rebels in a southerly direction; a portion of these, however, deflecting to the eastward, attempted, October 28th, to capture the garrison at Pine Bluff, on the Arkansas; in this they failed entirely, being repulsed with great loss, and glad to escape toward the Red River. Arkansas was thus virtually relieved of the rebel usurpation, except that here and there the guerrillas pursued their infamous trade in plunder and bloodshed.*

In connection with these outgrowths of lawlessness and ruffianism, we may make mention of Quantrell and his doings on a certain occasion. Ascertaining that the city of Lawrence, Kansas, was undefended, this noted marauder, with a force of about 800 men, crossed the Missouri below Leavenworth, and by a rapid march entered the city on the night of the 20th of August. The unarmed citizens were shot down in cold blood; the stores, dwellings, hotels, and churches were set on fire and nearly all burned to the ground; and the property stolen and destroyed was estimated at more than $2,000,000. Two hundred and five men were killed and a large number wounded in this infamous onslaught. Senator Lane (Gen. J. H. Lane) was in Lawrence at the time, and escaping the massacre, hastily gathered a small mounted force and started in pursuit of Quantrell and his men. Some forty

and over fifty of the enemy killed and wounded, while not a man was lost on our side, or a gun injured."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 165.

* Early in November, a meeting was held at Little Rock, to consult with reference to an entire restoration of the state to its position in the Union. At this and other meetings much enthusiasm was displayed, and various steps were taken in favor of the right and true cause; so that, in January, 1864, the president issued his proclamation to enable the people to re-organize the state government by the election of a governor, etc.—See Appleton's "*Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, pp. 14–16.

or more of the guerrillas were caught and killed; but the remainder got away safely with their plunder. The commander of the department of Missouri, Gen. Schofield, was freely denounced by the people of Kansas, as wanting in efficiency, zeal, etc., and an effort was made to have him removed. Vengeance was denounced upon the whole border region occupied by the guerrillas. In a speech at Leavenworth, on the 27th of August, Gen. Lane declared that the first tier of counties in Western Missouri ought to be exterminated, and if that were not sufficient, the second and third must be served in like manner, so as to interpose an effectual barrier against such murderous incursions in the future. An assembly of armed loyal men was proposed, with the evident intention of carrying the suggestion into effect.

In the latter part of September, the rebel Gen. Cabell, gathering together guerrillas, Indians, and some of the routed troops driven from Little Rock, started with a force of from 5,000 to 8,000 men from the Choctaw settlement of the Indian Territory, and crossed the Arkansas, east of Fort Smith, which had been occupied by Gen. Blunt, on 1st of September. A detachment of Cabell's troops, under Shelby, joined Coffey, on the 1st of October, at Crooked Prairie, Missouri, for the purpose of making a raid into the south-western portion of the state. This collection, numbering about 2,500 men, penetrated as far as the Missouri River at Booneville; but having been pursued by the Missouri militia, they were brought to a stand a few miles from Arrow Rock, on the 12th of October. Gen. E. B. Brown attacked the rebels the same evening, and the next morning routed them completely. About this same date, Quantrell and his men made an effort to capture and murder Gen. Blunt who, with his staff, was at the time marching toward Fort Scott, Kansas. Blunt, on this occasion, was in advance of his wagons, with his escort of about 100 men, when the rebels, in disguise of Union troops, 300 in number, drew near, as if to give Blunt a reception. Directly after, throwing off all pretence, they dashed furiously upon Blunt's escort, and speedily slaughtered nearly the entire number. Quantrell and his band were quite exultant, supposing that Blunt was among the slain; but he was fortunate enough to escape and rejoin the rest of his command. On the 20th of October, Gen. McNeil was appointed Blunt's successor in command of the Army of the Frontier.

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Further movements in the region west of the Mississippi were comparatively of little interest or importance. The final result of the war was in no wise dependent on what here took place. The operations in the department under Gen. Grant's control, as well as in that in which the Army of the Potomac was specially concerned, were, it began to be well understood, those which would be decisive of the contest, and by which the rebellion would be ultimately crushed out of existence.

CHAPTER V.

1863.

ENROLLMENT AND DRAFTING: RIOTS: MR. LINCOLN'S COURSE AND POLICY: MILITARY OPERATIONS.

Secretary Seward's diplomatic circular — Its statements, etc. — National enrollment — Preparations for the draft — Unpopular measure — Riotous demonstrations — City of New York — The disgraceful riot there, in July, 1863 — Details of the lawless proceedings, cruelty and outrage of the mob and their leaders — Loss of life, property, etc. — Reaction — Riots in other places, Boston, Portsmouth, etc. — The measures and policy of the administration generally approved — Result of the autumn elections — Mr. Lincoln's proclamation respecting the *habeas corpus* suspension — The president's letter to Mr. Drake in regard to Missouri and border state affairs — Proclamation calling out 300,000 volunteers — Army of the Potomac — Its position in the autumn of 1863 — Gen. Meade's purpose — Lee's offensive movements — Meade retires rapidly to Centreville — Rebels repulsed at Bristoe Station — Lee retreats to the line of the Rapidan — Meade plans the Mine Run move — Causes of its failure — Occasional encounters with the rebels — Gen. Averill's famous raid on Longstreet's communications — Rebel plot on the Canada frontier — Came to nothing — Daring act of piracy — The steamer Chesapeake seized by pirates off Cape Cod — Recaptured by United States gun boat, Ella and Annie, near Halifax — Restored by the colonial court to her owners.

THE important victories of July, 1863, at Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and Gettysburg, not only afforded to the country at large encouraging hope of the rebel military organization being speedily broken down, but also gave the secretary of state an opportunity of furnishing the principal foreign governments with some useful information in regard to the progress of the national arms. Under date of August 12th, Mr. Seward issued a diplomatic circular, addressed to the consuls of the United States abroad, for the purpose of convincing "those who seek a renewal of commercial prosperity through the restoration of peace in America, that the quickest and shortest way to gain that desirable end is to withdraw support and favor from the insurgents, and to leave the adjustment of our domestic controversies exclusively with the people of the United States." It was frankly admitted that no great progress had been made by our arms in Virginia; and the reason given for it was, that "the opposing forces there have been too equally matched to allow great advantages to accrue to either party, while the necessity of covering the national capital in all contingencies has constantly restrained our generals, and forbidden such bold and dangerous movements as usually conduct to brilliant military success." Looking with far more satisfaction to the great West, Mr. Seward declared that, in the recent campaign, 50,000 square miles had been reclaimed from the insurgents; and he further called attention to the fact that, "since the breaking out of the insurrection, the government had extended its former sway over and through a region of 200,000 square miles, an area as large

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as Austria or France, or the peninsula of Spain and Portugal."* The rebels, in his judgment, had lost in the operation of July, fully one-third of their entire forces, and at best, by the rigid enforcement of their conscription act, they could only gather anew a force varying in number from 70,000 to 100,000 men. On the other hand, not only were our armies already superior in numbers and ability, but the increase from the draft of 300,000, ordered by the president, would be more than sufficient to replace those whose terms of service had expired, and to fill up the ranks of the veteran regiments. Affirming positively that the people were ready and willing to sustain the government in its efforts to put down the rebellion, at any cost, he stated, as one evidence, that the national six per cent. loan was purchased at par by our own citizens at the average rate of $1,200,000 a day. Gold was selling in our market at 123 to 128, while in the rebel districts it commanded 1,200 per cent. premium.† Urging, with much skill, considerations of this kind, Mr. Seward was content to leave his statement of facts to make its due impression upon all those concerned in the issue now approaching its final settlement.

In accordance with the act of Congress, passed at the close of its session, in March, 1863, the national enrollment, preparatory to the draft, was made generally throughout the loyal states. Col. J. B. Fry was appointed by the president provost-marshal general, with his office at Washington, and provost-marshals were appointed for the various districts into which the country was divided. The enrolling officers were directed to enrol all able-bodied persons between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, the object being to ascertain, as far as possible, how many men liable to military duty there were, on the 1st of July, in the United States, and also to arrange, in regard to military service, how much had already been rendered, and how much was still due in the several districts. Opposition, to some extent, was made to the action of the officers, but in general it was readily and promptly repressed. The result of the enrollment, which was not completed in all the states, showed that there were considerably more that 3,000,000 men liable to military duty. For making the draft, one-fifth the number of men enrolled in the first class (*i. e.* between the ages of twenty and thirty-five), was adopted as the quota of a district; and the boards in charge of this matter apportioned this quota among the towns and wards forming sub-districts, so as in

* The rebels, according to Pollard's way of representing matters, grew cheerful and quite hopeful under this state of things. "While Mr. Seward," he says, "was making to Europe material calculations of Yankee success in the square miles of military occupation, and in the comparative arithmetic of the military power of the belligerents, the Confederacy had merely postponed its prospect of a victorious peace, and was even more seriously confident of the ultimate issue than when it first declared its independence."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 82.

† A Richmond paper, in October, made the following doleful statement: "The condition of the currency has become so alarming that its importance has risen even above the excitement of military movements. From every quarter of the Confederacy essays, schemes, expedients and remedies are daily scattered broadcast over the country, and suggestions of every character and description are urged. One thing is certain and indisputable, that the present financial management is an utter and absolute failure, rendered so not by Mr. Memminger, but by the people themselves."

making the draft to furnish the number of men required. Each name of this class in the sub-district was written upon a separate slip of paper, and placed in a wheel, or circular box, which was then made to revolve, and a name was drawn out and registered. This process was continued until the requisite number of names had been obtained. The person drafted was obliged to report immediately for duty, under penalty, unless he furnished a substitute, or paid $300 computation money.*

The draft, as we have stated on a previous page (see p. 258), was thoroughly unpopular, and politicians were not lacking in zeal in pointing out its odious features, and in berating the government for resorting to so oppressive a measure. The annual elections were considerably influenced by popular denunciation on this subject; in several quarters vigorous efforts were made to have the conscription act pronounced unconstitutional; and the result was looked for with much anxiety by loyal men, as a test of the strength and ability of the government. Strenuous exertions were made in the different states to fill the quotas under the call of the president for 300,000 men; but as they were only partially successful, the machinery for the draft was set in motion early in the month of July.

As was perhaps to be expected, this novel and, as many called it, despotic mode of filling up the ranks of the army, was not allowed to be enforced without rousing some of the worst passions of human nature, and giving rise to disgraceful scenes of riot and bloodshed. Particularly was this the case in the city of New York, which has a mixed and diverse population, a considerable portion of whom demagogues and mischief-makers have not found it difficult, at times, to persuade to evil courses, and excite to deeds of violence and cruelty. After several postponements, Col. Nugent, the provost-marshal of the city, completed all the arrangements for the draft, and it was announced through the press, by Capt. Jenkins, marshal of the ninth congressional district in New York, that, on Saturday, July 11th, the ballots would be publicly counted, at the corner of 3rd Avenue and 46th Street, and that immediately thereafter the wheel would be turned and the draft begun. More or less of trouble was apprehended, and the police was held in readiness for any emergency. The number required from the city was 20,000, to which fifty per cent. was to be added to cover exemptions. Over 1,200 names were drawn in this district, and though a large crowd had gathered to witness the proceedings, the day passed off pleasantly and without any disturbance. Loyal citizens and the guardians of the public peace breathed more freely, and rejoiced in the conviction that there was no further danger, and that all would go well.

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Sunday, however, intervened, unfortunately for the carrying forward the draft. Evil minded persons availed themselves of the sacred day of rest for the purpose of stirring up a spirit hos-

* On the subject of "Enrollment and Draft," consult the article in Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, pp. 361–371.

tile to the enforcement of the law, and combinations were formed to resist it by force, even to bloodshed. The commutation clause, allowing exemption, on the payment of $300, was invidiously represented as a privilege of the rich at the expense of the poor, and much popular feeling was excited on this account by those who misrepresented the motives of the enactment. Political and other prejudices were also excited among the people, particularly an absurd and unjust apprehension of the competition of the emancipated negro race with the northern laboring classes, while the compulsory operation of the draft upon those who could not readily escape from it was undoubtedly a prominent cause of disaffection. The result was, a resolution by a number of desperate characters, acting as leaders, to break up, by force, all further proceeding with the draft.

On Monday morning, July 13th, organized bodies of men, abandoning their usual employments, went from yard to yard, and from shop to shop, compelling those at work to leave and join the processions which were marching towards the corner of 3rd Avenue and 46th Street. A vast crowd was gathered, and the officers, unconscious of danger, entered upon the morning's work. The draft recommenced, and a few names had been drawn from the wheel, when a huge paving stone came crashing through the window, dashing in pieces the glass, and knocking over several persons. Other stones speedily followed, and made havoc among the officials and reporters behind the railing. Immediately thereafter the mob, with frantic yells, rushed upon the place, seized and destroyed the records, and smashed in pieces the desks, tables, and boxes in the office. With savage fury, the mob set fire to the building, regardless of women and children in the upper part of it; with horrible perversity, they took possession of the hydrants and refused to allow the firemen to use them in subduing the flames; and, in two hours' time, the whole block was a pile of smoking ruins. Police-superintendent Kennedy appeared on the ground, was attacked by the rioters, and was nearly killed before he could be rescued from his assailants. The mob now having attained to vast proportions, and being joined by gangs of thieves and scoundrels from every hole and corner of the city, entered on a career of murder, pillage, and arson. The Bull's Head Hotel, on 44th Street, was burned down, because the proprietor refused to furnish rum for the rioters; several brown-stone houses in Lexington Avenue, and various other dwellings, were destroyed by fire; the Armory in the 2nd Avenue, corner of 21st Street, was attacked, and after a brave defence by a small police force, was set on fire and burned to the ground; the Colored Orphan Asylum, on 5th Avenue, was furiously assailed, and with circumstances of unheard of cruelty towards the inmates, was sacked and reduced to a mass of ruins; the *Tribune* newspaper office was attacked, and only saved from destruction by a vigorous onset of the police; and everywhere the reign of terror seemed to have set in, as if all law and order were paralyzed, and as if the great city was

given over to raging demons, and doomed to absolute ruin.

Unhappily, the militia of the city were absent, having been summoned to join the forces in Pennsylvania, which Lee had invaded, and had not yet returned home. This threw the burden of checking the mob upon the police, and such small detachments of the United States troops as could be spared from the forts in the harbor. The Metropolitan Police at this time numbered about 2,000 men, of whom only 800 could be separated from their special duties to make head against the mob.

1863. As parties of the rioters appeared at the same time in different quarters of the city, even this force had to be divided, the largest number in one command being 350. They were assisted to some extent by special policemen sworn in from the citizens. Wherever they appeared, the mob felt the effects of their discipline and organization; and, in fact, during the day and night, the safety of the city depended almost wholly on the bravery and devotion of these guardians of the metropolis.

On Tuesday, the malignant character of the mob seemed to have increased, if that were possible. Apparently, they were masters of everything; they continued their work of destruction; they threatened the city with a general conflagration; they assaulted and pursued and murdered every negro man, woman, and child who came within their reach; and they plundered stores and dwellings and private citizens with impunity. Mayor Opdyke issued a proclamation, but to no purpose; Gov. Seymour did the same, and with as little effect; the governor addressed a large crowd from the City Hall steps, begged them to preserve peace and order, stated that he had written to Washington and obtained a suspension of the draft for the present, etc. Gen. Wool called out the "veteran volunteers," and assigned to Gen. Harvey Brown the command of the Federal troops in the city; while Gen. Sandford aided him in every way in his power with such of the militia as could be gathered together. Prompt and energetic action was felt to be absolutely necessary. The military and police met the mob with decision wherever it attempted to make head; there was no further scruple at using ball cartridges; the rioters were frequently driven from one locality to appear again in another; and by degrees, the ringleaders having been killed or made prisoners, this disgraceful outbreak began to be subdued.

During Wednesday, the 15th, and Thursday, the 16th of July, the riot was still active, although greatly reduced in its capacity for mischief; on the latter day, the citizens began again to open their places of business; the cars and stages resumed their running; and there was now a sufficiently strong military force in the city to quell all disturbance and compel obedience to the laws.* For several days, cavalry

* On the 16th the Romish archbishop, John Hughes, had a placard posted about the city, addressed "To the men of New York, who are now called in many of the papers rioters," and asking them to visit him the next day, when he said he would make a speech to them. An immense crowd gathered at two P.M. on Friday, in Madison Avenue, corner of 36th Street, and listened to a characteristic address, made up of jokes and appeals of one kind and another to obey the laws, etc.

and other troops were on duty, patrolling the streets, and enforcing order; but there was no further attempt at riot, and the city resumed its usual peaceful course. The exact number of the killed during these fearful days is not known. From the several reports at the time it appears, that eighteen persons were killed by the rioters, eleven of whom were negroes. Col. O'Brien, an officer of the city militia, after sparing the rioters by firing over their heads, was caught by them and brutally murdered. Several policemen were killed in the discharge of their duty, or died of their wounds. In two days over fifty buildings were burned. The aggregate amount of property destroyed and stolen was estimated at over $1,500,000. The rioters, on their part, suffered severely. Several hundred of them were killed, or died of wounds received in conflict with the police and military.

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The reaction from the riot was in favor of the authority of the government. The draft was the following month enforced in the city without opposition, Gen. Dix having, in the mean time, succeeded Gen. Wool, in charge of the eastern department. The draft, after various delays, was enforced in twelve states, bringing 50,000 soldiers into the service, and by the commutation clause contributing the large sum of over $10,000,000 to be employed as a fund for procuring substitutes. The negroes of the city, who had been so cruelly persecuted, were promptly relieved by the kindness and liberality of the citizens. A general committee was appointed by the merchants, who received and disbursed over $40,000, spontaneously contributed for the relief of the sufferers, to whom every assistance was given in making good their claims against the city for their losses.*

There were riotous demonstrations in other places, but none of such formidable proportions as in the city of New York. In Boston, on the night of July 15th, a riot broke out connected with the draft, which threatened at first to become very serious in its consequences. The Armory in Cooper Street was attacked between eight and nine o'clock P.M. by a mob of nearly 1,000 men and boys; and had it not been resolutely defended by a strong force, who fired upon the rioters and charged with the bayonet, killing six or eight and wounding a large number, the mob would certainly have accomplished its wicked design. Fortunately for Boston and the safety of the city, there was not only an energetic police force on duty, but the military were sufficiently numerous to put down any outbreak against the public peace and order. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, there was an incipient riot on the day of drafting, an attack being made on the police station house to rescue two men who had been arrested; but the crowd was speedily dispersed by a squad of soldiers, and all further resistance to the draft in Portsmouth ceased. In Holmes County, Ohio, in the month of June, there was a disturbance which gave no little trouble to the authorities;

* See the "Report of the Merchants' Committee for the relief of colored people suffering from the riots in the city of New York," with the interesting report of the secretary, Mr. Vincent Colyer, included in the pamphlet.

the details are not important here; happily, at last, public peace was restored without the government being compelled to slaughter the rioters in their lawless career.*

The general sentiment of the country, notwithstanding a powerful and factious opposition in various quarters, was in favor of the measures adopted by the government, and the autumn elections justified the confidence of the friends of the administration. For, every state in which elections were held, with the single exception of New Jersey, voted to sustain the government; and in all the most populous and important states, the majorities were unusually large, and consequently expressive of the convictions of the people in the present condition of affairs. Vallandingham, as we have before stated (p. 340), was defeated in Ohio by 100,000 majority against him; in New York, which had elected Horatio Seymour governor, the previous autumn, by a democratic majority of 10,000, at an election held in November, for state officers, viz.: secretary of state, comptroller, members of the legislature, etc., the majority in favor of the administration candidates was but little short of 30,000; and in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the democratic party, Gen. McClellan even taking part in the canvass, Governor Curtin was re-elected by more than 15,000 majority.† "The result," as Mr. Raymond says, "was justly claimed as a decided verdict of the people in support of the government. It was so regarded by all parties throughout the country, and its effect upon their action was of marked importance. While it gave renewed vigor and courage to the friends of the administration everywhere, it developed the division of sentiment in the ranks of the opposition, which, in its incipient stages, had largely contributed to their defeat. The majority of that party were inclined to acquiesce in the deliberate judgment of the country, that the rebellion could be subdued only by successful war, and to sustain the government in whatever measures might be deemed necessary for its effectual prosecution; but the resolute resistance of some of its more conspicuous leaders withheld them from open action in this direction."*

Mr. Lincoln having been censured, on the ground of leaving, as was alleged, the suspension of *habeas corpus* to military commanders, instead of acting directly himself, as it was said he ought to do, he issued a proclamation, in order to establish a uniform mode of action and obviate all objection. Having enumerated the various classes of persons held by officers of the United States under control, for being spies, traitors, aiders and abettors of the enemy, deserters, persons resisting the draft, etc., he said:—"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and

* See Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*," for 1863, pp. 817–818.

† McClellan's letter to a Philadelphia paper, under date of October 12th, 1863, in favor of Judge Woodward, the democratic candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, was sharply criticised, and was, at best, of very doubtful expediency.—See Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, p. 740.

* Raymond's "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 444.

make known to all whom it may concern, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended throughout the United States, in the several cases before-mentioned, and that this suspension will continue throughout the duration of the said rebellion, or until this proclamation shall, by a subsequent one, to be issued by the President of the United States, be modified and revoked. And I do hereby require all magistrates, attorneys, and other civil officers within the United States, and all officers and others in the military and naval services of the United States, to take distinct notice of this suspension and give it full effect, and all citizens of the United States to conduct and govern themselves accordingly, and in conformity with the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of Congress in such cases made and provided."*

Early in October, the president addressed a letter to the Hon. C. D. Drake, and others, members of a Missouri delegation sent to Washington to urge changes in the military conduct of that department (see p. 246). It is interesting as showing the peculiar difficulties which he was called upon to encounter, especially in the questions which arose in the border states, and which were so hard to settle on any satisfactory grounds. The removal of Gen. Schofield was demanded, and the appointment of Gen. Butler in his place; the delegation also required the breaking up of the system of enrolled militia, and the substitution for it of national forces in the state. A few passages may here be quoted from Mr. Lincoln's letter:—"We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with*, but not *without* slavery—those for it *without*, but not *with*—those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *with*, and those for it *with* or *without*, but prefer it *without*. Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual* but not for *immediate*, and those who are for *immediate* but not for *gradual* extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. . . . The evils now complained of were quite as prevalent under Fremont, Hunter, Halleck, and Curtis, as under Schofield. Without disparaging any, I affirm with confidence that no commander of that department has, in proportion to his means, done better than Gen. Schofield. . . . I am satisfied that the pre-

* In connection with this subject of arbitrary arrests, and what was termed the despotic use made of the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which were strongly denounced by the democratic party, see President Lincoln's letter to the Hon. Erastus Corning, of New York, under date of June 13th, 1863, and also his reply to a committee of the Ohio Democratic State Convention, under date of June 29th, 1863.—Raymond's "*Life of Lincoln*," pp 386–398; Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. iii. pp. 270–273; Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, pp. 799–807.

venting of the threatened remedial raid into Missouri was the only safe way to avoid an indiscriminate massacre there, including probably more innocent than guilty. Instead of condemning, I therefore approve what I understand Gen. Schofield did in that respect. . . . From time to time I have done and said what appeared to me proper to do and say. The public knows it well. It obliges nobody to follow me, and I trust it obliges me to follow nobody. The radicals and conservatives each agree with me in some things and disagree in others. I could wish both to agree with me in all things; for then they would agree with each other, and would be too strong for any foe from any quarter. They, however, choose to do otherwise, and I do not question their right. I, too, shall do what seems to be my duty. I hold whoever commands in Missouri or elsewhere responsible to me, and not to either radicals or conservatives. It is my duty to hear all; but at last, I must, within my sphere, judge what to do and what to forbear."*

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The condition of affairs in this department, it may here be mentioned, continued to be greatly disturbed by political agitations, and the personal controversies to which they gave rise. Some months later, the president deemed it expedient to relieve Gen. Schofield from further command in the department of Missouri; and on the 24th of January, 1864, Gen. Rosecrans was appointed in his place.

* For the letter in full, and for the special instructions sent to Gen. Schofield, see Raymond's "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," pp. 432–437.

On the 17th of October, in anticipation of the term of service of part of the volunteer troops expiring, and to provide for the probable demands of the campaign in the following spring, the president issued a proclamation, calling out 300,000 volunteers to serve for three years or the war, not, however, exceeding three years. The governors of the several states were required to raise their respective quotas, and, in case of any deficiency, a draft was ordered to be made in the states or districts, to commence on the 5th day of January, 1864. Active measures were taken to forward recruiting; the volunteers whose term of service was about to expire generally re-enlisted; and when the day arrived which was appointed for the draft, it was deemed expedient that the drawing be further postponed.*

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On previous pages we have given the substance and tolerably full details of army operations and success, in the West and South, during the latter part of 1863. We purpose closing the present chapter with succinct notices of the position and movements of the Army of the Potomac, and of some few other events which may properly claim to be placed on the record. Lee, it will be remembered, after his defeat at Gettysburg (p. 333), retreated into Virginia, and was pursued by Meade, with-

* The conscription act was brought up in the Thirty-eighth Congress and earnestly discussed. The chief point in the debates on the act was in reference to the propriety or necessity of retaining the $300 exemption clause. It was finally concluded to retain this, with the important restriction, that the exemption thus purchased should not continue beyond a single year, when the person relieved would again be subject to draft.

out, however, any special result. Lee retired in safety across the Rapidan, and Meade, with his army, took up the old line on the Rappahannock. For some time the Army of the Potomac was enjoying needed rest and an opportunity for recruiting and preparing for future operations. A considerable portion of Lee's force was sent, under Longstreet, to aid the rebel cause, just then in a rather critical condition, in Tennessee, where Bragg was in command. This was in September, 1863; and Meade, having become aware of the fact, made an advance movement, and had matured a plan, which promised well, for attacking Lee on the flank. Before, however, he could carry out his plan, the Army of the Potomac was largely depleted by the sending of the 11th and 12th corps, under Hooker's command, to the aid of our army in Tennessee (see pp. 353, 358). This reduced Meade to the necessity of acting on the defensive simply, until he could be supplied again with reinforcements.

Early in October, Lee resolved upon an offensive movement, for the purpose of driving Meade back from the line of the Rapidan, and, by a decisive flank march, get between Meade and his communications with Washington. On Friday, October 9th, Lee crossed the Rapidan, and moved northwardly by way of Madison Court House, so as to turn Meade's right, in which movement he was quite successful. Meade, on ascertaining the rebel purpose, immediately fell back from the Rapidan and crossed the Rappahannock without molestation, and when Lee reached Culpepper, on the 11th of October, he found that our army had passed over the river some hours before. On the 12th, Lee advanced in two columns, with the design of reaching the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, north of the river, and cutting off Meade's retreat. On the afternoon of the same day, Lee crossed his columns at Warrenton Springs, to the north bank of the Rappahannock, and advanced rapidly, purposing to strike Meade's line of retreat by the railroad. The commander of the Army of the Potomac immediately began a retrograde movement, so as to escape the consequences of the rebel attempt. It now became a sort of race between the two armies, and Tuesday and Wednesday, the 13th and 14th of October, were spent in determining which should first reach the heights of Centreville, and gain the race. The 2d corps, under Warren, marched all Monday night up to Fayetteville, to guard the road, and remained there till the whole army passed. On Tuesday, Lee as well as Meade, was pushing forward rapidly, by parallel roads, only six or eight miles apart. At Warrenton, Lee formed the bold design of sending Hill's corps, by a rapid *détour*, to seize the heights of Centreville, while Ewell's corps should fall upon Meade's flank and rear.

It was on Wednesday, the 14th October, when our whole army passed Cedar Run at Auburn, Warren's corps bringing up the rear. To this commander was assigned the duty of covering the trains of the army, which were much delayed in the crossing by the pontoons. The position was now an extremely critical one.

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Ewell had begun pressing severely on the rear, and already, on Wednesday morning, at Auburn, the rear-guard became engaged with a portion of his force. Meade, it will be noted, was obliged to move with the utmost celerity in order to reach Centreville in advance of Hill, who had the start of him, and was on the shortest line; he was under the necessity also of keeping back the enemy from his trains in the rear. The army having passed Auburn, pushed rapidly on toward Catlett's. A couple of miles beyond Auburn, Warren received a message from Meade, directing him to hold on, so as to give sufficient time for the trains. The 2d corps, accordingly, for two hours, exhausted all the resources of tactics to keep back the enemy, by forming line of battle, skirmishing, shelling the woods, etc., the enemy making vigorous demonstrations all the while. The task was bravely and effectually performed by Warren. About noon, he reached Catlett's, and began his retreat toward Bristoe Station. The latter place was reached about three o'clock in the afternoon of October 14th. The rebel corps, under Hill, arrived at Bristoe shortly before Warren, and found that the whole army, excepting Warren, had just passed beyond that point; whereupon, Hill arranged a line of battle perpendicular to the railroad. The position was perilous, but Warren was equal to the emergency. The troops were brought up at the run; those which had been marching on the left of the railroad were brought quickly over to the right; and Warren, observing that the rebels had neglected to occupy the cut and embankment of the railroad, on the instant jumped his men, unseen, into it. This sagacious movement was admirably timed, and it enabled Warren to repulse Hill's corps with severe loss, and to secure about 450 prisoners. It was well, however, for Warren's safety that night soon after came on; for about sunset Ewell's corps joined Hill, and nothing but the darkness prevented an overwhelming assault. During the night, Warren retired, and the next morning came up with the main body of the army at Centreville.

This repulse at Bristoe Station, and the strong position now held by Meade, put an end to Lee's further advance. After a few demonstrations of no great moment, and after destroying the railroad from Cub Run southwardly to the Rappahannock, Lee began his retreat, Sunday, October 18th, and the next day passed through Warrenton, and thence across the river, leaving his cavalry in front of Meade. Troops, sent out from Harper's Ferry, forced him immediately to retreat. On the 7th of November, Gens. Sedgwick and French attacked the enemy at Rappahannock Station and Kelly's Ford, capturing several redoubts, four guns, eight flags, and about 2,000 prisoners. The enemy now retreated to his old position on the Rapidan, and Meade, having followed in pursuit, took up nearly the same ground which he had previously held. Lee states, in his report, that the whole number of prisoners captured by him was 2,436, of whom forty-one were commissioned officers.

Meade, anxious to accomplish something before going into winter quarters,

planned an operation known as the Mine Run Move. The intention was, by a rapid and vigorous movement, to get between the forces under Ewell and Hill, and destroy them in detail. The march was begun at dawn, on November 26th, and had it not been for vexatious delays, and consequent destroying the combinations relied upon by Gen. Meade, there is every reason to believe that he would have met with success. The attack on Lee was fixed for the morning of November 30th, but that commander having strongly entrenched himself behind Mine Run, south-west of Chancellorsville, the assault was deemed too hazardous, in fact hopeless, so far as victory was concerned.* There being no alternative, Gen. Meade withdrew across the Rapidan, and the army returned to its former quarters.

During the period of these campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, the forces in Western Virginia had been generally employed on the defensive, with occasional encounters with the enemy.

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About the middle of December, Averill's famous raid took place on the communications of Longstreet, on the Tennessee Railroad. Averill's own account is given with soldier-like brevity and point, and is well worth consulting by the reader. It is under date of December 21st, and reports the cutting of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, at Salem, on the 16th; the destroying three depots, containing 2,000 barrels of flour, 10,000 bushels of wheat, 50,000 bushels of oats, and 2,000 barrels of meat, and numerous other valuable stores; the cutting and destroying the telegraph line; the burning of bridges in connection with conflicts with the enemy; the crossing the Alleghanies by a road thought to be impassable; etc. Averill sums up with stating his loss to have been six men drowned and nineteen wounded and missing. "We captured," are his concluding words, "about 200 prisoners, but have retained but forty officers and eighty men, on account of their inability to walk. We took also about 150 horses. My horses have subsisted entirely upon a very poor country, and

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* Mr. Swinton relates a touching instance of the mode and spirit in which the soldiers prepared for the expected fight: "Recognizing that the task now before them was of the character of a forlorn hope, knowing well that no man could here count on escaping death, the soldiers, without sign of shrinking from the sacrifice, were seen quietly pinning on the breast of their blouses of blue, slips of paper on which each had written his name."—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 397.

the officers and men have suffered cold, hunger, and fatigue, with remarkable fortitude. My command has marched, climbed, slid and swam 350 miles since the 8th inst."

Toward the close of the year, the rebel authorities set on foot a plot to liberate some 2,500 of their officers confined on Johnson's Island, Lake Erie, and also to burn and destroy Buffalo and other lake cities. The expedition was to rendezvous in Canada, and carry on operations from thence. The American consul at Montreal, having informed the Canadian authorities on the subject, news was sent to Washington, and, through Lord Lyons, communicated to our government. Immediate steps were taken by the secretary of war, and telegrams were sent, November 11th, to Buffalo, Detroit, and other western cities, warning them of danger and of the need of activity and vigilance. In consequence of the prompt movement of troops to the points threatened, and the measures adopted by the local authorities on the frontier, the rebel plot happily came to nothing.

Early in December, a daring act of piracy was perpetrated by a party of rebel desperadoes, who had made their way for this purpose to New York from St. John's, New Brunswick. The scheme was to enter as passengers and take possession of the steamer Chesapeake while on her way as one of the regular line from New York to Portland, Maine. The Chesapeake sailed from New York on the afternoon of Saturday, December 6th, with twenty-four passengers. Eight of the latter, being part of the piratical adventurers, purchased their tickets in the morning, and came on board with the rest without suspicion. They each brought a heavy trunk, which, it was afterwards found, was filled with fire-arms and ammunition. Eight others came on board just after the Chesapeake left the wharf, and with their comrades quietly made preparation for what followed. On Sunday evening, after the officers and crew, except those on necessary duty, had retired, the pirates, fully armed and prepared, seized the vessel, which at the time was about twenty miles north-east of Cape Cod, murdered one of the engineers, and attempted to murder the captain and others. On Tuesday morning, December 9th, the Chesapeake reached the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, whence, proceeding towards St. John's, she received on board a rebel privateer commander, and got rid of her prisoners by placing them on board an English pilot boat, by means of which they found their way to Portland.

When the news of this piratical exploit reached the United States, it stirred up great indignation, and a fleet of cruisers was immediately dispatched from New York and other ports in pursuit of the robbers. Some days were spent in the chase, the Chesapeake dodging her pursuers in the waters of Nova Scotia. At one of her stopping places, a portion of her stolen cargo was sold to the inhabitants at trifling prices. She was finally taken into Sambro Harbor, near Halifax, where, on the 17th of December, she was captured by the United States gun boat Ella and Annie. The crew

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offered no resistance, mostly leaving the vessel and flying to the woods on the shore. The capture having been made in British waters, the vessel was promptly carried into Halifax and transferred to the British authorities for adjudication. An attempt was made by the government officers to take the pirates on board in custody, but they were rescued by a mob of southern agents and partizans, and escaped arrest. When the case came before the colonial court, the Chesapeake was promptly restored to her owners, while steps were taken to follow up the pirates. The court decreed such restoration, on the ground that the bringing of the vessel and her cargo into a port of Nova Scotia was an offence against Great Britain, subjecting them to forfeiture; and that their restoration to their original owners was an act of justice to the offended dignity of the British crown. With a proper apology on the part of our government for a capture made in British waters, the case of the Chesapeake was satisfactorily settled.*

* On the subject of prizes, *i. e.*, any property captured at sea in virtue of the rights of war, see, for the cases brought before the United States courts at this date, Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopœdia*," for 1863, pp. 765–769. See also, for the substance of the authoritative and final decision of the Supreme Court in the prize cases, argued in the spring of 1863, Whiting's "*War Powers under the Constitution of the United States*," pp. 141–156.

CHAPTER VI.

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THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS: CLOSE OF 1863: GENERAL STATE OF AFFAIRS.

The Thirty-eighth Congress, first session — Organization, officers, etc. — The president's message — Extracts from — Mr. Lincoln's policy of emancipation — Reports of the secretaries of departments — Report of Mr. Stanton as to the army, its efficiency, etc. — Statements respecting exchange of prisoners — Course pursued by the rebels — Report of Mr. Welles, secretary of the navy — Extent of the navy — Report of the secretary of the treasury — Clear and well-arranged document — Valuable and satisfactory information — Principal objects kept in view — Jeff. Davis's statements as to the rebel financial condition — Congress enters on its work — Various resolutions introduced — Several quoted, and action upon them — Harris and Long, in the House, severely censured — A *résumé* of matters of general interest at close of 1863 — Military and other successes — Commerce and trade of the country — The shipping interests — Success of the rebel privateers in burning and plundering ships — Diplomatic correspondence — England's course, how regarded in the United States — Relations with the French Government — Resolution of the House on the subject of Mexican affairs — General patriotic spirit of the people — Rebel style of talking — APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI. — The president's proclamations.

THE Thirty-eighth Congress began its first session on Monday, December 7th, having, in both Houses, a decided majority of its members in favor of the policy of the administration, and prepared to legislate to any extent in order to put down the rebellion promptly and effectually. The Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, was elected speaker of the House; the

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vice-president, Hannibal Hamlin, presided in the Senate; and the new senators from West Virginia, Messrs. Willey and Van Winkle, were admitted to their seats by a vote of 36 to 5. On the 9th of December, the president's message was transmitted to both Houses, and with great clearness and plainness set forth the existing condition of affairs, and the views of the chief magistrate on various questions of immediate and pressing interest. The opening paragraph was as follows:—

"Another year of health and of sufficiently abundant harvests has passed. For these, and especially for the improved condition of our national affairs, our renewed and profoundest gratitude to God is due. We remain in peace and friendship with foreign powers. The efforts of disloyal citizens of the United States to involve us in foreign wars, to aid an inexcusable insurrection, have been unavailing. Her Britannic Majesty's government, as was justly expected, have exercised their authority to prevent the departure of new hostile expeditions from British ports. The Emperor of France has, by a like proceeding, promptly vindicated the neutrality which he proclaimed at the beginning of the contest. Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade, and other belligerent operations, between the government and several of the maritime powers, but they have been discussed, and, as far as was possible, accommodated in a spirit of frankness, justice, and mutual good will. It is especially gratifying that our Prize Courts, by the impartiality of their adjudications, have commanded the respect and confidence of maritime powers."

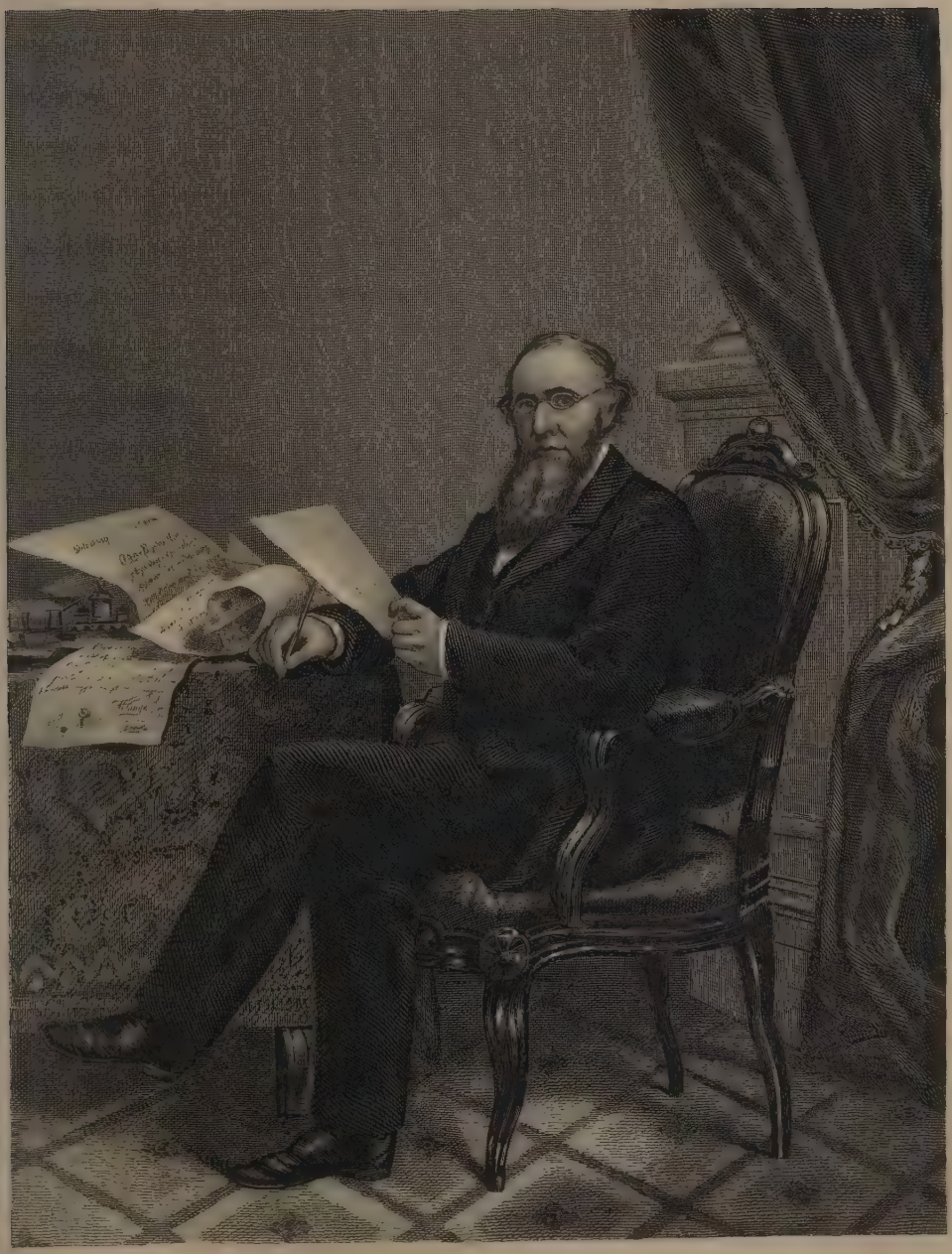
Having touched briefly upon the position and claims of naturalized citizens, the condition and importance of the territories, the propriety of providing remedies for injuries unintentionally done to foreigners during the war, etc., the president gave a summary of the reports of the secretaries of the several departments, and added various suggestions for the further effectiveness of the army and navy. He then proceeded to a succinct review of his emancipation policy, claiming for it definite and positively beneficial results, and stating, that "of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion fully 100,000 are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks," and also that, so far as tried, the black soldiers are little, if at all, inferior to the white.

Looking to the present and future, and with a reference to a resumption of the national authority in the states where that authority had been suspended, Mr. Lincoln thought fit to issue a proclamation, dated December 8th, a copy of which he transmitted to Congress with his message. Our limits do not admit of giving the president's views and arguments in full. They were set forth clearly and at large, and may be consulted by the reader to advantage; the proclamation also, as marking out a line of policy on the difficult and delicate subject of reconstruction, is worthy of a careful perusal. We give it in the appendix to the present

chapter.* "In the midst of other cares, however important," Mr. Lincoln went on to say, "we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look, for a time, to give confidence to the people in the contested regions, that the insurgent power will not again overrun them. Until that confidence shall be established, little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the army and navy, which have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well; and it may be esteemed fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms, we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom, more than to others, the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom, disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged, and perpetuated."

The reports of the secretaries in the several departments, which accompanied the president's message, exhibited a remarkable and extensive development of the resources of the country in meeting and providing for the exigencies of the war. The statistics furnished by Mr. Stanton, the secretary of war, are interesting and instructive. According to his statements, over 2,000 siege and sea-coast artillery had been issued since the war was begun, being double the number on hand when the rebellion broke out. The number of field artillery had increased from 231 to 2,481; infantry fire-arms from 437,433 to 1,550,576, and other arms and material in like proportion. For this supply, the country, at the beginning of the war, was almost wholly dependent on foreign nations; but now we were not only able to manufacture them ourselves at home, but possessed all the materials necessary therefor. Particularly was this the case in regard to iron in its various shapes. Mr. Stanton also enlarged upon the subject of the exchange of prisoners, and what was held to be the mean and malicious course pursued by the rebel authorities. Until recently, exchanges had been conducted in accordance with the arrangement made, in 1861, by Gen. Dix and the rebel Gen. Hill (p. 107); but, owing to several causes, the government had been compelled to suspend this arrangement. The number of our prisoners in the rebels' hands was about 13,000; at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, it will be remembered that between 35,000 and 40,000 prisoners, taken by our armies, were released on parole, until duly and lawfully exchanged. "But the rebel agent," said Mr. Stanton, "in violation of the cartel, declared the Vicksburg prisoners exchanged, and without being exchanged, the Port Hudson prisoners he, without just cause and in violation of the cartel, declared released from their parole. These prisoners were returned to their ranks and a portion of them were found fighting at Chattanooga, and again captured. For this breach of faith, unex-

* It may be noted here, that the president issued an additional explanatory proclamation, March 26th, 1864, with reference to the case of insurgent enemies entitled to the benefits of his proclamation, December 8th, 1863. This is also given in the appendix to the present chapter.



Edwin M. Stanton

ampled in civilized warfare, the only apology or excuse was, that an equal number of prisoners had been captured by the enemy; but on calling for specifications in regard to these alleged prisoners, it was found that a considerable number represented as prisoners were not soldiers, but were non-combatants, citizens of towns and villages, farmers, travellers and others in civil life, not captured in battle, but taken at their homes, on their farms, or on the highway, by John Morgan and other rebel raiders, who put them under a sham parole." Another cause why exchanges were stopped was, the declaration of Jeff. Davis that our black troops and their white officers would not be recognized or treated as prisoners of war, if they fell into his hands. Our government had remonstrated, but thus far to little or no effect. "Meantime, well-authenticated statements show that our troops held as prisoners of war were deprived of shelter, clothing, and food, and some have perished from exposure and famine. This savage barbarity could only have been practised in the hope that this government would be compelled, by sympathy for the suffering endured by our troops, to yield to the proposition of exchanging all the prisoners of war on both sides, paroling the excess not actually exchanged, the effect of which operation would be to enable the rebels to put into the field a new army, 40,000 strong, forcing the paroled prisoners into the ranks without exchange, as was done with those paroled at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and also to leave in the hands of the rebels the colored soldiers and officers, who are not regarded by them as prisoners of war, and therefore not entitled to the benefit of the proposed exchange. As the matter now stands, we have over 40,000 prisoners of war ready at any moment to be exchanged, man for man, and officer for officer, to the number held by the rebels," *i. e.*, about 13,000, as above stated. Although the rebel prisoners were treated with every kindness consistent with security, yet, under existing circumstances, Mr. Stanton felt called upon to say, that "if it should become necessary for the protection of our men, strict retaliation will be resorted to; but while the rebel authorities suffer this government to feed and clothe our troops held as prisoners, we shall be content to continue to their prisoners in our hands the humane treatment they have uniformly enjoyed."

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The report of the secretary of the navy showed an increase of 161 vessels and 1,175 guns during the year, which, with the vessels then under construction, would make our naval force to consist of 583 vessels, carrying 4,443 guns. Of these vessels forty-six were iron-clad steamers for coast service, and twenty-nine for inland service; 203 side-wheel steamers; 193 screw-steamers, and 112 sailing vessels. The number of seamen in service, on the 1st of July, including the Mississippi squadron, was about 34,000. The average monthly enlistments during the year were over 1,500. The number of vessels captured by the squadrons and reported by the department, on the 1st of November, was, exclusive of a large

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number destroyed on the Mississippi and other rivers, 1,045; of which 547 were schooners, 179 steamers, 131 sloops, thirty brigs, twenty-six barks, fifteen ships, 117 yachts and small boats. The value of prizes sent to the courts for adjudication since the blockade was established, was estimated at not less than $15,000,000.

The report on the subject of our national finances, from the secretary of the treasury, which had been looked for by the country at large with profound interest, proved to be a clear, well arranged document, and gave general satisfaction. The amount of debt had fallen short of the amount anticipated; while the receipts from all sources of income, except internal revenue, exceeded the estimates. The debt, July 1st, 1863, was $1,098,793,181; its estimated increase, it was now calculated, would raise it, on July 1st, 1864, to $1,686,956,641. Secretary Chase stated that he had, all along, "kept four objects in view; moderate interest, general distribution, future controllability, and incidental utility." In respect to the first, it was remarkable that our earliest negotiations had been made at the highest rates of interest, and that the public credit which was at the lowest ebb just preceding the breaking out of the rebellion, had steadily improved in the midst of the terrible trials brought by it upon the country. The first loans were negotiated at 7.30 per cent.; the next at 7 per cent.; the next at 6 per cent.; more recently large sums were obtained at 5 and 4 per cent.; and the whole of the debt, which was represented by United States notes and fractional currency, bore, of course, no interest. The average rate of interest on the whole debt was, July 1st, 1862, 4.36 per cent.; January 1st, 1863, 4.02 per cent.; July 1st, 1863, 3.77 per cent.; and October 1st, 1863, 3.95 per cent. In regard to the "general distribution" of the debt, that "had been accomplished by the universal diffusion of the United States notes and fractional currency, by the distribution of certificates among great numbers of contract creditors and temporary depositors, and by arrangements to popularize the loans by giving to the people everywhere opportunities to subscribe for bonds." Under this plan, nearly $400,000,000, in five-twenty bonds in denominations of $50, $100, $500, and $1,000 were distributed among all classes of the people. "The history of the world," Mr. Chase added with commendable pride, "may be searched in vain for a parallel case of popular financial support to a national government." The next point, the "controllability" of the debt, had been provided for by limiting the periods and reserving certain times of payment of the bonds issued. "Incidental utility" had been secured by receiving large sums on temporary deposit, and maintaining a fund for their reimbursement which had been used for the convenience of the public. The latter had been further provided for in the uniform currency secured by the issue of United States notes, by which the government was also strengthened in the general distribution of the debt. As a further advantage in this direction, the secretary urged anew his sys-

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tem of national banking, its great feature being "to make use of a portion of the national debt as security for the national currency." In providing for the needs of the treasury in the future, Mr. Chase looked to interest-paying loans, thinking it "clearly inexpedient" to increase the present amount of United States notes or currency as tending inevitably to ruinous depreciations.*

Congress, as we have stated on a previous page, (p. 388), having completed its organization, appointed the usual committees, etc., entered upon its work. Public attention was very much engaged in watching the progress of military and naval affairs; and during the early part of the session there was no occasion for any action, nor any action of special interest or importance. Various resolutions were introduced, some strongly condemnatory of the policy and course of the government, others of a negative, mixed character, and others again highly approving the measures of the president. The opponents of the administration, while urging forward the prosecution of the war, were anxious at the same time, not to "subjugate" any of the rebellious states, not to interfere with any of their "domestic institutions," and to allow them, just so soon as they laid down their arms, to send representatives to Congress, and enjoy all the privileges and advantages of loyal states. A number of resolutions were introduced, avowing these views and purposes; they were usually disposed of promptly, by being laid on the table or rejected entirely. On the other hand, strongly worded resolutions were proposed, and adopted by large majorities, in support of the government and its policy. Thus, on the 17th of December, Mr. Smith of Kentucky, offered the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That as our country, and the very existence of the best government ever instituted by man, are imperilled by the most causeless and wicked rebellion that the world has seen, and believing, as we do, 1863. that the only hope of saving this country and preserving this government is by the power of the sword, we are for the most vigorous prosecution of the war until the Constitution and laws shall be enforced and obeyed in all parts of the United States; and to that end we oppose any armistice, or intervention, or mediation, or proposition for peace, from any quarter, so long as there shall be found a rebel in arms against the government; and we ignore all party names, lines, and issues, and recognize but two parties in this war—patriots and traitors.

"*Resolved*, That we hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass all neces-

* Jeff. Davis, in a very long message to the rebel congress, which met early in December, 1863, indulged himself, as usual, in charges of "consistent perfidy," "savage ferocity," "horrible barbarities," and such like, and in denouncing "the plundering ruffians" of which the army of the United States was composed. He also enlarged upon the deplorable condition of the finances of the insurgent states. All efforts by taxation, imposts, etc., had failed, and "the issues of treasury notes have been increased, until the currency in circulation amounts to more than $600,000,000, or more than threefold the amount required by the business of the country." The rebel debt was stated by Mr. Memminger, secretary of the treasury, to be, in round numbers, $1,000,000,000, of which $800,000,000 were in treasury notes; probably another year would raise the debt to more than than $2,500,000,000. For Davis's message, the reader can refer to Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1863, pp. 788–799.

sary bills to supply men and money, and the duty of the people to render every aid in their power to the constituted authorities of the government in the crushing out of the rebellion, and in bringing the leaders thereof to condign punishment.

"*Resolved*, That our thanks are tendered to our soldiers in the field for their gallantry in defending and upholding the flag of the Union, and defending the great principles dear to every American patriot."

The first resolution was adopted by a vote of 98 to 65; the second and third were also adopted by a vote of 152 and 166; a Mr. B. G. Harris of Maryland being the only negative.*

On the 7th of January, 1864, Mr. Baldwin of Massachusetts, offered the following preamble and resolution:

"*Whereas*, the organized treason having its headquarters at Richmond, exists in defiant violation of the national Constitution, and has no claim to be treated otherwise than as an outlaw; and *whereas*, this Richmond combination of conspirators and traitors can have no rightful authority over the people of any portion of the national Union, and no warrant for assuming control of the political destiny of the people of any state or section of this Union, and no apology but that of conspiracy and treason for any assumption of authority whatever; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That any proposition to negotiate with the rebel leaders at Richmond (sometimes called 'the authorities at Richmond') for a restoration of loyalty and order in those portions of the Republic which have been disorganized by the rebellion, is, in effect, a proposition to recognize the ringleaders of the rebellion as entitled to represent and bind the loyal citizens of the United States whom they oppress, and to give countenance and support to the pretensions of conspiracy and treason; and, therefore, every such proposition should be rejected without hesitation or delay."

The resolution was adopted, by a vote of ayes 88, nays 24. This and the preceding resolutions furnish a fair indication of the spirit and temper of Congress at the time, and also of the probable course of legislation during its first session. At present, we need not dwell upon the subject, or attempt to go into details; on a subsequent page we shall have opportunity of giving the substance of the action of Congress, and the principal measures adopted.

Following the course pursued on a former occasion, in giving a *résumé* of matters of general interest at the termination of 1862, we shall ask the reader to pause here a moment, and notice briefly where the country stood, and what were its condition and prospects at the close of 1863. In general, as will have been gathered from preceding pages, the state of affairs was encouraging and hopeful. Our armies,

* A resolution was subsequently offered to expel Mr. Harris for "treasonable language and gross disrespect to the House;" but on the vote being taken, it lacked a few votes of the two-thirds required. Immediately another resolution was offered declaring him to be "an unworthy member of the House," and deserving its severest censures, which passed by a vote of 93 to 18. A similar course was pursued in the case of Alexander Long, of Ohio. Speaker Colfax offered a resolution for his expulsion; but failing a two-thirds vote, Mr. Long was declared, by resolution, "to be an unworthy member of the House of Representatives."

especially in the West, had obtained great and decisive successes.* Missouri was now placed beyond danger of invasion; the rebel power was broken down in Arkansas; the mouth of the Rio Grande having been occupied (p. 373), it had destroyed one of the principal outlets of the rebels to foreign intercourse and trade; the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson had not only cut off the rebel communications with insurgents beyond the Mississippi, but had thrown the great river wide open for commerce and its uses; and the victory at Chattanooga, and the occupation of Eastern Tennessee, had brought under our control the whole state of Tennessee, and portions of Mississippi and Louisiana on the shores of the river. In Virginia, and the region of the Potomac, no change of moment had occurred since the battle of Gettysburg; and in North Carolina, and the states further south, no operations of magnitude had taken place, except the siege of Charleston and the grand naval attack upon its defences.

The commerce and trade of the country were, on the whole, healthy and prosperous during 1863, although not increased to the extent that was expected in consequence of the opening of the Mississippi, the continued occupation of the Atlantic coast of South and North Carolina, and the penetration of our forces into Texas. Extensive and carefully prepared regulations were adopted by the government with reference to trade with the inhabitants within the lines of the army in the insurgent states; but the results were very limited. Foreign commerce was contracted to a great extent in consequence of the improved harvests in Europe and the less demand for our breadstuffs and provisions. The shipping interests had suffered the most severely, because of the continued success of the rebel privateers in burning and destroying American vessels, and the transfer of a vast carrying trade to foreign flags.* This is made strikingly evident, by examining a few figures on the subject. Our foreign carrying trade, in 1860, was valued, under the American flag, at $234,000,000, under foreign flags, at $150,000,000; but, in 1863, it was valued, under the American flag, at about $110,000,000, and under foreign flags, at nearly $300,000,000. The rebel privateers, increased in number to about twenty, had been carrying on, during the year, plundering and burning on a large scale, and with almost incredible audacity. Up to the close of January, 1864, it was reported that some 200 merchant vessels had been destroyed, of which the aggregate ton-

* These were so marked that Mr. Stanton, in his annual report, December, 1863, was able to say:—"The success of our arms during the last year has enabled the department to make a reduction of over $200,000,000 in the war estimate for the ensuing fiscal year."

* "These rovers," as Secretary Wells remarked, "sailing sometimes under the English and sometimes under the rebel flag, without a port of their own which they can enter, or to which they can send a single prize for adjudication, have roamed the seas, capturing and destroying the commercial ships of a nation at peace with Great Britain and France; but yet, when these corsairs have needed repairs or supplies, they have experienced no difficulty in procuring them, because it had been deemed expedient to recognize the rebels as belligerents. Not one of the many vessels captured by these rovers has ever been judicially condemned as a legal capture. Wanton destruction has been the object and purpose of the captors, who have burnt and destroyed the property of their merchant victims."

nage was estimated to be not less than 90,000. The value of the vessels and cargoes thus wantonly destroyed, was estimated at $13,500,000.*

The diplomatic correspondence with England and France, during the year, had served to bring out clearly the ground taken by our government on the various subjects noticed by Mr. Lincoln at the beginning of his message to Congress in December (p. 386). As to England, her course had been felt to be illegal, unfriendly, and unhandsome, in the extreme; and more than this, our government had given a significant warning that England would be held responsible for the damage done to our commerce by lawless rovers, like the Alabama, and other vessels built at Liverpool, and allowed to set out from thence to prey upon our unprotected merchant marine. It will be seen, by and by, that this warning was meant to be, and was, a reality, which the English ministry had to meet fully and fairly. With the French government our relations had continued to be of a friendly and cordial character, unless possibly Louis Napoleon's designs in Mexico may be thought to have given rise to some ill feeling. France disavowed any intention of establishing a monarchical government in Mexico, or taking any measures which might be considered inimical to the well-understood policy of the United States in regard to foreign interference in America. For the present, especially during the continuance of our own difficulties in putting down the rebellion, our government had determined upon a course of strict neutrality in the war between France and Mexico; but there was no sign of willingness to acquiesce in the imposition of a foreign prince upon the Mexican people by foreign armies. This was shown very plainly by a resolution passed by a unanimous vote in the House of Representatives, which, though not acted on in the Senate, undoubtedly expressed the settled sentiment of the people of the United States. The resolution, adopted April 4th, 1864, was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States are unwilling, by silence, to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the Republic of Mexico; therefore, they think it fit to declare that it does not accord with the sentiment of the people of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America, under the auspices of any European power."

On the whole, then, at the close of

* The principal agent in these piratical exploits was the Alabama, of which vessel and her doings we have spoken on a previous page (p. 268). Pollard is disposed to boast of the "few Confederate cruisers which defied the power (of the United States navy), and burnt Yankee vessels even within sight of their commercial marts." Fully one-third of the captures noted above were made by Semmes in the Alabama. The rebel chronicler also gives vent to the disappointed hatred and scorn of the insurgents, one and all, towards England and the English government, who, under the pressure of certain plain-spoken words by the United States government, had refused to allow the rams and iron-clads recently built at Liverpool to be fitted out and enter upon their piratical career.—"*Third Year of the War*," pp. 141–2. See also, for the "Protest and Remonstrance" of the English government against rebel efforts to get cruisers for their purpose in England, Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1864, pp. 556–7.

1863, national affairs were in an encouraging and hopeful condition. Difficulties and trials there were, it is true; and political disputes and animosities, and sharp and bitter criminations and recriminations, were not only annoying hindrances, but productive of mischief to a large extent. Nevertheless, matters in general were in such a shape as that the people were more ready to believe the final triumph of our arms to be not far distant; and the burden on the country, in the immense expenditures and fearful mountain of debt which was being accumulated for future payment, was submitted to with a degree of readiness highly creditable to the patriotism of the people, and affording the best possible proof of their fixed convictions as to the ultimate result of the struggle through which the republic was passing.

As an illustration of the rebel style of talking at this date, and also of what they themselves thought of the position of their affairs, we may, in concluding the present chapter, refer to the speech of a noted secessionist, Robert Toombs. It was made before the legislature of Georgia, at Atlanta, November 9th, 1863, and presents anything but a flattering picture of the condition of matters in the "Confederacy," while there are, at the same time, the usual rebel braggadocio, inflation of style, and haughty assumption of superiority and right. "I wish I could tell you," he said, "that the sky is bright; but stern duty demands of me rather to tell you truthful things. . . . . Maryland is overawed and overpowered. Kentucky is in the hands of the enemy. Tennessee is overrun, and the Mississippi, from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Balize, is in the hands of the enemy, and thus cutting in twain the great Valley of the Mississippi. The fall of Vicksburg inflicted a terrible blow upon us, and it fell with scarce a blow in its defence. Our islands are lost, our coasts are ravaged, and our seaports captured or threatened. Let us meet the enemy, and if we are true to ourselves, true to our sacred cause, we shall triumph, and our land be free. . . . If the last dollar of the country, and the last drop of blood are necessary, take that; for I would rather see this whole country the cemetery of freemen than the habitation of slaves."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

I.—THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, In and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that the president "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment;" and

Whereas, A rebellion now exists, whereby the loyal state governments of several states have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States; and

Whereas, With reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions

therein stated, and also declaring that the president was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any state, or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and

Whereas, The congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with the well established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and

Whereas, With reference to the said rebellion, the president of the United States has issued several proclamations with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and

Whereas, It is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to re-inaugurate loyal state governments within and for their respective states;

Therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have directly, or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where the rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

"I, ———, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the states thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress or by decision of the Supreme Court, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the president made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God."

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are: all who are or shall have been civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called confederate government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are or shall have been military or naval officers of said so-called confederate government above the rank of colonel in the army, of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the army or navy of the United States, and afterward aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that whenever, in any of the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such states, at the presidential election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the state existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a state government, which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the state, and the state shall receive thereunder the benefit of the constitutional provision, which declares that

"The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application to the Legislature, or of the Executive, when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that any provision which may be adopted by such state government in relation to the freed people of such state which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a temporary arrangement, with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national executive.

And it is suggested as not improper, that, in constructing a loyal state government in any state, the name of the state, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions herein before stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions, and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new state government. To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to state governments, has no reference to

states wherein loyal state governments have all the while been maintained; and for the same reason it may be proper to further say, that whether members sent to Congress from any state shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective Houses, and not to any extent with the executive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the states wherein the national authority has been suspended, and the loyal state governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal state governments may be re-established within said states, or in any of them. And, while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington, the 8th day of December, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the president,
W. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

II.—PROCLAMATION EXPLANATORY.

WHEREAS, It has become necessary to define the cases in which insurgent enemies are entitled to the benefits of the proclamation of the president of the United States, which was made on the 8th day of December, 1863, and the manner in which they shall proceed to avail themselves of these benefits; and *whereas* the objects of that proclamation were to suppress the insurrection and to restore the authority of the United States; and *whereas* the amnesty therein proposed by the president was offered with reference to these objects alone:

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, president of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the said proclamation does not apply to the cases of persons who, at the time when they seek to obtain the benefits thereof by taking the oath thereby prescribed, are in military, naval, or civil confinement or custody, or under bonds, or on parole of the civil, military, or naval authorities, or agents of the United States, as prisoners of war, or persons detained for offences of any kind, either before or after conviction; and that on the contrary it does apply only to those persons who, being yet at large, and free from any arrest, confinement, or duress, shall voluntarily come forward and take the oath, with the purpose of restoring peace, and establishing the national authority.

Persons excluded from the amnesty offered in the said proclamation may apply to the president for clemency, like all other offenders, and their application will receive due consideration.

I do further declare and proclaim, that the oath presented in the aforesaid proclamation of the 8th of December, 1863, may be taken and subscribed before any commissioned officer, civil, military, or naval, in the service of the United States, or any civil or military officer of a state or territory not in insurrection, who, by the laws thereof, may be qualified for administering oaths.

All officers who receive such oaths are hereby authorized to give certificates thereof to the persons respectively by whom they are made, and such officers are hereby required to transmit the original record of such oaths, at as early a day as may be convenient, to the department of state, where they will be deposited, and remain in the archives of the government.

The secretary of state will keep a register thereof, and will, on application, in proper cases, issue certificates of such record in the customary form of official certificates.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington, the 26th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1864, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-eighth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the president:
W. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

CHAPTER VII.

1864.

OPENING OF THE YEAR 1864: MILITARY EVENTS, ETC.

Military operations at the opening of the year 1864 — General condition of affairs, preparations for the spring campaign, etc. — Mr. Lincoln's call for 200,000 men — Matter how arranged — Action of Congress on the enrollment question, etc. — Proceedings of rebel Congress on conscription, finances, etc. — Jeff. Davis's proclamation — Tone and temper of the rebels — Gen. Gillmore's expedition into Florida — Its objects — Gen. Seymour in command — Advance of the troops — Seymour's unhappy decision — Disaster at Olustee — Sherman's expedition into the interior of Mississippi — Sets out February 3d, and advances to Meridian — Waits for cavalry force — Gen. Smith's advance from Memphis — Failure to join Sherman — Result of the expedition — Mobile threatened by Farragut — Gen. Palmer's march upon Dalton, Georgia — Result — Cruel treatment of our officers and men in prison at Richmond — Expedition set on foot by Gen. Butler — Rebel attempts upon Newbern — Wistar's movement — Kilpatrick's cavalry expedition — In sight of Richmond, March 1st — Forced to return by way of the Peninsula — Colonel Dahlgren's attempt and his ill success, death, etc. — Rebel charges against him — The prospect ahead.

During the early months of the year 1864, military operations were not carried on to any great extent. The winter season, except in the far South, was unfavorable, of course, to the entering upon work of any magnitude; the time, consequently, was mainly spent in preparation for the severe and even deadly struggle which the spring campaign clearly indicated. The ground was now much narrower than it was a year ago. In Tennessee, Arkansas, on the line of the Mississippi, and in Louisiana, there was good hope of being able speedily to include all these regions among the loyal supporters of the Constitution and laws of the land. A large and important work, it is true, remained to be done to the west of the Mississippi, before the whole territory could be fully restored to its rightful allegiance in the Union, and constant vigilance had to be maintained at the various posts on the frontier and on the Mississippi, to protect the border states of the West from invasion, and to maintain the needed communications of the army; but these services, though requiring earnest care and attention, and involving various contests with guerrilla and other forces, were rather in the ordinary routine of regular duty, and did not attract public attention to any particular extent. 1864. Expectation, in the loyal states, no less than in those still under the control of the rebel leaders, was mainly centred upon the armies of Meade and Lee in Virginia, and Grant and Johnston in the vicinity of Chattanooga; for it was evident, from the present position of affairs, that the campaigns of the spring would be of great and decisive importance, and would tax the energies and resources of the government to their fullest extent. The rebel authorities, too, conscious of their doubtful condition, were straining every nerve to re-

sist the onward progress of the Union arms, by accumulating stores, gathering in of conscripts, strengthening their armies, etc.

On the 1st of February, 1864, President Lincoln issued an order for 200,000 men, in addition to the 300,000 called for in October, 1863, and appointed the 10th of March for a draft of such portion of this 500,000 as should not then be furnished by the states according to their several quotas. Strenuous efforts, by bounties and by means of furloughs to the old regiments in the field, whose terms of service were about to expire, were made, and resulted in largely supplying the men called for, so that the draft ordered for March was dispensed with. In fact, so successful did the movements for recruiting prove, that, on the 14th of March, President Lincoln (in addition to the two calls above noted), "in order to supply the force required to be drafted for the navy, and to provide an adequate reserve force for all contingencies," ordered a further enlistment of 200,000 men, appointing the 15th of April as the period when any deficiencies should be made good by a draft. By an act of Congress, passed in February, amendatory of the Enrollment Act of the previous year, the measure was strengthened by various provisions, checking frauds and evasions, and otherwise rendering the enactment more efficient. Clergymen, and ministers of the Gospel in general, were still liable to draft; but a provision was made by which members of religious denominations who should, on being drafted, declare themselves conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, and be prohibited from doing so by the rules and articles of faith and practice of said religious denominations, were to be considered non-combatants and assigned to duty in the hospitals, or the care of freedmen, or be relieved on payment of the stipulated sum of $300.

1864.

As we have stated on a preceding page, every nerve was now to be strained by the rebel leaders to prepare for the coming campaign. Their congress met, and at the beginning of February passed a new and stringent conscription act. It was provided by this, that all white men, residents of the states under their control, betweeen the ages of seventeen and fifty, should be in the military service for the war. All in the service between eighteen and forty-five were to be retained during the war. Those between seventeen and eighteen, and between forty-five and fifty, were to form a reserve for state defence and detail duty. An act imposing additional taxes was also passed at this session, and another, in accordance with Secretary Memminger's and Jeff. Davis's recommendation, providing for the funding of the outstanding treasury notes or currency of the states in confederate bonds. This conversion was, in great measure, rendered compulsory by the refusal of the rebel authorities to receive the currency after an early day in payment of public dues, and by the imposition of a tax on the notes not funded. By another act, February 16th, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended in certain specified cases, and it was to con-

tinue in force for ninety days after the next meeting of the rebel Congress. An address was issued at the close of the session, February 18th, 1864, to the people of the insurgent states, containing the usual topics of consolation and encouragement, and striving to excite them to renewed efforts in carrying on the war, especially by furnishing supplies to support and equip the rebel armies. Jeff. Davis, also, sent forth a proclamation to the soldiers in the field, in which he took his usual lofty tone, asserting, on the one hand, in regard to the loyal states, that "debt, taxation, repetition of heavy drafts, dissensions occasioned by the strife for power, by the pursuit of the spoils of office, by the thirst for the plunder of the public treasury, and above all, the consciousness of a bad cause, must tell with fearful force upon the overstrained energies of the enemy." On the other hand, he was equally confident in asserting that "assured success awaits us in our holy struggle for liberty and independence, and for the preservation of all that renders life desirable to honorable men."*

Although no great military movements were undertaken during February or March, yet several expeditions of less consequence were set on foot for the purpose of checking the enemy's designs in the south and south-west. About the middle of December, 1863, Gen. Gillmore had obtained permission to send an expedition into Florida, in order to cut off rebel supplies, to procure an outlet for cotton, lumber, and other productions of the country, and to gather in for the army recruits from among the negroes. He also, in January, 1864, in accordance with Mr. Lincoln's request, inaugurated measures for restoring the state of Florida to her allegiance under the terms of the president's proclamation (p. 397). Having organized an expedition for the purpose above stated, Gillmore dispatched from Port Royal, on the 5th of February, a force of about 6,000 cavalry, infantry and artillery, under command of Gen. Seymour. They entered the St. John's River on the 7th, and the next day effected a landing at Jacksonville, without opposition, the few rebel soldiers there having taken to flight immediately. Seymour was directed to move forward his mounted force to Baldwin, some twenty miles distant, on the Central Railroad. The advance, under Col. Henry, pushed forward into the interior, on the night of the 8th of February, passed by the enemy, drawn up in line of battle at Camp Finnegan, seven miles from Jacksonville, surprised and captured a battery, three miles in the rear of the camp, about midnight, and reached Baldwin about sunrise the next morning. The enemy absconded, sunk the steamer St. Mary's, and burned 270 bales of cotton

1864.

* Certain resolutions were adopted by the rebel congress, and a manifesto issued relative to the existing war with the United States. The tone and temper of this document were similar to those of Davis, quoted above: "For ourselves we have no fear of the result. The wildest picture ever drawn by a disordered imagination comes short of the extravagance which would dream of the conquest of 8,000,000 of people, resolved with one mind to die freemen rather than live slaves, and forewarned of the savage and exterminating spirit in which this war has been waged upon them, and by the mad avowals of the supporters of the worse than Egyptian bondage that awaits them in the event of their subjugation."

a few miles above Jacksonville. About 100 prisoners and eight pieces of artillery were captured, together with other valuable property, to a large amount. On the 10th, a portion of the force was sent forward to Sanderson, twenty miles further on the railroad, where a quantity of commissary stores were found in flames, the enemy having just withdrawn to a further station at Lake City, where the rebel commander, Finnegan, had gathered the fragment of his command. On the 14th, the main body of Seymour's command was concentrated at Baldwin, having suffered very few casualties, and taken considerable spoils.

1864.

Gillmore, on the 16th of February, returned to Port Royal, leaving Seymour in command of the expedition, with a clear understanding, on Gillmore's part, that no forward movement was to be made without further instructions, and until certain important defences were well advanced. Seymour, however, desirous of pushing on, left camp, on the 18th of February, advanced on the line of railroad sixteen miles, and the next day reached Barber's Station, about forty-five miles from Jacksonville. Early on the morning of Saturday, the 20th, the troops were in motion, the light cavalry in advance, and reached Sanderson at noon, from whence, without halting, they advanced toward Olustee, a station on the railroad, ten miles beyond, where it was expected the rebels would be found; but skirmishing began about two o'clock, P.M., before reaching Olustee. Unfortunately the troops had no opportunity of rest, and after a tedious march of sixteen miles, over a road of loose sand or bog and mud, weary and hungry, they were in an ill condition to enter into battle. Nevertheless, the batteries were placed in position as speedily as possible, under the adverse circumstances, and the men entered, with their usual spirit, into the fight. The rebel force was much larger in number than Seymour's, and having the advantage of choice of position and previous preparation, made sad havoc with our men. The battle lasted over three hours, when Seymour retired, leaving the dead and severely wounded on the field. By slow marches, without molestation from the rebels, the troops were brought back to the camping-ground near Jacksonville, on Monday afternoon, February 22d. Our loss in killed, wounded and missing, was very heavy, numbering between 1,200 and 1,500; the rebel loss was put down at about 800. Jacksonville was held by our troops, and various minor raids were made from thence; but no important military operations took place, and the proposed effort, as noted above, to reconstruct the state government, was abandoned after the disaster at Olustee.*

At the close of January, 1864, Gen. Sherman was ordered to take command of an important expedition into the interior of Mississippi. His force consisted of two corps, under McPherson and

* "Few disasters were encountered during the war so utterly inexcusable. It was Braddock's defeat repeated after the lapse of a century. Our soldiers fought as well as men ought to fight; they were abundantly able to have routed the enemy; they were simply sacrificed by a leader brave to rashness, and possessing every soldierly quality but the ability to plan and direct the movements of an independent force."—Greeley's "*American Conflict*," vol. ii., p. 532.

Hurlbut, estimated at 30,000 men, with sixty pieces of artillery. On the 3d of February, Sherman* set out from Vicksburg in light marching order, and moved westwardly. On the 5th, the advance came up with a body of rebel cavalry, in the vicinity of Canton, putting them to flight with slight loss. The next day the command entered Jackson, and the rebels were driven across Pearl River. After that, the expedition encountered little or no opposition of any moment. Sherman pushed rapidly forward through Brandon to Morton, where two divisions of Polk's corps had made disposition for battle. They, however, retreated before our force, which reached Meridian, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, 150 miles from Vicksburg, on the 14th of February, the rebels continuing their retreat in an easterly direction. Here Sherman remained for a week, waiting the arrival of Gen. Smith's cavalry force, making, during the time, to use his own words, "the most complete destruction of the railroad ever beheld, south below Quitman; east to Cuba Station; twenty miles north to Lauderdale Springs, and west all the way back to Jackson." The state arsenal at Meridian was destroyed, with its valuable machines for repairs of arms, and its ordnance stores; also several military buildings and grist mills. Provisions of various kinds were found for the use of the army.

1864.

Meanwhile, Gen. W. S. Smith, who had been ordered to report to Sherman at Meridian, and was expected to reach that point by the 14th of February, did not leave Memphis till the 11th, in consequence of delay in the arrival of part of his force. Having with him some 7,000 men, he advanced southerly on the Mobile Railroad by Okolona to West Point, where his further progress was arrested by a combined rebel force under Forrest, Chalmers, and others. There was some heavy fighting in this vicinity, the enemy charging both in the rear and the advance, and five howitzers were lost. Thus closely pressed by superior numbers, Smith resolved upon a retreat, crossed the Tallahatchie in safety, by forced marches, at New Albany, and reached Memphis on the 25th of February, having done much injury to the railroad, destroyed a large quantity of rebel stores, a million bushels of corn, cotton gins, etc., and brought away a great number of negroes and some 300 prisoners. The expedition, however, failed of one of its most important objects, viz., making a junction with Sherman.

1864.

In consequence of this failure, Sherman was unable to follow up his successes, above noted, by extending his march farther, and accordingly retired slowly from Meridian, bringing his force, in excellent condition, to Canton, north of Jackson. On the 27th of February he reached Vicksburg.* It had been

* Under date of January 31st, Gen. Sherman addressed a long and interesting letter to Major Sawyer, assistant adjutant-general of the Army of the Tennessee, in which he spoke at large of the condition of the inhabitants in rebellion, and how they were to be treated. The letter is marked by Gen. Sherman's straightforward common sense, and clearness of expression.

* In a brief dispatch, sent by Gen. Butterfield to Washington, under date of March 11th, the result of

supposed that Sherman had in view, in his expedition, the capture of Mobile. No official statement, however, was made on the subject; and whether so or not, the rebels sent a considerable force to strengthen the defences of Mobile. Admiral Farragut also, at the same date, February 23d, made threatening demonstrations against Fort Powell, at the entrance of Grant's Pass, and if he could have had the assistance of an iron-clad or two, and a few thousand troops, he would no doubt have gained full possession of the bay; as it was, his attack made but little impression on the rebel works, and further operations were deferred until July, 1864.

A movement of the rebels to reinforce Gen. Polk, induced Gen. Grant at Chattanooga to order Gen. Palmer to make an advance upon Dalton, Georgia. The 14th corps, under Palmer's command, set out, February 22d, and Ringgold, twenty-three miles from Chattanooga, was occupied that night. The next morning, early, the column moved forward, constant skirmishing going on with the cavalry of the enemy. Tunnel Hill was reached by night, and the next morning the rebels were dislodged from their position, and the town was occupied, 150 prisoners being captured. The movement was immediately continued upon Dalton, seven miles distant; but, on ascertaining that the entire force of Johnston was waiting to receive him, Palmer deemed it prudent to fall back to Tunnel Hill, and avoid so unequal a struggle as that before him. Subsequently, by March 10th, he had fallen back to Ringgold, his loss being about 350 killed and wounded.

1864.

Early in February, a spirited movement was made in Eastern Virginia upon Richmond, with the intention of taking the seat of the rebel government by surprise, and releasing the Union prisoners who were held there in large numbers, and were experiencing in their own persons that "the tender mercies" of the rebels were "cruel" indeed. Gen. Butler, who, after his recall from New Orleans, had passed some time without a command, had, in October, 1863, been appointed the successor of Gen. Foster in the department of Virginia and North Carolina. His administration at Norfolk, Newport News, Newbern, and elsewhere in his department, had been signalized by his usual characteristics. He had taken in hand the troublesome and difficult negotiation of the exchange of prisoners with the rebel authorities at Richmond, in which he had been, in a measure, successful, notwithstanding the sentence of outlawry hurled against him by Jeff. Davis (p. 157).

1864.

At the beginning of February, the garrison at Newbern, N. C., under Gen. I. N. Palmer, (Gen. Peck being absent), was threatened by the rebels under

the expedition is thus summed up: "Gen. Sherman arrived yesterday at Memphis. His command is all safe. Our total loss in killed, wounded, and missing is 170 only. The general result of his expedition, including Smith's and the Yazoo River movements, are about as follows: 150 miles of railroad, 67 bridges, 7,000 feet of trestle, twenty locomotives, twenty-eight cars, 10,000 bales of cotton, several steam mills, and over 2,000,000 bushels of corn were destroyed. The railroad destruction is complete and thorough. The captures of prisoners exceed all loss. Upwards of 8,000 contrabands and refugees came in with various columns."

Pickett, who, being reinforced from Richmond, was advancing with a considerable body of troops from Kinston. The Union outposts at Bachelor's Creek, eight miles from Newbern, were driven in and retired to Newbern. The gun boat Underwriter was captured and destroyed by the rebels. Palmer held his position firmly, and the assailants retired to Kinston. The defences of Newbern were strengthened and rendered too powerful for any attack which the rebels were likely to undertake.

It was at this time that the expedition spoken of above, was set on foot by Butler. While a movement of a portion of the Army of the Potomac across the Rapidan diverted Lee's attention in that quarter, Gen. Wistar, with a body of cavalry and mounted infantry, left New Kent Court House on the 5th of February, and marched rapidly to Bottom's Bridge on the Chickahominy, with the expectation of making a sudden dash into Richmond. The authorities, however, had taken the alarm, and interposed such obstacles of fallen timber at the bridge that the opportunity of a surprise was lost, and Wistar was compelled to relinquish his object and retire. Nothing was accomplished beyond exciting a panic at Richmond, the city being thrown into great excitement when news of the advance arrived.*

The deplorable condition of the thousands of our officers and men, suffering under the inhuman treatment of the rebels at Libby Prison, Castle Thunder, and Belle Isle, roused the strongest sympathy in their behalf, and an expedition was planned, for the purpose not only of making a raid upon Richmond, but also of setting at liberty our brave countrymen who were being killed by inches by the rebels. The expedition, consisting of over 4,000 men, with a light battery of six guns, was placed under command of a distinguished young cavalry officer, Gen. H. J. Kilpatrick; and on the evening of the 28th of February, left camp at Stevensburg, crossed Ely's Ford on the Rapidan, and captured the rebel pickets without firing a gun or exciting any alarm. At daylight the next morning, the column passed through Spotsylvania Court House, twenty miles in the rear of Lee's army, and dashed on towards Beaver Dam Station, on the Virginia Central Railroad. This was reached at four P.M., and not only the buildings at the station were destroyed, but the track was torn up for miles, the telegraph line was cut, culverts and bridges were burned, etc. Thence, having crossed the South Anna during the night, Kilpatrick and his brave troopers pushed on actively toward Richmond, and that same morning, Tuesday, March 1st, crossed the Brook turnpike, three and a half miles from Jeff. Davis's capital, carried the first line of works, and before noon opened with shot and shell upon the panic-

1864.

* A few days later, Col. A. D. Streight, with 110 other officers, escaped from that vile hole, the Libby Prison at Richmond, and a large portion of them arrived safely, on the 15th of February, within the Union lines at Williamsburg. The escape was effected after a month's severe and intense labor. Col. Streight soon afterwards addressed an account of his imprisonment and that of his fellow-sufferers at Richmond to the military committee of the House of Representatives at Washington, exhibiting the cruelties and barbarities inflicted by the rebel authorities.

stricken city. The firing was kept up on both sides for several hours, without material result, and late in the afternoon, amid a storm of sleet and hail, Kilpatrick encamped at a point six miles from Richmond and two from the Chickahominy. It was his intention to make another vigorous effort to relieve the suffering prisoners, by effecting an entrance into the city; but during the night an artillery attack was made by the rebels upon his camp, and he felt compelled reluctantly to turn away from Richmond and take up his line of march down the Peninsula towards Williamsburg. The rebels followed and annoyed our troops to some extent; but no battle was fought; on the 3d March, Kilpatrick arrived at Williamsburg, and soon after returned to the Army of the Potomac by way of Fortress Monroe.*

Col. Ulric Dahlgren, accompanied by Major Cook, had been detached with 500 chosen men, after crossing the Rapidan, for a special purpose. Having left the main column, he advanced rapidly to Frederick's Hall, on the Virginia Central Railroad, tore up the road, destroyed the telegraph line and captured some prisoners. He next struck the James River Canal, eight miles east of Goochland Court House,

1864. and between there and Wertham Creek an immense amount of property was destroyed. It was at this point that Dahlgren discovered that his guide had deceived him, so as to thwart the principal object of the expedition, and he was immediately hanged to the nearest tree. The command then struck the Plank Road and moved on to Richmond from a westerly direction, and when within three miles of that city, had a lively skirmish with some rebel infantry. Finding the force too large to operate against with any prospect of success, and not knowing the whereabouts or fate of the main column, Dahlgren decided to fall back. He and Major Cook, with about 100 men, went a different route from the main portion of the column, commanded by Capt. Mitchell, who rejoined Kilpatrick on the 2d of March. Dahlgren, while making his way along the Mattapony, on Wednesday evening, toward West Point, and when about three miles from King and Queen Court House, was surrounded by a party of Virginia cavalry, aided by armed citizens and others. In a state of desperation, he ordered a charge, determined, if possible, to cut his way through; but he fell in the onset, and his men were partly cut to pieces and the remainder captured. The body of Col. Dahlgren was treated with great indignity by the rebels, and it was asserted by them that certain orders and papers were found on his person, directing that Jeff. Davis and his cabinet be killed and Richmond consigned to the flames. The newspapers endeavored to make capital out of all this, and to seek to stir up sympathy abroad in behalf of the tottering and worthless "Confederacy;" but the authenticity of the papers remains to be proved, and they who knew Dahlgren well, and had seen his instructions to his men,

* For an interesting account of this expedition, see Surgeon Moore's "*Kilpatrick and our Cavalry*," pp. 137–156.

denounced them as base forgeries.* The results of the expedition, although not what was hoped for, were substantially as follows: the breaking up of several miles of railroad of great importance to the rebels, the destroying of several million dollars' worth of stores, and the capturing between 300 and 400 prisoners.

As a kind of well-deserved retaliation for the attack by citizens, claiming to be non-combatants, upon Col. Dahlgren, Butler, a few days after, sent a cavalry force, under Col. Onderdonk and Col. Spear, to King and Queen Court House, where was a camp of the enemy, which was destroyed and a number killed. A large quantity of grain, and several mills and store-houses were burnt. 1864.

These operations, of which we have given an account in the present chapter, were of no great moment, and on the whole, being more favorable to the rebels than usual, afforded them opportunity of self-laudation and boasting to a considerable extent. The main current of the war, however, was very slightly affected by what had taken place, and it became evident to the careful observer, that other and far weightier trials of strength must be had, before results of any decisive character could be attained.

* For the papers referred to above, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1864, pp. 66, 67. Pollard gives an account of what he calls Dahlgren's raid around Richmond, and is perfectly furious in the language he uses. "Savage and atrocious," "brazen lies, audacious recrimination, and the stereotypes of Yankee hypocrisy," "ludicrous cowardice," and the like, form a part of his stock-in-trade. He is ready to swear to the authenticity of the papers, which "show the fiendish purpose of Dahlgren's expectation, and revealed to the startled sensibilities of the people of Richmond the horrors which they had narrowly escaped." They who place any value upon Pollard's oath in the present case, respecting the "Yankee plot of incendiarism and murder, challenging comparison with the atrocities of the darkest ages," may consult this fire-eating writer's "*Third Year of the War*," pp. 238–245.

CHAPTER VIII.

1864.

DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF: FORREST'S RAID AND FORT PILLOW MASSACRE.

Measures taken to organize a state government for Louisiana — Proclamation of Gen. Banks — Election of governor, etc. — Joint military and naval operations in Western Louisiana — Porter and the gun boats — Gen. A. J. Smith and his force — Fort De Russy taken — Alexandria occupied — Natchitoches taken — Advance upon Shreveport — Battle at Pleasant Hill — The rebels at Sabine Cross Roads — Our forces badly repulsed — Banks falls back — The struggle the next day — Retreat ordered to Alexandria — Gen. Steele and campaign in Arkansas — Porter and the gun boats at the falls of Alexandria — Successful engineering — Banks returns to New Orleans — Forrest and his raiders — Union City surrendered by Hawkins — Paducah attacked — Rebels driven off — Forrest's assault on Fort Pillow — Condition of the fort and garrison — Narrative of the assault — Shocking murders — Quotation from report of investigating committee sent by Congress — Infamous conduct of the rebels — Plymouth, North Carolina, captured by Hoke and his men — Washington evacuated — Ram Albemarle attacked by our gun boats — The result.

GEN. BANKS, who was in command of the department of the Gulf, gave earnest attention, at the beginning of the year, to the movement which contemplated the formation of a state government for Louisiana. On the 8th of January, a Free State Convention was held at New Orleans, which both endorsed the course of the president, and urged the immediate adoption of measures for restoring the state to its old place in the Union. Banks thereupon, on the 11th of January, issued a proclamation, providing for the election, on the 22d of February, of a governor and other state officers, who were to "constitute the civil government of the state, under the Constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much of the said Constitution and laws as recognize, regulate, or relate to slavery, which being inconsistent with the present condition of public affairs, and plainly inapplicable to any class of persons now existing within its limits, must be suspended, and they are hereby declared to be inoperative and void." The oath of allegiance required by President Lincoln's proclamation, with the condition affixed to the elective franchise by the constitution of Louisiana, were prescribed as the qualifications of voters. The officers elected were to be installed on the 4th of March; and another election was appointed for delegates to a convention to revise the constitution of the state, on the first Monday in April.

1864.

On the 3d of February, Banks issued an important order relative to the enforcement and compensation of negro labor on the plantations. The matter was placed under the direction of the provost-marshals in the several parishes; hours of labor were prescribed, just and equitable treatment required; flogging and cruel punishments interdicted, etc. A passage or two towards the close of this order may here be quoted: "It is a solemn duty resting upon

all persons to assist in the earliest possible restoration of civil government. Let them participate in the measures suggested for this purpose. Opinion is free, and candidates are numerous. Open hostility cannot be permitted. Indifference will be treated as crime, and faction as treason. . . . . The oath of allegiance, administered and received in good faith, is the test of unconditional fealty to the government and all its measures, and cannot be materially strengthened or impaired by the language in which it is clothed. The amnesty offered for the past is conditioned upon an unreserved loyalty for the future, and this condition will be enforced with an iron hand. Whoever is indifferent or hostile must choose between the liberty which foreign lands afford, the poverty of the rebel states, and the innumerable and inappreciable blessings which our government confers upon its people. May God preserve the Union of the States!"

The election for state officers was held on the 22d of February; over 10,000 votes were cast within those parishes guarded by our troops; and the Hon. Michael Hahn was elected governor on the free state ticket. The inauguration took place on the 4th of March, in New Orleans, amid imposing ceremonies and public rejoicing. Gov. Hahn was also invested, on the 15th of March, by President Lincoln, with the powers exercised hitherto by the military governor of Louisiana. We may also mention, in this connection, that nearly 100 delegates having been elected, the convention met in New Orleans, on the 6th of April; a new constitution was prepared, by a clause of which slavery was forever abolished in the state; the convention adjourned in July; and the constitution was adopted by the people on the 5th of September, by a vote of 6,836 to 1,566. Four persons as members of Congress and a legislature were chosen at the same time, who were mostly in favor of a free state. The authority, however, of the re-organized state was very limited; and President Lincoln was censured by political opponents, on the charge of unjustifiable interference with the affairs of the people of Louisiana.*

Early in the year, a joint military and naval expedition was planned, in order, by a vigorous effort, to open Western Louisiana to trade, and to sweep away all rebel opposition in that part of the state, and if possible in Texas likewise. All the available force of the army and navy in this department was put in requisition, and the purpose was to move up the Red River as far as Shreveport, where the rebels had concentrated large supplies, and where it was intended Gen. Steele should unite with the expedition with all the forces he could collect in Arkansas. In the beginning of March, during which and the following month the Red River had sufficient water to float the largest class of vessels, the troops advanced from New Orleans through the Teche country to Alexandria.† Meanwhile, Admiral Porter had

* Mr. Raymond, in his "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 490, repels this charge as unfounded.

† Gen. Grant, who had assumed the position of commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States, subsequent to the organization of this Red River expedition, sent Banks various instructions, etc., hoping that he might be successful, and might be able speedily

collected, at the mouth of the Red River, the most formidable fleet of gun boats ever seen in the western waters. There were twenty powerfully armed steamers of all classes, from the light to the heaviest draft.

On the 10th of March, Gen. A. J. Smith left Vicksburg, with about 10,000 men, in twenty transports, and the next day joined Porter and his fleet at the mouth of the Red River. The day following, Saturday the 12th, he moved up the river into the Atchafalaya, and anchored in the afternoon at Semmesport, which was now in ruins. Not having heard as yet from Banks, Smith, on the 13th, landed a portion of his troops, and sent forward Gen. Mower, with a brigade, to reconnoitre the enemy's position at Bayou Glace, where they occupied a fortified camp. On his approach, the enemy fell back toward Fort De Russy, a formidable fortification which they had erected with great skill and labor to command the Red River. Smith, seizing his opportunity, pushed rapidly forward by forced marches the intervening distance of about thirty miles to a land attack upon the fort, before it could be reinforced. By a strenuous effort, he reached the vicinity on the afternoon of Monday, March 14th. An immediate attack was determined upon, which was commenced by our skirmishers, and a sharp cannonade was kept up for some two hours, the rebels replying with the two guns which they had brought into position. The order was then given to charge, which was successfully accomplished. Between 200 and 300 prisoners were made, including twenty-four commissioned officers. Ten guns were taken, beside 2,000 barrels of powder, 1,000 muskets, etc., with a loss, on our part, of only four killed and thirty wounded. Several of the gun boats arrived just after the surrender of the fort.

1864.

The way was now open to Alexandria, 145 miles from the Mississippi, which was immediately occupied, the advance of Smith's forces, under Mower, accompanied by Admiral Porter, with his fleet of gun boats, taking possession on the evening of the 16th of March. A large quantity of cotton, more than 4,000 bales, was captured, and brought in by the gun boats, aided by the negroes. Fort De Russy was stripped, and its works blown up. A few days after, Banks, with the remainder of his forces, under Gen. Franklin, arrived at Alexandria, and having taken command, preparations were made for the advance upon Shreveport.

1864.

On the 21st of March, our cavalry advance marched upon Natchitoches, eighty miles from Alexandria, and gained possession of it without loss. Two hundred prisoners and four pieces of artillery were taken, the rebels as heretofore retiring as our troops advanced. On the 26th, Smith left Alexandria for Shreveport, to be followed directly by the troops of Banks. This place, in the north-western corner of Louisiana, was at the head of navigation on the Red River, about 450 miles above the Mississippi, and was reported to be strongly fortified and held by a rebel force un-

to co-operate with Admiral Farragut in an attack upon Mobile.—See "*Report of Licutenant General U. S. Grant*," pp. 6, 7, 37, 38.

der Gen. Dick Taylor. Cotton and military stores in great abundance would be taken there, it was supposed, by our army. Banks's column now marched to Natchitoches, which was reached on the 4th of April, the fleet under Porter accompanying it to Grand Ecore, the river station in that vicinity.

Thus far success had attended the expedition; but thenceforth it met with serious reverses. On Wednesday morning, the army moved from Natchitoches on the Shreveport road, the cavalry being in advance. Crump's Hill was reached by the cavalry that night, the infantry, which had marched seventeen miles, halting four miles in their rear. At daybreak, the cavalry again started, keeping up a constant and sharp skirmishing with the enemy, until they arrived at a position two miles beyond Pleasant Hill. Here, Col. Robinson, in command of the cavalry advance, met the rebel troopers, some 2,500 in number, and an engagement ensued directly. It lasted about two hours and a half, when the enemy gave way, and retreated to Bayou du Paul, where they were strongly reinforced. Col. Robinson not deeming it prudent to make an attack, halted for the night, and awaited the coming up of our forces. During the night a brigade of infantry under Col. Landrum arrived, and early on Friday morning, April 8th, the march was resumed, and the rebels were pushed forward seven miles. This was about two o'clock P.M.

The main force of the rebels now appeared, Taylor in command. They far outnumbered our men, and were occupying a strong position, in the vicinity of Sabine Cross Roads, concealed in the edge of a dense wood, with an open field in front, the Shreveport road passing through their lines. Gen. Ransom arriving on the field with his command, formed his line as well as circumstances would permit. Col. Emerson's brigade, of the 13th corps, was stationed on the left of the line, with Nim's Massachusetts battery; Col. Landrum's forces, parts of two brigades, were placed on the right and centre, with two batteries. Col. Dudley's brigade of cavalry supported the left, and held itself in readiness to repel any attempt to flank; while Lucas protected the right flank. Col. Robinson, with his brigade, was in the rear of the centre, protecting the wagon train which was on the Shreveport road. Gen. Banks and staff rode upon the field by the time this disposition of our forces was effected, and couriers were sent back, about nine miles, to Gen. Franklin to make all speed for the scene of the momentarily expected battle. 1864.

At five o'clock, P.M., heavy firing commenced; our skirmish line was quickly drawn back, and the engagement became general on the right and centre. The left having been weakened, in order to sustain the other portion of the line, the enemy massed against the left, dashed furiously upon it, and the horses having been killed, captured four guns of Nim's battery. The battle was hotly contested; but soon after, the centre was pressed back, and the right also gave way. A fresh brigade came up; Franklin rode on the field in advance of his division; and Banks did all that a brave commander could do;

but it was of no avail. The line continued to fall back, being thrown into confusion and a partial panic, by the baggage-trains blocking up the roads, and pursued by the enemy for three miles and a half. Here the 19th army corps, which had been ordered to stop and form its line of battle, did so, and our wearied troops passed through and formed in the rear. The rebels rushed forward, but Gen. Emory, who reserved his fire until they were within short range, checked them, with fearful slaughter; and the conflict was closed for that day.

Gen. Banks, in the condition of affairs, having lost heavily in men and artillery, determined to fall back to Pleasant Hill, where Smith had halted with the 16th and 17th army corps under his command. This was accomplished silently and expeditiously during the night, without cognizance on the part of the rebels. They, however, followed on the morning of April 9th, and counted on an easy victory. The battle ground was a large open field near the town of Pleasant Hill, on the Shreveport road, with an elevation of no great extent, and surrounded by a belt of timber. Emory formed his line on the side facing the woods, having in his rear, concealed by the rising ground, Smith's division, in two lines of battle, fifty yards apart, with all his artillery in the front line. The 13th corps, under Cameron, was in the reserve in the rear. Skirmishing of an active character was kept up during the most of the day; but between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the rebels, having completed their arrangements, advanced to the attack. Emory's troops were pressed back up the hill, although bravely contesting every inch of ground. Just behind, as we have stated, was the 16th corps, which, opening, allowed the men of the 19th to pass through, and confronted the rebels with bristling cannon, and troops ready for any emergency. Onward came the exulting foe, when the order was given to "fire." "It is impossible," says a spectator, "for words to describe the awful effect of this discharge. Seven thousand rifles, and several batteries of artillery, each gun loaded to the muzzle with grape and canister, were fired simultaneously, and the whole centre of the rebel line was crushed down as a field of ripe wheat through which a tornado had passed. It is estimated that 1,000 men were hurried into eternity, or frightfully mangled by this one discharge." A rapid charge put the rebels to flight, who were driven to the woods, where they broke in confusion, some 500 having been taken prisoners, and a considerable number of guns recaptured. 1864.

The losses of the campaign, thus far, were stated to be twenty pieces of artillery, 3,000 men, 130 wagons, and some 1,200 horses and mules. As an offset, the gains were put down as follows:—the capture of Fort de Russy, Alexandria, Grand Ecore, and Natchitoches, the opening of Red River, the capture of 3,000 bales of cotton, 2,300 prisoners, twenty-five pieces of artillery, chiefly taken by the fleet, and a quantity of small arms and stores.

In consequence of these reverses, and unable to carry out his original de-

sign of permanently occupying this portion of Louisiana, Banks ordered a retreat to Grand Ecore, some forty miles below.* Porter, in his efforts to co-operate with the army movements, had advanced, with six gun boats and twenty transports, as far as Springfield Landing, which was reached on the 7th of April. Obstructions in the river, and the disasters to the army immediately following, as narrated above, led to Porter's giving up the attempt to make a further advance. On his way back, he was greatly annoyed by guerrilla parties on the bank of the river. On reaching Grand Ecore, Porter found several of the vessels of his fleet above the bar, by the fall of the water in the Red River. One of these, the gun boat Eastport, he was subsequently compelled to destroy, to prevent her falling into the hands of the rebels. Banks next found it necessary to fall back to Alexandria, and, accordingly, on the 21st of April, he abandoned his present position. The enemy followed, but not in force, and after some slight contests, Banks reached Alexandria, on the 27th of April, where he waited, for a while, for reinforcements.

Gen. Steele, of whose intended share in this expedition we have spoken on a previous page (p. 410), began his march from Little Rock, Arkansas, on the 23d of March, with a combined force of about 20,000 men. At first, his movements were attended with success. After dispersing the rebels under Price, at various positions, Steele, by a rapid march, gained possession of Camden, a fortified post on the Washita, 120 miles from Little Rock. This was in the latter part of April; but Banks's reverses speedily endangered Steele's command, by allowing the rebels to devote their attention to him. This they began to do at once, and Steele had no alternative but to seek to make his way back to Little Rock. The enemy pressed upon him closely from several points, endeavoring to cut off his communications and capture his forces. On the 27th of April, Steele evacuated Camden, and crossed the Washita over a pontoon bridge. The enemy followed of course, and two days afterwards a battle was fought, which lasted for seven hours, accompanied by heavy loss. It resulted, however, in a repulse of the rebels, and a return of Steele, without further loss, to Little Rock, on the 2d of May.

The water in the Red River continuing to get lower and lower, it speedily became a question of grave importance, how, if at all, to carry the gun boats over the falls at Alexandria. Porter was almost in despair; for, unless the fleet could be extricated, the vessels must be abandoned to the rebels, or blown up. In the emergency, a happy thought occurred to Col. Bailey, acting engineer of the 19th army corps, who proposed building a series of dams

* According to Pollard's account, "the results of this campaign were for us the most substantial ever achieved in the Trans-Mississippi. The expedition of Banks had proved a failure, and nothing was left for him but to retreat to Alexandria, after losing several thousand prisoners and thirty-five pieces of artillery. The expedition of Steele into Western Arkansas had ended in a complete disaster. The immediate points of our victories, as summed up in the official report of Kirby Smith, were, 8,000 killed and wounded, 6,000 prisoners, 35 pieces of artillery, 1,200 wagons, one gun boat, and three transports."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 252.

across the rocks at the falls, and raising the water high enough to let the vessels pass over. The plan was ridiculed by some of the best engineers; but as Porter and Banks were willing to make the experiment, the troops were set at work, and in ten days' time the dams were built, and the fleet was saved. Porter, in his official report, May 16th, gives a very interesting account of the whole matter and its entire success: "Words are inadequate to express," he says, "the admiration I feel for the ability of Col. Bailey. This is, without doubt, the best engineering feat ever performed. Leaving out his ability as an engineer—the credit he has conferred upon the country—he has saved the Union a valuable fleet, worth nearly $2,000,000; more, he has deprived the enemy of a triumph which would have emboldened them to carry on this war a year or two longer; for the intended departure of the army was a fixed fact, and there was nothing left for me to do in case that event occurred but to destroy every part of the vessels, so that the rebels could make nothing of them. The highest honors the government can bestow on Col. Bailey can never repay him for the service he has rendered the country."*

1864.

The last of the gun boats having passed over the falls on the 12th of May, Alexandria was evacuated the next day. In some unexplained manner the town was set on fire, and though efforts were made by Gen. Banks to extinguish the flames, they were unsuccessful, and our forces left the people and the town to their fate. Two small light-draft gun boats were fired into by rebel masked batteries, about thirty miles below Alexandria, and were lost; but the army, though attacked several times, repulsed the enemy, and having crossed the Atchafalaya in safety, on the 19th of May, soon after reached New Orleans. The fleet, under Porter, resumed its station on the Mississippi, the season having passed for any further operations in this part of Louisiana.*

The sending of troops from Vicksburg to join the Red River expedition afforded an opportunity for the rebels under Forrest, and others, in Northern Mississippi and South-western Tennessee, to make an attack on our posts in West Tennessee and Kentucky. Accordingly, on the 23d of March, Forrest left Jackson, Tennessee, with about 5,000 men, and advanced north some sixty miles to Union City, on the railroad, which place he reached the next day. It was garrisoned by a small force of less than 500 men, under command of Col. Hawkins, who, contrary to the advice of his officers, surrendered on Forrest's demand. The rebel leader next occupied Hickman, and after several threatening demonstrations, advanced rapidly upon Paducah, Kentucky,

* For the report in full, which is well worth reading, see Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. iii. pp. 322–325. Col. Bailey we may here mention, was at once raised by the president to the rank of brigadier-general for these distinguished services.

* By an order of the war department, dated May 7th, Gen. Canby was assigned to the command of the military division of West Mississippi, including the departments of Arkansas and the Gulf, thus relieving Gen. Banks. Some regiments were recruited from the plantations, but no military operations of any extent took place within the state during the remainder of the year.

situated on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. The town was held by Col. S. G. Hicks, with about 700 Kentucky and Illinois troops, including 250 negro soldiers in the artillery service. Aided by two gun boats in the river, Col. Hicks resolved to defend the works at the place. Forrest sent an imperative demand, March 25th, for a surrender, concluding with these significant words: "If you surrender, you shall be treated as prisoners of war, but if I have to storm your works you may expect no quarter." Hicks replied gallantly, that having been placed there to defend the post, he should do it without fear or favor. Forrest, having disposed his forces for attack, pushed forward his lines, and occupied with sharpshooters the houses near the fort. The first advance was met by a deadly fire from the works, and repulsed for that day, the gun boats shelling the houses which covered the enemy. On the next morning, a second charge was made, and also repulsed. After repeated attempts to capture the garrison with his greatly superior force, Forrest, content with the pillage and injury he had inflicted, withdrew in the direction of Columbus. The Union loss was stated at fourteen killed and forty-six wounded; Forrest's loss was probably much greater. A large portion of the town was destroyed, partly by the guns from the fort, and partly, or principally by the rebels.

1864.

Subsequently to this, there were various rumors of attacks about to be made on one point and another by this noted rebel raider. The matter, however, was not long left in doubt, and Forrest, by his attack on Fort Pillow, followed by the massacre of the garrison, stamped himself and those with him with perpetual infamy. The fort was located on the Mississippi, about seventy miles above Memphis, and at the time of the assault was garrisoned by nineteen officers and 538 enlisted men, of whom 262 were blacks, comprising one battalion of the 6th United States heavy artillery, formerly the 1st Alabama artillery of negro troops, under the command of Major L. F. Booth, one section of the 2d United States light artillery (black), and one battalion of the 13th Tennessee cavalry (white), commanded by Major A. F. Bradford. Major Booth, being the ranking officer, was in command of the fort.

On Monday, the 12th of April, just before sunrise, the pickets of the garrison were driven in, that being the first intimation our forces there had of any intention on the part of the enemy to attack the place. Fighting soon became general, and about nine o'clock Major Bradford succeeded to the command and withdrew all the forces within the fort. Extending back from the river on either side of the fort was a ravine or hollow, the one below the fort containing several private stores and some dwellings, and some government buildings, with commissary stores.

1864.

The ravine above the fort, was known as Cold Bank Ravine, the ridge being covered with trees and bushes. To the right or below, and a little to the front of the fort, was a level piece of ground

not quite so elevated as the fort itself, on which had been erected some log huts or shanties, which were occupied by the white troops, and also used for hospital and other purposes. Within the fort tents had been erected with board floors for the use of the negro troops. There were six pieces of artillery in the fort, consisting of two 6-pounders, two 12-pounder howitzers, and two 10-pounder Parrotts.

The rebels continued their attack, but up to about three o'clock in the afternoon they had not gained any decisive success. Our troops, both black and white, fought steadily and bravely, and were in good spirits. The gun boat New Era took part in the conflict, shelling the rebels as opportunity offered. There being, however, but one gun boat, it was unable to render any very effective service.

About one o'clock, the fire slackened somewhat, the New Era moved out into the river to cool and clean her guns, and the rebels, chagrined at their ill success thus far, resorted to their favorite mode of gaining advantage by means of flags of truce. The first flag conveyed a demand from Forrest for the immediate and unconditional surrender of the fort. Major Bradford replied, asking an hour for consultation with his officers and the officers of the gun boat. In a short time the second flag of truce appeared, with a communication from Forrest, that he would allow Bradford only twenty minutes in which to move his troops out of the fort, and if it was not done in that time, an assault would be ordered. Bradford refused peremptorily to surrender.

During the time these flags were flying, the rebels were moving down the ravine, and taking positions from which the more readily to charge upon the fort. Immediately after the second flag of truce retired, the rebels made a rush from the positions they had so treacherously gained, and soon obtained possession of the fort, raising the cry of "no quarter." But little opportunity was allowed for resistance. Our troops, black and white, threw down their arms and sought to escape by running down the steep bluff near the fort, and secreting themselves behind trees and logs, in the bushes and under the brush; some even jumping into the river, leaving only their heads above the water as they crouched down under the bank. 1864.

It was then that the ferocity of Forrest and his men manifested itself in deeds of outrage unparalleled in civilized warfare. "The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white nor black, soldier nor civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work. Men, women and their children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten and hacked with sabres. Some of the children, not more than ten years old, were forced to stand up and face their murderers while being shot. The sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital buildings and dragging them out to be shot, or killing them as they lay there unable to offer the least resistance. . . . . All around were heard cries of 'no quarter,' 'kill the niggers,' 'shoot

them down.' All who asked for mercy were answered by the most cruel taunts and sneers. Some were spared for a time, only to be murdered under circumstances of greater cruelty. . . . . These deeds of murder and cruelty closed when night came on, only to be renewed the next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions for any other wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot. Scores of the dead and wounded were found there the day of the massacre by the men from some of our gun boats, who were permitted to go on shore and collect the wounded and bury the dead. . . . . Many other instances of equally atrocious cruelty might be enumerated; but your committee feel compelled to refrain from giving here more of the heart-sickening details, and refer to the statements contained in the voluminous testimony herewith submitted. Those statements were obtained by them from eye-witnesses and sufferers. . . . . At least 300 were murdered in cold blood after the fort was in possession of the rebels, and our men had thrown down their arms and ceased to offer resistance. Of the surviving, except the wounded in the hospital at Mound City, and the few who succeeded in making their escape unhurt, nothing definite is known, and it is to be feared that many have been murdered after being taken away from the fort."*

1864.

Such, in substance, is the story of the "Massacre of Fort Pillow," which must ever remain on record to the disgrace of the rebel leaders and their men. Pollard, and persons of his stamp, while denouncing the garrison as a "motley herd of negroes, traitors, and Yankees," and while making very light of the whole matter, yet admit the substantial truth of the narrative given above. "There is no doubt," says Pollard, "that for some moments, the Confederate officers lost control of their men, who were maddened by the sight of the negro troops opposing them." According to another rebel report, both Forrest and Chalmers "entered the fort from opposite sides, simultaneously, and an indiscriminate slaughter followed. The fort ran with blood. Many jumped into the river, or were drowned, or were shot in the water." A rebel general, S. D. Lee, in a letter, dated June 28th, affirms that the flag was not hauled down in token of surrender, and refers "to history for numerous cases of indiscriminate slaughter after successful assault, even under less aggravating circumstances. The case under consideration is an almost extreme one. You had a servile race armed against their masters, and in a country which had been desolated by almost unprecedented outrages." With such lame excuses and attempts at palliation, we leave the Fort Pillow massacre to the reader's consideration.*

The next movement, and one in which the rebels were successful, was

* For the full report of the committee, with the evidence, as obtained by Senator Wade and the Hon. D. W. Gooch, see the voluminous proceedings of the joint committee on the conduct of the war.

* See Pollard's "*Third Year of the War*," p. 254: also, Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1864, pp. 61–62.

the capture of Plymouth, N. C. This town is situate on the south bank of the Roanoke, about eight miles from its entrance into Albemarle Sound, and was strongly fortified by a breastwork, with forts at different points along the line. Fort Gray, a strong work, was about a mile further up the river, opposite which a triple row of piles had been driven, with torpedoes attached, to serve as a protection to the fleet below, and, if possible, prevent a formidable rebel ram, named the Albemarle, from getting below and joining in the attack. Gen. Wessells was in command at Plymouth, and had a garrison of about 2,400 men. On Sunday afternoon, April 17th, the rebels, under Gen. R. F. Hoke, numbering some 10,000, with a heavy artillery train, made their appearance, quite unexpectedly, in the rear of the town. An artillery fire was opened upon Fort Gray, which was steadily and bravely resisted, and, in several assaults upon the other forts, on Monday, the rebels were repulsed with slaughter, our gun boats assisting in the work. One of the latter, the Bombshell, was disabled and sunk by the enemy's battery. Early in the morning of Tuesday, before daylight, the rebel ram, a powerful iron-clad vessel, armed with two heavy guns, came down the river, passing Fort Gray, and making for the gun boat Southfield, formerly a ferry-boat in the bay of New York, which she struck with her prow and caused to sink immediately. The remaining gun boats were now compelled to retire, and as they were relied upon as the main defence of the town, in case of a serious attack, Gen. Wessells was compelled to surrender, with the garrison at Plymouth, on Wednesday, April 20th. The rebels claimed to have captured, beside prisoners, twenty-five pieces of artillery, vast quantities of commissary supplies, ordnance stores, etc., and were especially gratified, inasmuch as Plymouth protected the whole Roanoke Valley.

1864.

Only two places now remained in our hands on the coast of North Carolina, Washington, at the mouth of the Tar River, and Newbern, at the mouth of the Neuse. The loss of Plymouth led to the evacuation of Washington, at the end of the month; on which occasion the town was set on fire and burned, an act severely reprobated by Gen. Palmer, who had succeeded Gen. Peck in command of the department.

On the 5th of May, the rebel ram Albemarle, in company with the Cotton Plant and her capture, the Bombshell, was met in Albemarle Sound by a squadron of Union gun boats, when the Bombshell was retaken, and a spirited effort made to run down the Albemarle by Lieut. Roe, of the Sassacus. The formidable ram fairly staggered in the encounter, when an action ensued between the two vessels, sustained by the Sassacus with great gallantry. Though the boiler of the latter was pierced by a 100-pound Parrott shot from her adversary, and the vessel was filled with steam, her guns were so well directed at close quarters, within a few feet, as to enter the port-holes of the Albemarle, and compel her to retire disabled to Plymouth. Thenceforth the rebels did not attempt to prosecute their designs

1864.

against Newbern, which it was supposed would be attacked by the forces under Hoke. The greater and more important operations in Virginia, at the opening of the spring campaign, and the momentous results dependent thereon, now engaged the universal attention, not only in the loyal states, but also among those who had wickedly set on foot and maintained, thus far, the "Great Rebellion," as it will ever be termed in the history of our country.

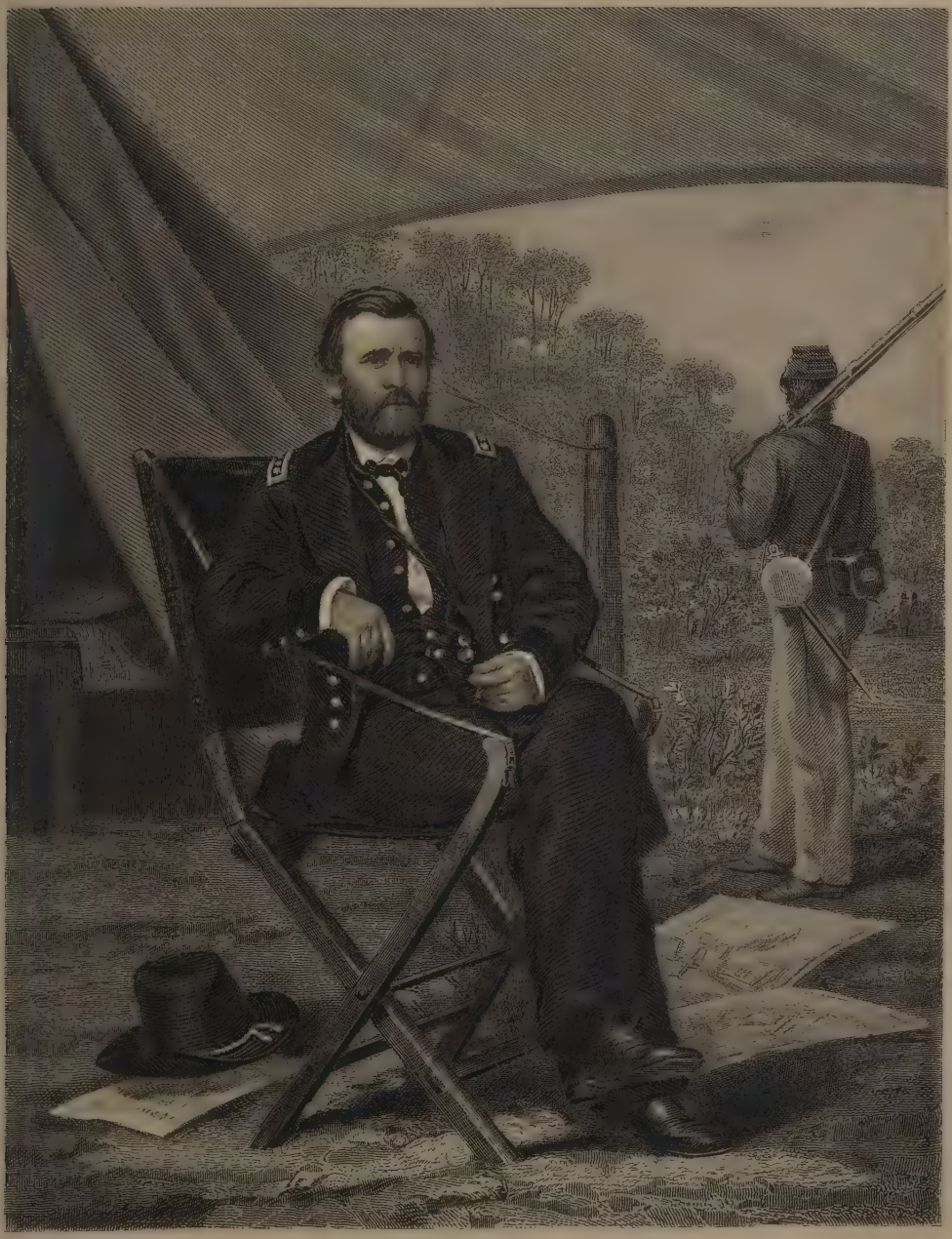
CHAPTER IX.

1864.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA, UNDER GRANT.

Need of changes in the military management of affairs — Grant made lieutenant-general and commander in chief of all the armies — Sherman and McPherson assigned to command in the West — Grant's views of the position of affairs — Situation of the loyal forces, and the great work before them — Situation of the rebels — Grant orders the reorganization of the Army of the Potomac — The command under Sigel — Butler's forces and what was expected of them — Directions to Meade — Preparations for opening the campaign — Army moves early in May — Crossing of the Rapidan — The Wilderness — Lee's activity and boldness — Battle of the Wilderness — Terrible struggle for two days, heavy losses, etc. — Death of Gen. Wadsworth — Grant's next movement — Butler's position and Grant's urgency — Butler's advance by the James River — Occupation of Bermuda Hundred — Lee's stand at Spottsylvania Court House — Severe and bloody battle — Death of Gen. Sedgwick — Battle of the next day — Heavy losses — Grant's tenacity of purpose — Battle of May 12th, fourteen hours in length — The deadly struggle and loss of life — Sheridan's expedition against rebel communications — Dash and spirit displayed — Great success — Rebel cavalry commander, J. E. B. Stuart, killed — Reached James River, May 14th.

For a long time past, there had existed in the public mind a feeling of deep dissatisfaction with the position of our army affairs. Gen. Halleck, at no time a popular man, had accomplished nothing, so far as the people could see, in his lofty post as general in chief; he was berated on all hands, with much severity, and opinions in regard to his incompetency and unfitness for the work with which he was charged, were freely expressed. There was an evident lack of combination of effort in the operations carried on by our armies in the East and in the West; and it was continually happening that great success in one part of the field was of no advantage towards securing the ultimate end had in view. The rebels were able, by rapid movements, while holding one of the two great armies in check, to hasten to the relief of their hardly-bestead troops beaten by the other, and thus to neutralize the effects of our victories. In truth, as Mr. Swinton says, "for three years there was presented the lamentable spectacle of a multitude of independent armies, acting on various lines of operations, and working not only with no unity of purpose, but frequently at cross-purposes; while in the military councils at Washington there



U. S. Grant

ruled alternately an uninstructed enthusiasm and a purblind pedantry."

A change seemed to be imperatively called for; and whether it was Halleck's fault or not, it was a settled fact, in the judgment of the people, that there must be a new head to the army; a "live" head, as the phrase was, one able to grasp the situation fully and firmly, and possessing comprehensive and administrative ability sufficient to regulate, control, and direct to the one great result, the vast military power in the hands of the government for crushing the rebellion. Gen. Grant, who had been unusually successful in his career in the West, and who seemed to be possessed of very high qualifications for the important duties of commander in chief, was fixed upon by popular consent as the man for the existing emergency. Congress and the president eagerly ratified this conviction of the people. Grant had been made a major-general in the regular army, July 4th, 1863; and in order to place him in the rank above all others, and meet all the demands of military etiquette, there was revived the grade of lieutenant-general. The bill passed by Congress for this purpose was approved by Mr. Lincoln, February 29th; he immediately nominated Gen. Grant, who was confirmed by the Senate on the 2d of March, 1864, and thus elevated to the rank which Washington alone had ever held in the army of the United States.

Grant was summoned to Washington to receive his commission as lieutenant-general and arrived on the 8th of March. The next day, in the executive chamber, the president, in the presence of the entire cabinet, Gen. Rawlins, Grant's chief of staff, Gen. Halleck, and a few others, bestowed the high commission upon Grant. His address was brief and dignified, fully recognizing the solemnity of the occasion:

"GEN. GRANT,—The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing great struggle, is now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you also a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. 1864. I scarcely need to add, that, with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence." Gen. Grant, in simple but pertinent language, replied, as follows: "MR. PRESIDENT:—I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me; and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

The day following, March 10th, by special order of the president, Grant was "appointed to the command of the armies of the United States." On the 11th of March, he returned to Nashville, Tenn., and on the 12th, the order was issued by the war department, reorganizing the chief military commands

for the ensuing campaign. Halleck was made chief of staff of the army, under the direction of the secretary of war and the lieut.-general commanding. Sherman was assigned to the command of the military division, composed of the department of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas. McPherson was assigned to the command of the department and Army of the Tennessee.

On the 17th of March, at Nashville, Grant issued an order, in which he said:—"I assume command of the armies of the United States. My headquarters will be in the field, and until further orders will be with the Army of the Potomac. There will be an officers' headquarters in Washington, to which all official communications will be sent, except those from the army where headquarters are at the date of this address." Two days later, Grant left Nashville for Washington, and proceeded thence to the Army of the Potomac, to prepare for active measures at the earliest moment.

At this point the reader will be interested in having the lieut.-general's views upon the great question at issue, as well as upon the steps necessary to be taken in so grave an emergency. We quote from the beginning of his official report, made in July, 1865. "From an early period in the rebellion I had been impressed with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of season and weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war. The resources of the enemy and his numerical strength were far inferior to ours; but as an offset to this, we had a vast territory, with a population hostile to the government, to garrison, and long lines of river and railroad communication to protect, to enable us to supply the operating armies.

"The armies of the East and West acted independently and without concert, like a balky team, no two ever pulling together, enabling the enemy to use to great advantage his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from East to West, reinforcing the army most vigorously pressed, and to furlough large numbers, during seasons of inactivity on our part, to go to their homes and do the work of producing, for the support of their armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages and the enemy's superior position. 1864.

"From the first, I was firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the rebellion was entirely broken. I therefore determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy; preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. Second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there

should be nothing left to him but an equal submission with the loyal section of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land."

In connection with these statements, it is important to notice the situation of the loyal forces at this date, as well as of those in array against them. The Mississippi River was strongly garrisoned by our troops from St. Louis, Missouri, to its mouth. The line of the Arkansas was also held, which gave us possession of all west of the Mississippi and north of the Arkansas. A few points were held in Southern Louisiana, and there was a small garrison at the mouth of the Rio Grande. All the balance of the vast territory of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas was in possession of the rebels, who numbered in the field not less probably than 80,000 effective men, and could, had occasion required, have brought them all into active service against our forces. But, in Grant's opinion, "the let-alone policy had demoralized this force of the rebels so much, that probably little more than one-half of it was ever present in garrison at any one time. The one-half, however, or 40,000 men, with the bands of guerrillas scattered through Missouri, Arkansas, and along the Mississippi River, and the disloyal character of much of the population, compelled the use of a large number of troops to keep navigation open on the river, and to protect the loyal people to the west of it. To the east of the Mississippi we held substantially with the line of the Tennessee and Holston Rivers, running eastward to include nearly all of the state of Tennessee. South of Chattanooga, a small foothold had been obtained in Georgia, sufficient to protect East Tennessee from incursions from the enemy's force at Dalton, Georgia. West Virginia was substantially within our lines. Virginia, with the exception of the northern border, the Potomac River, a small area about the mouth of the James River, covered by the troops at Norfolk and Fort Monroe, and the territory covered by the Army of the Potomac lying along the Rapidan, was in the possession of the enemy. Along the sea-coast footholds had been obtained at Plymouth, Washington, and Newbern, in North Carolina; Beaufort, Folly, and Morris Islands, Hilton Head, Fort Pulaski, and Port Royal, in South Carolina; Fernandina and St. Augustine, in Florida. Key West and Pensacola were also in our possession, while all the important ports were blockaded by our navy." Bands of guerrillas behind our lines and a population largely disaffected and hostile, made it necessary to guard every foot of road or river used in supplying our armies. And as military despotism prevailed in the South, to which we have before referred, every man and boy of eighteen was made a soldier, (p. 259), and the rebels were able to bring into the field their entire strength; conscious, as they were, that the last great struggle was at hand, and that if they did not succeed now in their ambitious designs, the so-called "Confederacy" would be swept away forever.

1864.

Grant, immediately on assuming command of all the armies of the United States, directed a re-organization of

the Army of the Potomac, which, under Gen. Meade, by order of March 24th, was carried at once into effect.* In view of the reduced strength of nearly all the regiments serving in the army, the number of corps was reduced from five to three, leaving the 2d, 5th, and 6th respectively commanded by Generals Hancock, G. K. Warren, and Sedgwick. The 1st and 3d corps, lately commanded by Generals French and Newton, were distributed among the other corps. Gen. Pleasanton, so honorably distinguished at the head of the cavalry corps, was relieved, and Gen. P. H. Sheridan assigned to his command. The latter, in the prime of manhood, had already distinguished himself in the South-west, and great and important results were expected at his hands in the extremely responsible charge now committed to his trust. The 9th corps, under Gen. Burnside, was recruited to a considerable extent at Annapolis with negro troops. It was a matter of doubt for some time where the services of this corps were to be employed; but having been reviewed by the president on the 23d of April, it was ordered to join the Army of the Potomac.†

Early in March, Gen. Sigel was assigned to the command of the forces in the department of Western Virginia, for the purpose of co-operating with Grant by way of the Shenandoah Valley. Large additions were made to his force, and important interests depended on its success. Gen. Butler, in command at Fortress Monroe, was also reinforced,* and was expected to render very efficient aid in carrying out the plan of the campaign as determined upon by Grant. Gen. W. F. Smith, from the western army, was assigned to the command of the 18th corps; and Gen. Gillmore, from the department of the South, was assigned to the command of the 10th corps. Both these officers were to act under Butler's command, with reference to the one great object Grant had in view, *i. e.*, the taking of Richmond, and, if possible, the capture or destruction of Lee's army.†

Meade, the commander of the Army of the Potomac, was instructed by Grant "that Lee's army would be his objective point; that wherever Lee went he would go also. For his movement two plans presented themselves: One to cross the Rapidan below Lee, moving by his right flank; the other

* In referring to Gen. Meade's position, Gen. Grant says, with evident consideration and fairness: "I may here state that, commanding all the armies as I did, I tried, as far as possible, to leave Gen. Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him, and were general in their nature, leaving all the details and the execution to him. The campaigns that followed proved him to be the right man in the right place. His commanding always in the presence of an officer superior to him in rank, has drawn from him much of that public attention that his zeal and ability entitle him to, and which he would otherwise have received."—Gen. Grant's "*Report*," p. 12.

† According to Mr. Swinton's statements, "the united strength of the four corps gave Grant a moveable column of about 140,000 men of all arms. The rolls of Lee's army showed a force, present for duty, of 52,626 men, foot, horse, and artillery."—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 413.

* For the letter of instruction addressed to Butler, April 2d, see Grant's "*Report*," pp. 8, 9.

† On the 21st of April, the governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, tendered to the government the services of 100,000 men for one hundred days. The object was, to afford valuable help in garrisoning the forts, cities, etc., and thus to relieve the veteran troops occupied in this kind of duty. The president very gladly accepted the offer, and directions were given to carry the same into effect.

above, moving by his left. Each presented advantages over the other, with corresponding objections. By crossing above, Lee would be cut off from all chance of ignoring Richmond or going north on a raid. But if we took this route all we did would have to be done whilst the rations we started with held out; besides, it separated us from Butler, so that he could not be directed how to co-operate. If we took the other route, Brandy Station could be used as a base of supplies until another was secured on the York or James Rivers. Of these, however, it was decided to take the lower route."

1864.

The lieutenant-general took the earliest opportunity of visiting and inspecting the Army of the Potomac, and also the forces under Butler in command at Fortress Monroe. During the month of April, preparations of every kind were actively carried forward. Lee's army held its long established lines, formidably entrenched in his most advantageous position south of the Rapidan, with his headquarters at Orange Court House. To the north of the Rapidan, with its line of communication by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, lay the Army of the Potomac, threatening its adversary and guarding the approaches to Washington. Grant's headquarters was established at Culpepper.

Owing to the weather and bad condition of the roads, operations were delayed until the beginning of May, when, everything being in readiness, and the roads favorable, orders were given for a general movement of all the armies, to take place as early as the 4th of May. Accordingly, on Tuesday, May 3d, the Army of the Potomac broke camp, and with six days' rations began its march. About two P.M., Gregg's cavalry division, with a part of the pontoon train, moved towards Richardsville, and were occupied in repairing the roads to Ely's Ford. Wilson's cavalry division performed a similar service with reference to Germania Ford, eight miles above; and about midnight, the means of crossing having been secured, Hancock, with the 2d corps, moved to Ely's Ford, and passed with his entire force over the Rapidan by daylight. Warren began to move at the same time, and Sedgwick followed closely in his steps. During the day, May 4th, the crossing was effected by the three corps without opposition. Burnside, with the 9th corps, advanced to the banks of the Rapidan, but did not cross over, being held as a reserve. "Before night" (on the 4th of May), says Grant, speaking of this crossing, "the whole army was across the Rapidan (the 5th and 6th corps crossing at Germania Ford, and the 2d corps at Ely's Ford, the cavalry, under Major-General Sheridan, moving in advance), with the greater part of its trains, numbering about 4,000 wagons, meeting with but slight opposition. This I regarded as a great success, and it removed from my mind the most serious apprehensions I had entertained, that of crossing the river in the face of an active, large, well-appointed and ably commanded army, and how so large a train was to be carried through a hostile country and protected."*

* "But," is Swinton's criticism, "the trouble in re-

Although Grant thus felicitated himself, it speedily became evident that a severe struggle must be had with the rebels before any forward movement could be made by the Army of the Potomac. The line of march, after crossing the Rapidan, led through that region known as the Wilderness, a wild and dreary tract, covered with dense undergrowth, scrub oaks, and the like, with various narrow cross-roads, thoroughly known to the rebels, and affording a capital place for deadly attack upon our men. It was along its gloomy margin that Hooker, a year before, had fought and lost the battle of Chancellorsville (see p. 285). Hancock moved in the direction of Chancellorsville; Warren, having crossed above, was a few miles farther to the west at Old Wilderness Tavern; and Sedgwick was in his rear, toward the river. The army of Lee, occupying the line from Orange to Louisa Court House, was in a position to operate on the flank of Grant's forces in their advance to the open country beyond. There were two roads from Orange Court House, the Orange and Fredericksburg plank road, and the turnpike, running eastward and striking Grant's line of march at right angles. The rebel general, with a boldness and vigor unexpected, resolved to advance rapidly upon our army, and compel a battle in a region where he would have all the advantage, and where, as artillery could not be used amid the thick chapparal, our men would be at every disadvantage, and he might inflict a deadly blow upon them. Accordingly, on the morning of the 4th of May, Lee sent forward two corps of his army, Ewell's by the turnpike, and Hill's by the plank road, to make an immediate attack.

1864.

Early on Thursday morning, May 5th, the rebels were in position, and the battle began about noon. Both Grant and Meade were that morning at Old Wilderness Tavern; but neither seems to have realized that the rebels seriously contemplated battle at this point. It was the object of Lee in advancing on the cross-roads to divide the army and cut off its communications with the river, with the hope, doubtless, in thus striking it on the march before its position was established, of dealing it a blow from which it could hardly, if at all, recover, and continue its advance. Grant, in his report, says briefly, "The battle raged furiously all day, the whole army being brought into the fight as fast as the corps could be got upon the field, which, considering the density of the forest and narrowness of the roads, was done with commendable promptness."

Lee's plan was a bold and spirited one; but Grant, though taken rather at a disadvantage, met the emergency as best he could. There were two main actions during the day, on the right and left of our lines, the rebels in both cases being spiritedly assailed. As the nature of the ground forbade generally the use of artillery and cavalry, the fighting was mostly confined to the infantry: both sides suffered severely,

gard to the trains really began when the army reached the Wilderness, being there shut up in the restricted triangle between the Rapidan and Rappahannock." —"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 416.

the contest being of the most determined character. The losses were large in Warren's corps, which, from its position, bore the brunt of the engagements. In Hancock's corps the divisions of Birney, Barlow and Gibbon were successively engaged. The fighting continued till late in the evening, without material advantage to either party. Both rested that night with the clear understanding that a terrible battle was to be fought on the morrow.

1864.

At daylight, on the morning of May 6th, by order of the commanding-general, the fierce struggle was resumed, and had the ground been such as to admit of manœuvring the large and well-appointed armies now arrayed one against the other, a decisive action might have been fought. As it was, the battle extended along the whole line, a distance of seven miles from Sedgwick's right to Hancock's left. Hancock, prompt in the assault, at five o'clock in the morning, advanced his forces, increased by several divisions from the other corps, and drove the enemy for two miles till they were reinforced by Longstreet's command, which had lately re-joined Lee's army, and now came up by a rapid march. A number of prisoners were taken by Hancock in this movement. A furious attack was made in the afternoon by the joint forces of Longstreet and Hill upon the left and centre; but reinforcements from Burnside having been brought up, the enemy's advance was effectually checked. About noon, Gen. J. S. Wadsworth, commanding the 4th division of the 5th corps, was shot in the forehead and mortally wounded, while leading his troops into action. After dark, the rebels made an attempt to turn our right flank, and succeeded in capturing portions of Seymour's and Shaler's brigades, with their commanders. Great confusion was produced, and the right of the army was imperilled; but, by Sedgwick's energy and skill, our line was soon re-formed and order restored. Sheridan's cavalry, as before, held firmly the advance on the left. The fighting was closed with both armies holding substantially the same positions which they occupied the evening before.

Our loss on the right wing was estimated at 6,000, of which 4,000 occurred during the enemy's assault. The total loss in the two days' bloody struggle was probably not short of 15,000. The rebel loss was somewhere between 8,000 and 10,000. Longstreet was severely wounded, accidentally, by his own men, and was of no further use to the rebel cause till the close of the year.

Secretary Stanton, under date of May 8th, stated:—"We have no official reports from the front, but the medical director has notified the surgeon-general that our wounded were being sent to Washington, and will number from 6,000 to 8,000. The chief quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac has made requisition for seven days' grain, and for railroad construction trains, and states, the enemy is reported to be retiring. This indicates General Grant's advance, and affords an inference of material success on our part." *

1864.

* This was the first of a series of dispatches, sent by

On the morning of the 7th of May, the bleeding combatants had little desire for renewal of the terrible struggle on the battle field. Reconnaissances, on our side, showed that the rebels had fallen behind their entrenched lines, with pickets to the front covering a part of the field. "From this," according to Grant's statement, "it was evident to my mind that the two days' fighting had satisfied the enemy of his inability to further maintain the contest in the open field, notwithstanding his advantage of position, and that he would wait an attack behind his works. I determined therefore to push on, and put my whole force between him and Richmond; and orders were at once issued for a movement by his right flank." The immense army trains were sent during the day to Chancellorsville, there to park for the night, and preparations were made for a forward movement to Spottsylvania Court House, some fifteen miles south-east. The cavalry, already in advance at Todd's Tavern, had a sharp engagement with Stuart's troopers during the afternoon, and succeeded in driving them for a considerable distance.*

Leaving the narrative of the further movements of Grant and Meade for a brief space, it will be interesting to take note here of what Butler had been about in the meanwhile. Grant had carefully impressed upon Butler, before the opening of the campaign, that it was his intention to fight Lee between Culpepper and Richmond, if he would stand. Should Lee, however, fall back to Richmond, Grant purposed following him up and effecting a junction with Butler's forces on the James River, and he urged upon Butler to secure foothold as far up the south side of the river as he could, and, if he could not carry Richmond, at least to detain as large a force of the enemy as possible.

Butler, at this time, with the corps under Smith and Gillmore (p.424), had a division of horse, commanded by Gen. Kautz, making his force 30,000 in all. They were assembled at Yorktown and Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the York River, and were in a position to move by land up the Peninsula toward Richmond, or take up the line of the James River, and threaten the rebel capital from the south side. The last was the purpose really had in view, although feints were made of attacking in other directions. To distract the attention of the enemy, a brigade of troops, at the very last moment, was sent up the York River to the White House Landing, where, at the time Butler's army was in motion, they were employed in constructing a wharf. The deception was complete. When all was ready, on Wednesday, May 4th, the transport steamers were sent from Fortress Monroe to the mouth of York

the secretary of war to Gen. Dix, in command at New York. They were intended to satisfy the anxious desire, on every hand, for speedy information from the seat of war. The reader will of course notice that they are more or less unreliable and imperfect.

* Mr. Swinton, speaking of this opening of Grant's overland campaign, characterizes the battle of the Wilderness as "terrible and indescribable in those gloomy woods. There is something horrible, yet fascinating, in the mystery shrouding this strangest of battles ever fought—a battle which no man could see, and whose progress only could be followed by the ear, as the sharp and crackling volleys of musketry, and the alternate Union cheer and Confederate yell, told how the fight surged and swelled."—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 439.

River to take on board the troops, and that night they were quietly brought down to Hampton Roads. The ascent of the James River was to commence at daybreak, the fleet consisting of the transports, preceded by a number of gun boats and monitors. Some detention occurred, but at eight o'clock, all preliminaries were arranged, and the expedition began the ascent of the river. The object in view was the occupation of the neck of land at City Point, on the right bank, where the Appomattox empties into the James, a position about twenty miles from Richmond and ten from Petersburg, consequently threatening both places, and within easy striking distance of the important line of railroad communication between the two places.* **1864.**

On the way up the river, there were only two points at which opposition might be expected, viz., at Wilson's Landing, at a bend of the stream on the left bank, about thirty-five miles below Richmond, and at Fort Powhatan, at the next turn on the right. At neither of these places, nor at City Point, was any opposition offered by the rebels. The surprise was complete. The troops were landed without difficulty, and, before the next morning, had secured the station at City Point, and a most desirable foothold in the triangular district of Bermuda Hundred, a neck of land formed by the sinuous course of the James and Appomattox Rivers. An entrenchment was effected readily on the west, which, with the gun boats on the flanks, completed the defences of the position thus acquired.

On the 7th of May, Butler made a reconnaissance against the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad, and, after a severe contest with a body of the rebels in position covering that road from Walthal Junction north to Chester Station, he succeded in destroying a portion of it. On the 9th, Butler sent a dispatch to Washington, summing up his operations thus far, and, as we shall see, by and by, giving too sanguine a view of his success over Beauregard.*

As previously stated, the Army of the Potomac pressed on in pursuit of Lee toward Spottsylvania Court House, on the night of May 7th, and the next day, Sunday the 8th, found that the rebels had anticipated them and were already in position. Longstreet's column by a forced march had gained the advantage, and barred further progress. A severe contest ensued on Sunday morning, May 8th, on the Brock Road, from Todd's Tavern, at a clearing near Alsop's farm, in which the enemy, in force, were encountered by the brigades of Bartlett and Robinson, with heavy loss to their commands, Robinson being severely wounded. At **1864.**

* Gen. Grant's language, in regard to the expected co-operation of Butler, is worth quoting:—"My first object being to break the military power of the rebellion and capture the enemy's important strongholds, made me desirous that Gen. Butler should succeed in his movement against Richmond, as that would tend more than any thing else, unless it were the capture of Lee's army, to accomplish this desired result in the East. It was well understood, both by Gens. Butler and Meade, before starting on the campaign, that it was my intention to put both their armies south of the James River, in case of failure to destroy Lee without it."—Grant's "*Report*," p. 10.

* In a number of pages devoted to this point, Mr. Swinton sharply criticises Gen. Grant's plan and purpose, so far as he can understand what the commander in chief expected Butler to do.—"*Army of the Potomac*," pp. 462–464.

this juncture, Warren was compelled to rally his troops in person; the other portions of his corps were brought up under Gens. Crawford and Cutler, who had succeeded Wadsworth, and the fighting was continued until evening without being able to drive the rebels entirely from their entrenched position. The operations of the day left them in possession of Spottsylvania Court House. Lee, in fact, had succeeded in placing his army across Grant's line of march; and having made Spottsylvania Ridge a bulwark of defence, he was able, for twelve days, to hold our army in check and compel a further bloody delay in the advance upon Richmond.

On Monday, May 9th, the Army of the Potomac confronted the enemy, Longstreet and Ewell occupying the formidable ridge before Spottsylvania Court House. There was some cannonading as well as some skirmishing during the forenoon, but no general battle. The rebel sharpshooters were very active, and one distinguished victim fell a prey to their deadly aim. This was Gen. Sedgwick, who was not only one of the most gallant officers in the service, but was also beloved by the whole army. He was in the front of the extreme right of his corps, superintending the posting of some guns, when a ball pierced his face just below the left eye, and he fell dead instantly. Gen. H. G. Wright succeeded to the command of the 6th corps. Towards evening, Grant ordered another advance on the enemy, and on the same day dispatched Sheridan on a raid against the rebel line of communication with Richmond. Hancock held the right of our line, Warren the centre, and Wright the left. Birney's and Gibbon's divisions of Hancock's corps, followed by Carroll's brigade, crossed the Po and met the enemy, when some severe fighting occurred, attended by heavy losses. An attack was also made on a portion of Burnside's corps on the left, but it was repulsed with great spirit.

The next day, May 10th, the army of Grant occupied substantially the same position as on the previous day. His line stretched about six miles on the northerly bank of the Po, and took the general form of a crescent, the wings being thrown forward. The conflict began, early in the morning, with heavy discharges of artillery, which were kept up all the forenoon. A vigorous attack was made upon Lee's centre, and our troops fought most gallantly, but not with the success which was expected. The rebels checked our advance, and turning the right across the Po, compelled the withdrawal of Barlow's division of Hancock's corps, at that point, to the east bank. The coolness and steadiness of our men on this occasion saved them from a great disaster. Toward the close of the day, an energetic assault was made by the troops of the 2d and 5th corps, upon a hill held by the enemy in front of Warren's line; but it met with a very bloody repulse. On the left of Warren, an assault, made just at evening, by Upton's brigade of the 6th corps, met with better success. The enemy's works were scaled, the first line of rifle-pits captured, and more than 1,000 prisoners taken, with several guns. This advance, however, was not sustained, and the night, as

1864.

always before, closed on a hard-fought but indecisive field. Our loss had been not less than 10,000 men; but the rebels, it was thought, had suffered quite as severely as the Army of the Potomac. Gen. Rice, of the 5th corps, and Gen. Stevenson, of the 9th corps, both brave and valuable officers, were among the killed.

It was evident, from the tenacity and skill with which Lee offered resistance to Grant's advance, that he was not prepared to stake his fortunes upon a single great battle. Continuous fighting, within lines of defence, was his policy, and he meant, in this way, to contest every inch of ground between Grant and Richmond. The commander in chief of our armies was not, however, one to be readily turned aside from any work he had undertaken. Although the loss of life and limb had been fearful, even terrible, to contemplate, still Grant faltered not; and firmly bent on the object of his campaign, he was fully determined, at whatever cost, to continue the struggle. This resolution was expressed in terse and pointed terms at the close of a dispatch, sent to the secretary of war, on Wednesday morning, May 11th:—"We have now ended," he wrote, "the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I think the enemy's must be greater. We have taken over 5,000 prisoners in battle, while he has taken from us but few except stragglers. *I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.*"

1861.

Wednesday passed in some slight skirmishing and in reconnoitring with reference to movements the next day. During the night, Hancock's corps was shifted from his position on the right to the left, occupying the ground between Gens. Wright and Burnside. On Thursday, May 12th, at dawn of day, amid a dense mist and fog, the 2d corps moved upon the enemy's lines. Barlow's division in front, followed by those of Birney, Gibbon and Mott, gallantly dashed over the intervening ground, and took the rebels completely by surprise. With loud cheers, our men leaped over the hostile entrenchments, and in a few moments captured the whole of Johnson's division and part of Early's, some 3,000 in number, together with two rebel generals, E. Johnson and G. H. Stuart, and between thirty and forty cannon. The second line of rifle-pits was immediately stormed, and, after a stubborn resistance, wrested from the enemy. The action now became general, and the heavy cannonading, all along the line, was answered with spirit by Lee's army. Burnside's and Wright's troops joined in the conflict, while Warren occupied the enemy in front. Roused to the danger, the enemy made repeated attempts to re-occupy the lost works, but were repulsed with heavy slaughter by our batteries and the musketry of the infantry; an advantage which the foe, in turn, maintained in front, where they were strongly posted. The contest for the works captured in the morning was continued through the day. Burnside, on the extreme left, was engaged in the afternoon, in a stubborn and bloody encounter with the enemy, in which he

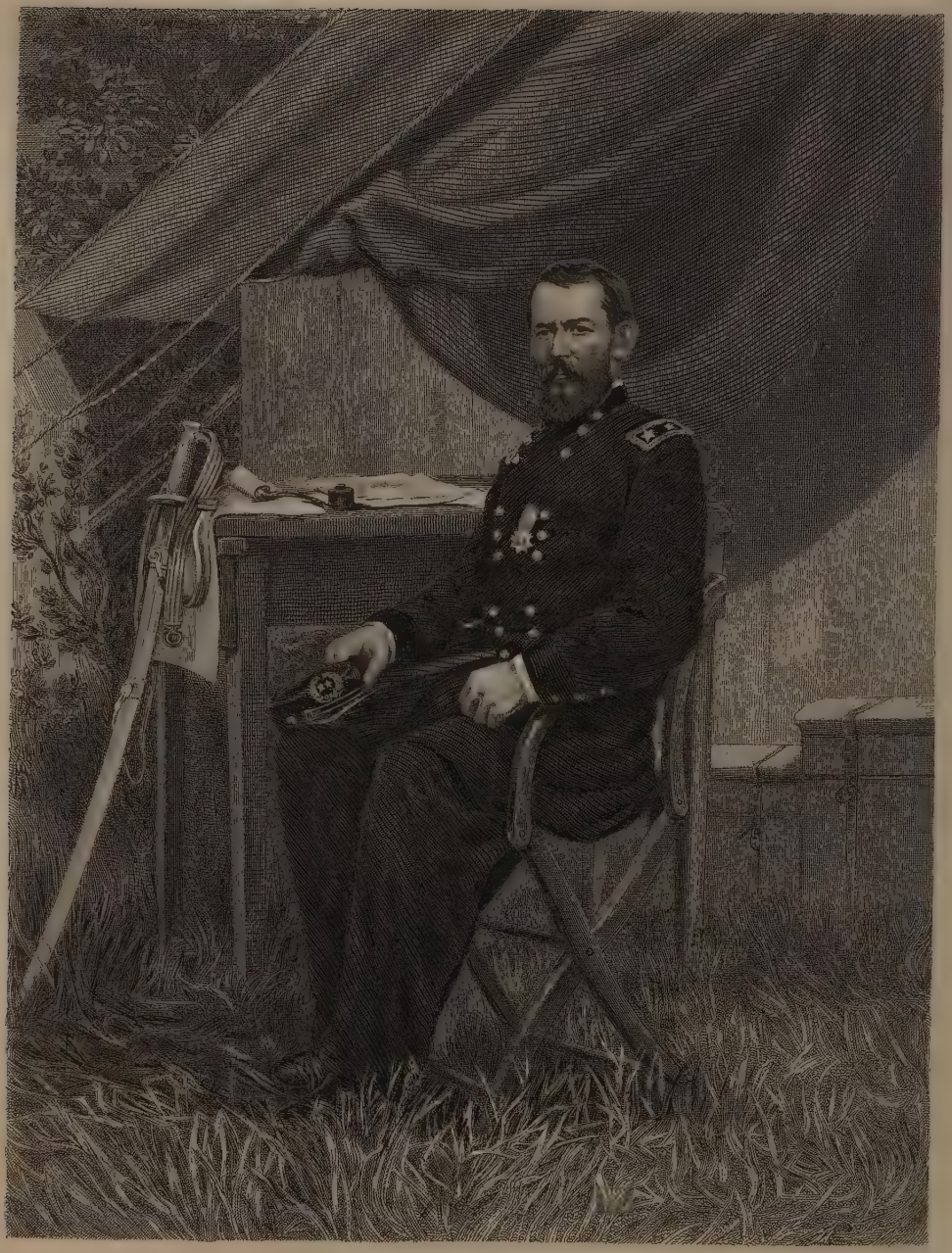
1864.

held his ground, though unable to push the flanking movement of the day further in that direction. Rain began to fall at noon, but the bloody fray went on, and was continued while daylight lasted. The dead and wounded lay thickly strewn along the ground, and, after fourteen hours of deadly struggle, night put an end to the battle of May 12th. Grant's dispatch, the same evening, spoke in high terms of our successes during the day, and at the same time said; "the enemy are obstinate, and seem to have found the last ditch." *

Sheridan, whose starting upon a special service against the rebel communications with Richmond was noted above (p. 430), entered upon his work with all the fire and vigor which characterized his movements as head of the cavalry of our army. His plan was to cut off the enemy's supplies in his rear, and, traversing the Peninsula, to penetrate the defences of the rebel capital. The expedition having set out, May 9th, moved towards Fredericksburg, and then, by a southerly course, on the road to Childsford, on the border of the county, turning the enemy's right, and at evening, without opposition, crossing the North Anna at Anderson's Bridge. This brought the advance, Custer's brigade of Merritt's division, within striking distance of the Virginia Central Railroad, at the neighboring station, Beaver Dam. During that night, Sheridan destroyed the depot at that place, a vast amount of stores, the railroad track for about ten miles, and recaptured some 400 of our men on their way as prisoners to Richmond and its horrible jails.

The next morning, May 10th, Sheridan resumed operations, crossing the South Anna at Grand Squirrel Bridge, and went into camp about daylight. On the 11th, he captured Ashland Station, destroyed there, besides public stores and buildings, six miles of railroad, embracing six culverts, two trestle bridges, and the telegraph wire. The same morning—to use the words of a dispatch—"he resumed the march on Richmond. He found the rebel Gen. J. E. B. Stuart, with his cavalry, concentrated at Yellow Tavern, immediately attacked him, and, after an obstinate contest, gained possession of the turnpike, capturing two pieces of artillery, and driving his forces back toward Ashland, and across the north fork of the Chickahominy. At 1864. the same time a party charged down the Brock Road, and captured the first line of the enemy's works around Richmond. During the night, Sheridan marched the whole of his command between the first and second line of the enemy's works on the bluffs overlooking the line of the Virginia Central Railroad and the Mechanicsville Turnpike. After demonstrating around the works, and finding them very strong, he gave up the intention of assaulting, and determined to recross the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge. It had been partially destroyed by the enemy,

* "The sixth day of heavy fighting had been ended. Grant had been foiled; but his obstinacy was apparently untouched, and the fierce and brutal consumption of human life, another element of his generalship, and which had already obtained for him with his soldiers the sobriquet of 'the butcher,' was still to continue. He telegraphed to Washington, 'I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.'"—Pollard's "*Third Year of the War*," p. 265.



Phil. H. Sheridan

but was repaired in about three hours, under a heavy artillery fire from a rebel battery. Gen. Merritt made the crossing, attacked the enemy, and drove him off handsomely, the pursuit continuing as far as Gaines's Mills. On the afternoon of the 12th, the corps encamped at Walnut Grove and Gaines's Mills. On the morning of the 13th, the march was renewed, and our forces encamped at Bottom's Bridge. . . . . The Virginia Central Railroad bridges over the Chickahominy, and other trestle-bridges, one sixty feet in length, one thirty feet, one twenty feet, and the railroad, for a long distance south of the Chickahominy, were destroyed. Great praise was given to the division commanders, Gens. Gregg, Wilson and Merritt, and Gens. Custer and Davis, Cols. Gregg, Divine, Chapman, McIntosh and Gibbs, brigade commanders; and all the officers and men behaved splendidly." The losses, all told, were estimated at about 350. The rebel loss was not ascertained, except that, as was soon after made known, their chief cavalry commander, J. E. B. Stuart, was shot in battle at Yellow Tavern.

Sheridan next moved to Haxall's Landing, on the James River, where he was in immediate communication with Butler and his forces. This raid of Sheridan's had the effect of drawing off the whole of the enemy's cavalry force, and of making it comparatively easy to guard our large and important army trains. Being conducted, also, with rare address and skill, it produced upon the rebels moral effects not to be ignored, and was one of the steps in the progress towards that brilliant reputation which Sheridan attained before the close of the war.*

* Coppée thus speaks of Sheridan: "With his usual sagacity, Grant had made an admirable choice of a commander. A young man, then only thirty-three years of age, Sheridan had already become the most distinguished cavalry officer in the service. He was a graduate of West Point, and devoted to the profession of arms. To great and untiring energy, dashing bravery, and enthusiasm in fighting, he added the natural gift of being able to control, in an electric manner, the affections and wills of his men; and he was now to show that he had strategic intuitions of the first order, and tactical intelligence of the most clear and rapid kind. To no better man in the whole army could the difficult task have been assigned of utilizing all the troops, and grasping the strategy of this extensive and important division. He at once brought order out of chaos," etc.—"*Grant and his Campaigns*," p. 381.

CHAPTER X.

1864.

GRANT'S ONWARD MOVEMENTS TOWARDS RICHMOND.

Position of army affairs at this time — Meade's congratulatory order — Reinforcements — Grant orders a movement to the North Anna — How executed — Strength of the rebel position — Severe fighting — Cold Harbor secured — Sigel's co-operation expected — Movements of Gens. Crook and Averill — Sigel's ill success — Superseded by Gen. Hunter — Butler's co-operation also looked for — Attack on Fort Darling, Drury's Bluff — Grant not satisfied — Rebel attack on Butler, who gets shut up in his entrenchments — Kautz's cavalry expedition against the Danville Road — Attack by the army, June 1st — General attack against the enemy's lines, June 3d — Gallant fighting and heavy losses — Grant's views as to change or modification of plan — Preparation, severe skirmishing, etc. — Effort to gain possession of Petersburg — Gillmore and Kautz — Failure — Determination of Grant — The movement from Cold Harbor to the south of the James River — Hunter's active operations and partial success — Sheridan's important cavalry raid against the Virginia Central Railroad — Some remarks of Grant quoted — His views on several points of interest.

The position of the Army of the Potomac, after the fiercely-contested battle of May 12th (p. 431), was, on the whole, satisfactory. Our losses, it is true, had been heavy, fearfully heavy, and the rebels, under Lee, had resisted Grant's advance with an energy and courage worthy of a better cause; but Grant was gathering in large reinforcements, and was certain of being able to push the enemy's ablest general further and further backward, and either shut him up in Richmond or compel him to surrender. Gen. Meade sought to encourage the troops under his command by a congratulatory order, May 13th, in which he spoke in the highest terms of their gallantry, steady endurance and success in the battles already fought, and which was concluded in the following terms: "Soldiers! your heroic deeds, and noble endurance of fatigue and privation, will ever be memorable. Let us return thanks to God for the mercy thus shown us, and ask earnestly for its continuance. Soldiers! your work is not yet over. The enemy must be pursued, and, if possible, overcome. The courage and fortitude you have displayed, renders your commanding-general confident that your future efforts will result in success. Let us determine, then, to continue vigorously the work so well begun, and, under God's blessing, in a short time the object of our labors will soon be acomplished."

1864.

During the week following, heavy rains and the bad state of the roads necessitated a suspension of active operations in the army. The time was spent in resting and refreshing the troops; in getting reinforcements from Washington of some 30,000 volunteers for 100 days service, at the call of the president; and in various manœuvres and occasional sharp skirmishes at and before Spottsylvania Court House. The

sick and wounded, in number about 20,000, were sent by way of Fredericksburg to Washington; the cavalry was strengthened by adding several thousand fresh horses; and every preparation was made for a vigorous continuance of the struggle.

Grant, deeming it impracticable to make any further attack upon the rebels at Spottsylvania Court House, issued orders, on the 18th of May, with a view to a movement to the North Anna, to commence at midnight of the 19th. On the 18th, an attack on the right of the enemy's works had been made, but to no advantage; and late in the afternoon of the 19th, Ewell came out of his works against our extreme right flank; but the attack was promptly repulsed, with heavy loss.

Although the movement just ordered was delayed somewhat by Ewell's attack, yet it was begun on the night of the 21st of May. The cavalry was sent forward, and occupied the line of the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railroad at Guinney's Station and Bowling Green, followed immediately by Hancock's corps, and the next day by Warren's and the remainder of the army. Lee, also, at the same time, evacuated Spottsylvania, and began his march southward, moving on a direct interior line to the North Anna, where it was expected he would make a stand. There was but little opposition encountered by our troops on the route they had taken, as the several corps pushed on to the North Anna River. Hancock effected a crossing near Taylor's Bridge, after a spirited assault. Warren got his corps over higher up, at Jericho Ford, and although violently attacked on the south branch of the stream, repulsed the enemy with heavy loss. The next day was spent in getting over the remainder of the army, in the face of considerable opposition. Grant now took up a position south of the river, and prepared to open communication with Port Royal on the Rappahannock, whither his wounded were sent. The enemy in front held a very strong position between the North and South Anna, and covering the crossing of the Fredericksburg and the Virginia Central Railroads at Sexton's Junction.*

1864.

Grant, finding that the position of the rebels on the North Anna was stronger than either of their previous ones, withdrew, on the night of the 26th of May, to the north bank of the North Anna, and moved by way of Hanovertown, to turn the enemy's position by his right. Torbert's and Merritt's divisions of cavalry, under Sheridan, and the 6th corps, led the advance; and the Pamunkey River was crossed on the 28th, at Hanovertown, after some sharp fighting. On the same day there was a severely contested engagement between our cavalry, under Torbert and Gregg, and a body of the enemy's horse. The engagement took place at Haw's Shop or Store, and the rebels were defeated and driven about a mile. On the 29th and 30th of May, the army advanced, with heavy skirmishing, to

* On the 24th of May, the 9th corps, commanded by Burnside, was assigned to the Army of the Potomac, and, from this date, was a portion of Gen. Meade's command. On the 25th, Sheridan, of whose raid we have spoken on a previous page (p. 432), rejoined the Army of the Potomac.

the Hanover Court House and Cold Harbor road, and developed the position of the rebels north of the Chickahominy. Late on the evening of the 30th of May, to use Grant's language, "the enemy came out and attacked our left, but was repulsed with very considerable loss. An attack was immediately ordered by Gen. Meade along his whole line, which resulted in driving the enemy from a part of his entrenched skirmish line. On the 31st of May, Gen. Wilson's division of cavalry destroyed the railroad bridges over the South Anna River, after defeating the enemy's cavalry. Gen. Sheridan, on the same day, reached Cold Harbor,* and held it until relieved by the 6th corps, and Gen. Smith's command, which had just arrived, *via* White House, from Gen. Butler's army."

It will be recollected (see p. 424) that one of the co-operating movements on which Grant relied in carrying forward the present campaign, was that under Sigel, who was in command in the department of Western Virginia. Grant's idea was, that Sigel's force should act in such wise as to compel the rebels to detach largely for the protection of their supplies and lines of communication, or lose them; and he, accordingly, gave orders to Sigel to organize or form his available force into two columns, one under Gen. Crook, on the Kanawha, numbering about 10,000 men, and one on the Shenandoah, numbering about 7,000 men. The latter was to move to Cedar Creek, and threaten the enemy in the Shenandoah Valley, advancing as far as possible; while Crook was to take possession of Lewisburg, with part of his force, and move down the Tennessee Railroad, doing as much damage as he could, destroying the New River bridge and salt works, at Saltville, Virginia.

The movement thus directed by the commander in chief to be made in the Kanawha and Shenandoah Valleys, was begun on the 1st of May. Crook, who had the immediate command of the Kanawha expedition, divided his forces into two columns, giving one, composed of cavalry, to Gen. Averill. They crossed the mountains by separate routes. Averill succeeded in distracting the attention of the noted rebel leaders, A. G. Jenkins and John Morgan, and preventing a junction of their forces against Crook and his movement. On the 7th of May, Averill came up with a portion of Morgan's men, and finding him in force, after a skirmish, he passed by a circuitous route over Walker Mountain, a weary march to Cove Mountain Gap, in the immediate vicinity of Wytheville, on the railroad, his proposed destination. Morgan, anticipating the movement, was met at the Gap, strongly posted with a greatly superior body of cavalry and infantry, with four pieces of cannon. Averill held his ground during the day, May 10th, against repeated assaults, and at night extricated himself from the perilous situation, with a loss in killed and

1864.

* The great importance of this point, with reference to Grant's plan, was evident, since it was the point of concurrence of all the roads, radiating to Richmond, or to White House, our base of supplies. The rebels were aware of the need of securing this position, and they attacked Sheridan with all possible force and energy, in order to drive him out; but that gallant officer successfully resisted the assault.—See Coppée's "*Grant and his Campaigns*," pp. 336–339.

wounded of 135 men. Crossing the Walker Mountain again, Averill proceeded to Dublin, on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, about thirty miles north-east of Wytheville. Here he found Crook had accomplished the destruction of the railroad, and had moved forward. Averill followed, and having taken the northerly route over the mountains from Christianburg, he came up with Crook at Union, on the 15th of May. Beside the damage done to the road, several important bridges and depots, inluding New River bridge, were destroyed.

Sigel, meanwhile, moved up the Shenandoah Valley, with a force of over 7,000 men, as far as Newmarket, a town near the Manassas Gap Railroad, and about fifty miles from Winchester. The rebel Gen. Breckenridge was sent, with all the forces he could collect for the emergency, to fall upon and beat Sigel. If the latter were to be successful, and advance upon Staunton, and then strike upon Lynchburg or Gordonsville, he would render invaluable service to Grant and his plans; but unhappily, when he met the rebels at Newmarket, on the 15th of May, he was entirely defeated, lost a portion of his train, six guns and 1,000 prisoners, and retired behind Cedar Creek. The result was, of course, that the victors returned to Lee's army and added to its strength. Grant, not at all satisfied with Sigel's operations, demanded his removal, and he was at once superseded by Gen. Hunter, who was expected to infuse vigor into the movements in that quarter, and obtain decisive success.*

* See Grant's "*Report*," p. 20, for instructions sent to Gen. Hunter, May 20th and 25th.

On a previous page (p. 424), as we have seen, Butler promised more largely than he was able to accomplish. His active and successful co-operation was more important even than Sigel's to Grant's plans. On the 12th of May, he advanced several divisions of Gillmore's and Smith's corps between the railroad and the river toward Richmond, in the direction of Fort Darling, and speedily came upon a body of the enemy, guarding the outer defences of that work. A dispatch was captured from Beauregard to Hoke, in command at Drury's Bluff, stating that he would join them as soon as the troops came up. A demonstration was made by Smith upon the rebel lines, which was followed up the next day, the 13th, by a flanking movement of Gillmore, who assaulted and took the enemy's works on their right. Smith carried the first line on their left with little loss. The enemy retired into three square redoubts, upon which the Union artillery was brought to bear, but without any advantageous result. Grant complained that the time which Butler had spent from the 6th of May onward, in the manner narrated, had lost to us the benefit of the surprise and capture of Richmond and Petersburg, enabling, as it did, Beauregard to collect his loose forces in North and South Carolina and bring them to the defence of those places.* **1864.**

* "The army sent to operate against Richmond having hermetically sealed itself up at Bermuda Hundred, the enemy was enabled to bring the most if not all the reinforcements brought from the South by Beauregard against the Army of the Potomac. In addition to this reinforcement, a very considerable one, probably not less than 15,000 men, was obtained by calling in the scat-

On the 16th of May, the rebels attacked Butler in his position in front of Drury's Bluff. Under cover of a thick fog, an assault was made upon Smith's line, which was forced back in some confusion and with very considerable loss. At the same time, the enemy made an attack from Petersburg on Butler's forces, guarding the rear, and were repulsed. Thus, to use Grant's language, Butler "was forced back, or drew back, into his entrenchments between the forks of the James and Appomattox Rivers, the enemy entrenching himself in his front, thus covering his railroads, the city, and all that was valuable to him. Butler's army, therefore, though in a position of great security, was as completely shut off from further operations against Richmond as if it had been in a bottle strongly corked. It required but a comparatively small force of the enemy to hold it there."

A cavalry expedition had been started, meanwhile, on the 12th of May, under Kautz, to cut the Danville Railroad near Appomattox Station, and was successful in blowing up a bridge at that place, and breaking up the road and destroying stores at several stations. Returning, our troops inflicted various damage on the Petersburg and Lynchburg Railroad, and that to Weldon at Jarrett's Station; proceeding thence to City Point, which was reached on the 18th of May. Beauregard, on the night of the 19th of May, made an assault upon Butler's lines, but was successfully repulsed. The next day, and the day following, the rebels renewed the contest, in which, however, they gained no advantage and met with heavy loss. After this the enemy fell back, and as the troops at Bermuda Hundred could not be used to operate against the rebels from that point, Grant ordered all, except a small defensive force, to join the Army of the Potomac. This was accomplished under the command of Gen. W. F. Smith, and the troops were landed, on the 30th of May, at White House.*

Turning our attention again to the operations of the main army under Grant, we find that these mortifying failures on the part Butler and of Sigel necessitated, as we shall see, several modifications in carrying out the plan of the campaign. Grant, with his usual tenacity, was loth to vary his course from his original design, and several severe struggles were had before he entered fully upon his new strategy in his onward progress towards Richmond. On the 1st of June, an attack was made, about five, P.M., by the 6th corps and the troops under Smith. Warren's, Burnside's, and Hancock's men were held in readiness to advance on the receipt of orders. The attack was made with spirit, continuing until

tered troops under Breckenridge from the western part of Virginia."—Grant's "*Report*," p. 15.

* "Grant was indeed beset, not simply by rebel armies, led by skilful and brave generals, but by Federal failures:—Sigel defeated in the West, and Breckenridge reinforcing Lee with about 15,000 men; Butler defeated at the South, and Beauregard free to send Lee a great part of his troops. It was necessary for him to modify, without materially altering his plans; and he moved with the Army of the Potomac, to try an alternative thought of at the beginning—the crossing of the James, and the union of the armies under his own eye and command."—Coppée's "*Grant and his Campaigns*," p. 329.

after dark, and resulting in our carrying the enemy's works on the right of the 6th corps, and also the first line in front of Smith. The latter, however, were commanded in the rear, which made those carried untenable. 1864. Several hundred prisoners were taken. During the night, the enemy made a number of assaults to regain what they had lost, but failed. Our loss in this engagement was estimated at 2,000 killed and wounded.

The next day was spent principally in getting the troops into position for an attack on the morrow. Very early on the morning of Friday, June 3d, Grant ordered a general attack to be made on the enemy's lines, which resulted in one of the severest and most hardly contested fights of the war. Hancock's corps was brought in the night from the right to the extreme left, the order of the army corps from the right now being Burnside, Warren, Smith, Wright, Hancock. The line ran nearly parallel with that of the Chickahominy, at a distance of a mile and a-half to two miles and a-half north of it, the enemy directly in front holding the north bank of the river. Breckenridge's command, it was said, occupied the enemy's right, with Beauregard on the right centre, Longstreet on the left centre, Ewell on the left, and Hill in reserve. The rebels were driven within their entrenchments at all points, but without our gaining in consequence any decisive advantage. The main fighting was done by Hancock's corps on the left, and by Wright's and Smith's forces at the centre. The battle was renewed at evening. At six, P.M., Wilson, with his cavalry, fell upon the rear of a brigade of Heth's division, which Lee had thrown around to his left, and after a short but sharp conflict, drove them from their rifle-pits in confusion, taking a number of prisoners. An hour later, and the enemy suddenly attacked Gibbon's division of Smith's command, but were repulsed. In the dispatch of June 4th, from which these particulars are drawn, Secretary Stanton states our entire loss, during these three days' operations around Cold Harbor, as reported by the adjutant-general, as not exceeding 7,500. The rebel loss, as nearly as could be ascertained, was comparatively light.* 1864.

Grant was at length brought reluctantly to the conviction, that the nearness of the rebels to their defences around Richmond rendered it impossible, by any flank movement, to interpose between them and the city. "I was still in a condition," he says in his report, "to either move by the enemy's left flank, and invest Richmond from the north side, or continue my move by his right flank to the south side of the James. While the former might have been better as a covering for Washington, yet a full survey of all the ground satisfied me that it would be impracticable to hold a line north

* Mr. Swinton, whose criticism is decidedly unfavorable to the plan adopted by the commander in chief, says: "Grant's loss in the series of actions from the Wilderness to the Chickahominy reached the enormous aggregate of 60,000 men put *hors du combat*;" Lee's loss is estimated not to have exceeded 20,000. In a tabular statement subjoined, the killed are stated at 7,289; wounded, 37,406; missing, 9,856. To these Mr. Swinton adds the casualties in Burnside's corps, about 5,000. The loss in officers was especially severe, being in all 3,000, a loss truly irreparable.—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 491.

and east of Richmond that would protect the Fredericksburg Railroad—a long, vulnerable line, which would exhaust much of our strength to guard, and that would have to be protected to supply the army, and would leave open to the enemy all his lines of communication on the south side of the James. My idea, from the start, had been to beat Lee's army north of Richmond, if possible. Then, after destroying his lines of communication north of the James River, to transfer the army to the south side and besiege Lee in Richmond, or follow him south, if he should retreat. After the battle of the Wilderness, it was evident that the enemy deemed it of the first importance to run no risks with the army he then had. He acted purely on the defensive, behind breastworks, or feebly on the offensive, immediately in front of them, and where, in case of repulse, he could easily retire behind them. Without a greater sacrifice of life than I was willing to make, all could not be accomplished that I had designed north of Richmond; I therefore determined to continue to hold substantially the ground we then (June 4th) occupied, taking advantage of any favorable circumstances that might present themselves, until the cavalry could be sent to Charlottesville and Gordonsville, to effectually break up the railroad connection between Richmond and the Shenandoah Valley and Lynchburg; and, when the cavalry got well off, to move the army to the south side of the James River, by the enemy's right flank, where I felt I could cut off all his sources of supply except by canal."

Such were Grant's ideas, purposes and expectations; the narrative of further operations in this important field will show in how far he was favored with success, or had to bear up under disappointment. In order to gain time for the contemplated movement to the south side of the James River, and give the rebels no inkling of his real purpose, Grant vigorously maintained the advanced lines of the army; new entrenchments were thrown up at night, and frequent skirmishing took place along the front. Sharpshooting was practised with great success on both sides, and for several nights (the rebels had a *penchant* for night battles) assaults were made, but uniformly repulsed by our men. Hancock's lines were pushed to within forty yards of the rebel works. Fighting thus day after day, there were numbers of the dead and wounded lying between the two armies; by an agreement between Grant and Lee to this effect, there was an armistice of two hours, during which the dead were buried and the wounded removed from the field. All this while, for more than a week, Grant was receiving reinforcements, having supplies forwarded, and perfecting his arrangements for the important movement to the south side of the James River.

The commanding-general, attaching the highest importance to the possession of Petersburg, endeavored to have it secured, before the enemy, becoming aware of his intention, could reinforce the place. Butler, on the 10th of June, sent a force of infantry, under Gillmore, and cavalry, under Kautz, to gain possession, if possible, of Peters-

burg, and destroy the railroad and common bridges across the Appomattox. Having crossed the river on a pontoon bridge laid near the Point of Rocks, Gillmore, with about 3,500 men, advanced by the direct road to the vicinity of Petersburg, drove back an outer skirmish line, and reconnoitred the fortifications. Kautz, meanwhile, with his cavalry, charged the works on the southerly side, carried them, and penetrated into the town; but, lacking the expected co-operation of the infantry, was compelled to withdraw. Both commands now returned to Bermuda Hundred with trifling loss. Grant, still hoping to secure the end he had in view, sent back to Bermuda Hundred and City Point Smith's command, by water, *via* White House, to reach Petersburg in advance of the Army of the Potomac. So anxious was he in regard to the matter, that he went by steamer to Bermuda Hundred, and gave Butler verbal instructions to send Smith that night, June 14th, with all the troops that could be spared without endangering Butler's position, to make an assault upon Petersburg. On Grant's part, he promised to hurry forward the main bulk of the army, and to reinforce Smith more rapidly than the enemy could concentrate at Petersburg.

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Grant's movement from Cold Harbor was begun on the night of Sunday, June 12th; one division of cavalry and the 5th corps crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, and moved out to White Oak Swamp, to cover the crossings of the other corps. During the 14th and 15th of June, the crossing of the army over the James River was accomplished, with slight molestation from the enemy and trifling loss. The movement was entirely successful, taking the enemy quite by surprise, and was conducted with great skill and celerity. To use Grant's words in a dispatch:—"Our forces drew out from within fifty yards of the enemy's entrenchments at Cold Harbor, made a flank movement of about fifty-five miles' march, crossing the Chickahominy and James Rivers, the latter 2,000 feet wide and eighty-four feet deep at the point of crossing, without the loss of a wagon or piece of artillery."

Hunter, who had taken the place of Sigel in command of the forces in Western Virginia, following Grant's directions, immediately entered upon the offensive. On the 26th of May, he passed through Mount Jackson, advanced to Harrisburg, and ascertained the presence of the enemy a few miles in front at Mount Crawford, where they were guarding the approach to Staunton. Making a feint upon their line at the latter place, he turned off his main force to Port Republic. Resting but a night at this place, he moved on, early the following morning, Sunday, June 5th, upon the Staunton road, and met the enemy a few miles out, in the vicinity of Piedmont. The cavalry, under Gen. Stahl, became at once engaged, and drove the enemy some distance, when Gen. Sullivan brought up the infantry to the encounter. After a battle of ten hours' duration, 1,500 men, three pieces of artillery, 300 stand of small arms,

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and a vast quantity of stores were captured.

The day following, Hunter marched into Staunton, where, on the 8th of June, he was joined by the forces of Crook and Averill, who had crossed the mountains to meet him. A vast quantity of property was destroyed at Staunton, including army clothing and stores, and railroad buildings and factories. The railroad was also destroyed in the vicinity, on both sides of the town. From Staunton the joint forces advanced to Lexington, which they reached on the 11th, burning the Virginia Military Institution at that place, destroying boats laden with stores, etc. Hunter, taking the route by Buchanan, struck the Tennessee Railroad at Liberty, west of Lynchburg, the vicinity of which place he reached on the 16th of June, having been joined by Averill's cavalry, which had made a circuitous route, destroying portions of the Lynchburg and Charlottesville Railroad by the way. Reinforcements were sent by Lee from Richmond to Lynchburg, which arrived in time to strengthen the defences of the place, and arrest the further progress of Hunter in this quarter. After some skirmishing on the 17th and 18th of June, Hunter, owing to a want of ammunition to give battle, retired from before the place.* As this lack of ammunition compelled him to take the route by way of Kanawha, it deprived Grant of the use of his troops, for several weeks, in defending the north. "Had Gen. Hunter," is Grant's comment in his report, "moved by way of Charlottesville, instead of Lexington, as his instructions contemplated, he would have been in a position to have covered the Shenandoah Valley against the enemy, should the force he met have seemed to endanger it. If it did not, he would have been within easy distance of the James River Canal, on the main line of communication between Lynchburg and the force sent for its defence."

Early in June, Sheridan was sent with a cavalry force of two divisions, against the Virginia Central Railroad, with instructions to Hunter, whom Grant hoped he would meet near Charlottesville, to join his forces to Sheridan's, and, after performing their work thoroughly, to return to the Army of the Potomac by the route marked out in the instructions. Sheridan, with his usual activity and zeal, entered upon the expedition with which he was charged, for the details of which we must refer to his official report. He crossed the Pamunkey, June 7th, and encamped on Herring Creek. He resumed his march the next day, and on the 10th, crossing both branches of the North Anna, encamped near Trevilian

* Pollard, in terms more forcible than elegant, contradicts the narrative above given: "On the 18th of June, Hunter made an attack upon Lynchburg from the south side, which was repulsed by troops that had arrived from Gen. Lee's lines. The next day, more reinforcements having come up, preparations were made to attack the enemy, when he retreated in confusion. We took thirteen of his guns, pursued him to Salem, and forced him to a line of retreat into the mountains of Western Viginia. The attempt of the Yankees to whitewash the infamous and cowardly denoument was more than usually refreshing. Hunter officially announced that his expedition had been 'extremely successful;' that he had left Lynchburg because 'his ammunition was run short;' and that, as to the singular line he had taken up, he was now 'ready for a move in any direction.'"—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 275.

Station. He intended to cut the railroad, but found the enemy's cavalry in force. A severe contest ensued, which resulted in driving the rebels in confusion. On the 12th of June, Sheridan destroyed the railroad from Trevilian to Lorraine Court House, and sent his advance to attack the enemy near Gordonsville. An engagement took place, which Sheridan pronounced "by far the most brilliant one of the present campaign;" but Sheridan, not feeling himself strong enough, was compelled to retire, and crossed the North Anna the next day. His loss, in killed and wounded, was nearly 600, of whom about 500 were wounded. He captured 370 of the rebels, but lost by capture about 160. On his return march, Sheridan reached White House, June 19th, just as the enemy's cavalry had begun an attack, and compelled it to retire. After breaking up the depot at that place, he moved to the James River, which he reached in safety, with his large army train, after very heavy fighting. He commenced crossing, on the 25th of June, near Fort Powhatan, without further molestation, and rejoined the Army of the Potomac.

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In concluding the present chapter, some remarks of Gen. Grant, in his official report (p. 18), are worth quoting: "During three long years the Armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia had been confronting each other. In that time they had fought more desperate battles than it probably ever before fell to the lot of two armies to fight, without materially changing the vantage ground of either. The southern press and people, with more shrewdness than was displayed in the North, finding that they had failed to capture Washington and march on to New York, as they had boasted they would do, assumed that they only defended their capital and southern territory. Hence, Antietam, Gettysburg, and all the other battles that had been fought, were by them set down as failures on our part, and victories for them. Their army believed this. It produced a *morale* which could only be overcome by desperate and continuous hard fighting. The battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor, bloody and terrible as they were on our side, were even more damaging to the enemy, and so crippled him as to make him wary ever after of taking the offensive. His losses in men were probably not so great, owing to the fact that we were, save in the Wilderness, almost invariably the attacking party; and when he did attack it was in the open field. The details of these battles, which for endurance and bravery on the part of the soldiery have rarely been surpassed, are given in the report of Major-General Meade, and the subordinate reports accompanying it."*

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* Compare with this a note from Swinton on p. 439. This writer, commenting sharply upon Grant's determination "to hammer continuously" upon the enemy, goes on to say:—"So gloomy was the military outlook after the action on the Chickahominy, and to such a degree by consequence had the moral spring of the public mind become relaxed, that there was at this time great danger of a collapse of the war. The history of this conflict truthfully written will show this. Had not success elsewhere come to brighten the horizon, it would have been difficult to raise new forces to recruit the Army of the Potomac, which, shaken in its structure, its valor quenched in blood, and thousands of its ablest officers killed and wounded, was the Army of the Potomac no more."—Swinton's "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 495.

CHAPTER XI.

1864.

FURTHER OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA DURING THE SUMMER.

Gen. Smith's movement against Petersburg — Unfortunate delay — Results — Assault ordered — Only partially successful — Butler's movement against the railroad — Wanting in promptitude — Repulse of our men — Direct assault on Petersburg ordered by Grant — Unsuccessful — Demonstration against the Weldon Railroad — Repulsed — Cavalry expedition againt Danville Railroad — Wilson's and Kautz's exploits — Results — Rebel movement under Early in the Shenandoah Valley — Efforts made to resist his advance — Grant sends troops to Washington — Battle of the Monocacy — Rebel depredations and advance towards Washington — Retreat, and pursuit by our troops — Raid into Pennsylvania — Burning of Chambersburg — Averill pursues the raiders — Investment and siege of Petersburg — Construction of a mine under the enemy's works — Movement to Deep Bottom — Lee's action — Assault on Petersburg ordered — The mine blown up — Terrible scene — Failure of the assaulting column to move rapidly and secure the crowning crest — Swinton's account and criticism — Woodbury's defence of Burnside — Grant's statement — Movement threatening Richmond on north side of the James — Severe fighting and general result — Warren's advance on the Weldon Railroad — Fierce attack of the rebels to drive him off — Warren's important success — Battle at Ream's Station — Hancock's report, and the result.

Gen. Grant's eager desire to obtain possession of Petersburg, as an essential element in his plan, and the steps which he took for this purpose, we have already spoken of (p. 440); and while Lee was probably thinking of an attack upon Richmond by way of Malvern Hills, and the north side of the James River, Grant's special efforts were bestowed upon the immediate seizure of Petersburg, before it could be reinforced and its works manned by the rebels. Gen. Smith, as directed, moved promptly upon the north-east defences of Petersburg, on the 15th of June, and confronted the enemy's pickets before daylight the next morning. Skirmishing soon after occurred, and the negro troops, under Hincks, behaved with spirit, and captured a line of rifle pits and two 12-pounders. The major part of the day was consumed in arranging for an attack in force, a circumstance much to be regretted, inasmuch as every hour of time was of the greatest value towards securing the end had in view; and, as Gen. Grant pithily says, "for some reason that I have never been able satisfactorily to understand, Smith did not get ready to assault the enemy's main lines until near sundown."

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About seven P.M., Smith began the attack, with a part of his command only, and succeeded in carrying the lines north-east of Petersburg, from the Appomattox River, for a distance of more than two miles and a half, capturing fifteen pieces of artillery and over 300 prisoners. Unfortunately, Smith did not push forward at once, as he ought to have done; for there were no works between him and the city, the enemy had not yet been able to bring even a

brigade into it from any source, and it was a bright moonlight night, affording every opportunity for further operations. And, what made it still more vexatious, Hancock having come up with two divisions of the 2d corps, just after nightfall, and waiving his right to assume the command, Smith did not take these troops and march into Petersburg, but used them simply to relieve some of his own men in the captured works, and suspended hostilities until morning. The auspicious moment for capturing the place was thus lost, and the rebels, well aware of its value to them, began to pour in troops rapidly for its occupation and defence.

On Grant's arrival the next morning, June 16th, the rebels were found to be in force, ready to oppose a formidable resistance to our further approach. During the earlier part of the day, Warren and Wright were hastening forward with their corps to the scene of action, and Burnside, about noon, reached Petersburg with the 9th corps. All the arrangements having been made, an assault was ordered by Meade. It was begun at six o'clock in the afternoon, and the fighting continued, with but little intermission, until six o'clock the next morning, June 17th; the result, however, was of no particular advantage, except that Burnside, at daylight, assaulted the enemy's line to the left of Hancock's corps, and captured three redoubts, five guns, and about 450 prisoners.

Butler, having discovered that the rebels, anxious about Petersburg, had withdrawn, June 16th, a large body of troops from his front, took advantage of the opening at once, and promptly moved a force on the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond, to destroy, and if possible hold it. Grant also ordered two divisions of the 6th corps, which were at the time embarking at Wilcox's Landing for City Point, to march directly to the support of Butler, at the same time urging upon him the importance of holding a position in advance of his present line. Some two or three miles of the railroad track were torn up, in the vicinity of Walthal Junction, and an advance was begun on the Richmond turnpike. The two divisions, just spoken of, joined Butler on the forenoon of the 17th, and while he was holding with a strong picket line the enemy's works. But instead of putting these troops into the works to hold them, he unwisely allowed them to halt and rest some distance in the rear of his own line. The consequence was, that the rebels under Longstreet made a vigorous attack upon Butler, and in the course of the afternoon drove in his pickets, and re-occupied and strengthened their lines at that point.

Grant, determined, if possible, to take Petersburg, now resolved upon a general direct assault. During the day, June 17th, our line was strongly posted, and being carefully adjusted, was gradually moved up towards the enemy. At four o'clock, on the morning of the 18th of June, the skirmishers found that the rebels had abandoned their second line, and retired to a strongly intrenched interior line, a mile nearer the city. Within this, they resisted successfully all our assaults. Never men fought more gallantly than those

engaged in the present attempt;* but victory was not within their grasp. Advantages in position were gained by our men, and though the 2d, 5th, and 9th corps met with severe losses, and were not able to expel the enemy from Petersburg, yet our army proceeded to envelop the city toward the Southside Railroad, as far as possible without attacking fortifications.†

The losses in the Army of the Potomac, during these last few days' operations, were very heavy, amounting, in killed, wounded, and missing, to nearly 10,000.

The capture of Petersburg, by direct assault, having been found impracticable, early efforts were made to cut off its supplies in the rear, by operations upon the railroads south of Richmond. A demonstration against the Weldon Railroad was made by way of the Jerusalem road, on the 21st and 22d of June. The advance, on the first day, was resisted by the rebels, who, fully warned of the movement, came down in force on the following day, under A. P. Hill, and, by a flank attack, inflicted a heavy blow, capturing a large number of prisoners and four guns. The disaster of the day was checked by subsequent movements on the field, in which Meade brought up the 6th corps, and the shattered 2d recovered a portion of its lost ground. Another attempt was made upon the railroad the next day, by a part of Wright's corps; but it met with repulse, the enemy taking a number of prisoners, and our loss, in killed and wounded, being quite heavy.

On the 22d of June, Wilson's division of cavalry, with Kautz's brigade, was dispatched for the purpose of breaking the line of the Danville Railroad. The force, numbering about 6,000 men, with three batteries of four guns each, moved on the morning of the day just named, struck the Weldon Road at Ream's Station, and crossed the country to the Lynchburg Railroad at Ford's Station, where, as at the former place, the track was broken up and the buildings and other property of the road destroyed. The next day, the 23d of June, Kautz, taking the lead, reached the junction with the Danville Road at Burkesville, 1864. where he broke up and burnt several miles of the track. Wilson, following on the Lynchburg Road, encountered the enemy at Nottoway Court House, and a sharp skirmish ensued. On the 24th, Wilson continued his advance, destroying the Danville Railroad to Roanoke Bridge, a distance of more than twenty-five miles. Here he found the enemy too strongly posted to be dislodged. Crossing the country to the Nottoway River, he reached the Weldon Railroad at the vicinity of Jarrett's Station. A push was made for Ream's Station, on the supposition that it was in our possession. At this place he was met by the rebel cavalry, support-

* Gen. Grant, in a dispatch on the 17th of June, spoke in the highest terms of the bravery and endurance of the soldiers:—"Too much praise cannot be given to the troops and their commanders, for the energy and fortitude displayed the last five days. Day and night has been all the same, no delays being allowed on any account."

† Coppée, in his rather flowery way, says:—"Grant had laid upon the devoted city of Richmond the first coil—ever tightening—of that anaconda grasp, never to be released until the monster should be strangled and lie lifeless in the embrace."—"*Grant and his Campaigns*," p. 353.

ed by infantry, and forced to retire, with the loss of his artillery and trains.* Wilson's force having become divided, the portion under Kautz reached the camp, by hard riding, in advance of Wilson, who, taking a more southerly route, crossed the Nottoway River and came in safely a few days later. The whole force which escaped was thoroughly exhausted with hardships and fatigue, and the entire loss was estimated at less than 1,000 men. The damage, however, to the rebels, in this expedition, more than compensated, in Grant's opinion, for the losses sustained. It severed all connection by railroad with Richmond for several weeks.

A suspension of active operations in the army of the James River, after the ineffectual movements upon Petersburg, and the fact that Hunter's retreat by way of the Kanawha (p. 442), had laid open the Shenandoah Valley for raids into Maryland and Pennsylvania, induced the rebels to make a vigorous effort in that direction. The large amount of stores at Martinsburg furnished an incentive to the enemy's movement, though, doubtless, the prime objects of the expedition were, to gather in the ripening crops in the Valley, and, by threatening Washington, to compel the reduction of Grant's force before Richmond. The movement was made with secrecy and skill, and as the force of the enemy numbered some 15,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, under one of the most active of the rebel leaders, Jubal Early, there was certainly a fair prospect of success.

Sigel was, at this time, in command of the defences of the Potomac in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, with his headquarters at Martinsburg. On the enemy's approach, Sunday morning, July 3d, Sigel retreated across the Potomac at Shepardstown; and Gen. Weber, at Harper's Ferry, crossed the river and occupied Maryland Heights. The lower counties of the Valley were now at the mercy of the enemy, and they freely helped themselves to such supplies as they could lay hands on, while their force was brought up preparatory to making heavier demands upon the farmers and storekeepers of Maryland and Pennsylvania. On the 4th of July, a party of Mosby's guerrillas crossed the Potomac to Point of Rocks, and plundered the stores of that place. The next day a squad of the rebel cavalry made their appearance before Hagerstown, and on the 6th, Ransom, with McCausland's brigade, entered the place, and demanded $20,000 from the councilmen, which were paid to save the town from being burnt. Two days afterwards, the town was again pillaged by a party of raiders under Imboden. 1864.

Grant, anxious to check, as speedily as possible, this movement of the enemy, sent the 6th corps, and the 19th corps, which had just arrived from the Gulf

* Pollard's view of matters at this date is worth quoting:—"It was evident that the spirit of the North had commenced to stagger under this accumulation of disaster. Gold had already nearly touched 300. The uneasy whispers in Washington of another draft gave new suggestions to popular discontent. . . . . The finances at Washington were becoming desperate. Mr. Chase, the secretary of the treasury, had peremptorily resigned. His last words of official counsel were, that nothing could save the finances but a series of military successes of undoubted magnitude."—"*Third Year of the War*," p. 276. Compare also, note from Swinton, on p. 443.

department, to give efficient aid in the active operations at Washington and its vicinity, for the defence of the capital and the expulsion of the rebels. The president called for 12,000 militia from Pennsylvania, 12,000 from New York, and 5,000 from Massachusetts; and Gen. Couch, at Chambersburg, and Gen. L. Wallace at Baltimore, were busily occupied in organizing and fitting troops for the field. The stores and supplies at Frederick, against which the enemy moved on the 6th of July, were brought away by the railroad to Baltimore, and the city was evacuated by our troops, who fell back to a position a few miles distant, south of the Monocacy River, at the junction of the roads to Washington and Baltimore. Wallace, with Rickett's division, and his own command, the latter mostly new and undisciplined troops, pushed out promptly from Baltimore, and met the enemy in force on the Monocacy, near the crossing of the railroad bridge. This was on Saturday, the 9th of July, and the battle which resulted lasted from nine o'clock, A.M., to five, P.M. Our troops stood their ground well, and fought bravely during a long summer day; but the superior numbers of the enemy, and the heavy losses in killed and wounded, led to an entire defeat of Wallace's force, the remnant of which reached Ellicott's Mills the next morning. One advantage resulted in our favor, viz., the detaining of the enemy, and thereby enabling Wright to reach Washington with two divisions of the 6th corps, and the advance of the 19th corps, before him.

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The rebels were now, for the present, free to continue their depredations through the central portion of Maryland, an advantage which they availed themselves of to the utmost, exacting large contributions in the small towns and driving off liberal supplies of live stock from the farmers. The country from the Potomac as far north as Westminster, and east to the line of the Central Railroad, was freely pillaged; and the drift of the rebel movement being eastwardly, Couch, on the 9th of July, took possession of Hagerstown on their flank.

From the Monocacy the rebels moved directly towards Washington. They marched by the direct route through Rockville, and onward to the vicinity of the capital, a considerable body making its appearance, on the 11th of July, in front of Fort Stevens, one of the series of works protecting Washington on the northern side. A brigade was sent to dislodge the advance of the enemy; a severe skirmish ensued, with considerable loss, and the rebels were put to rout near Silver Springs. That same night, July 12th, alarmed at the prospect of affairs, they began their retreat, and, loaded with booty, prepared to re-cross the Potomac in the vicinity of Poolesville.

"Learning the exact condition of affairs at Washington," says Grant, in his report, "I requested by telegraph, at 11.45 P.M., on the 12th, the assignment of Wright to the command of all the troops that could be made available to operate in the field against the enemy, and directed that he should get outside of the trenches with all the force

he could, and push Early to the last moment. Gen. Wright commenced the pursuit on the 13th of July; on the 18th, the enemy was overtaken at Snicker's Ferry, on the Shenandoah, when a sharp skirmish occurred; and on the 20th, Gen. Averill encountered and defeated a portion of the rebel army at Winchester, capturing four pieces of artillery and several hundred prisoners." Hunter was directed to remain in the Shenandoah Valley, and keep his troops between any force of the enemy and Washington, acting on the defensive as much as possible. 1864.

About the 25th of July, the rebels were again advancing upon Maryland and Virginia. Scattered parties began to cross the upper fords of the Potomac, and to renew their depredations. One of the most destructive of these incursions was that made upon Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on the morning of July 30th. A body of raiders, under McCausland, some 500 in number, made a dash upon the town, and demanded immediately $500,000. If the money was not furnished at once, they declared they would set fire to and burn up everything. As it was of course impossible to furnish such a sum on the instant, they proceeded, without a moment's delay, to inflict the threatened vengeance. No time was given to remove private property, and barely enough for the citizens to save their families. The town was fired in different quarters, and over 250 of its houses consumed, including all the public buildings, stores, and hotels. About two-thirds of the place was thus consumed. The pecuniary loss was estimated at over $1,000,000, a heavy disaster to a town of 6,000 inhabitants.

The occupation of Chambersburg and the conflagration were the work of but a few hours. Averill, with his cavalry, entered the place at noon, just as the enemy withdrew, and pursued them on the westerly road through McConnellsburg. The next day he followed them to the Potomac, at Hancock, where his jaded command prevented further pursuit. The destruction of Chambersburg, and other incursions across the Potomac, aroused greater activity. Kelly and Averill rendered important services in meeting and defeating the enemy at several points, and driving them, with diminished numbers, into the mountains of West Virginia. 1864.

Seeing that Petersburg was not to be taken by direct assault on our part the army was busily occupied in strengthening its lines, pushing forward entrenchments, and planting powerful batteries at convenient points, which kept up, at intervals, a destructive bombardment of the city. Our forces having been drawn in from the left for purposes of concentration, the enemy were free to repair the injuries to the Weldon Road, which was again put in working order. There were occasional reconnaissances, with skirmishing, during the greater part of the month of July, while a portion of both armies was withdrawn to the Potomac. The heat of the month, of unusual continuance without a respite, was intolerable, and was aggravated by the unintermitted drought. The work in the

trenches, meanwhile, was diligently kept up, while an extraordinary labor was being performed in the construction of a mine leading to a formidable fort of the enemy's, in front of Burnside's line, and about 2,000 yards southeast from Petersburg. The required length of the mine, to reach the point proposed, was about 500 feet. The work, in which many difficulties in the way of water, marshy grounds and quicksands had been overcome, was completed by the 25th of July, a month after its commencement, and some four tons of powder were placed in it ready for use.*

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On the night of the 26th of July, the 2nd corps and two divisions of the cavalry corps, and Kautz's cavalry, were crossed to the north bank of the James River, and joined the force which Butler had succeeded, on the 21st, in placing at Deep Bottom, and in connecting by pontoon bridges with Bermuda Hundred. On the 27th of July, the enemy was driven from his entrenched position, with the loss of four pieces of artillery. On the 28th, our lines were extended from Deep Bottom to Newmarket Road; but in getting this position the enemy attacked in heavy force. The fighting lasted for several hours, and resulted in considerable loss. The effect, however, of these movements was to induce Lee to withdraw, on the 28th and 29th of July, some 15,000 or 20,000 men from Petersburg to the defence of Richmond, in the direction of Malvern Hill. Grant thereupon determined to take advantage of the diversion thus made, by an assault upon Petersburg, before Lee could get his force back there. He accordingly withdrew one division of the 2d corps, on the night of the 28th of July, and moved it during the night to the rear of the 18th corps, in order to relieve that corps in the line, with reference to the assault to be made. The other two divisions of the 2d corps and Sheridan's cavalry were crossed over on the night of the 29th of July, and moved in front of Petersburg.

Everything was now in readiness, and it was determined to try the effect of blowing up the mine, which contained some four tons of powder, and of an assault immediately thereafter. The troops forming the assaulting column were notified that the explosion would take place between three and four o'clock on the morning of July 30th, and they were required to be fully prepared to move forward at a moment's warning. They were to sweep the hostile line, right and left, and then seize upon the crest beyond, known as "Cemetery Hill," which commanded and would secure the fall of Petersburg. At 4.42 in the morning, just as the dawn was beginning to light up the scene, the mine exploded. "A solid mass of earth, through which the exploding powder blazed like lightning playing in a bank of clouds, arose slowly some

* Lieut.-Col. Pleasants, of the 48th Pennsylvania, an experienced engineer, was the constructor of the mine. In its inception and always it was highly approved by Gen. Burnside; but at headquarters it was ridiculed rather than approved, and does not at any time seem to have been looked on with favor. Gen. Meade, however, in an order, August 5th, speaks of "the valuable services," "the skill displayed by Col. Pleasants," etc., and praises the devotion and steadiness of the men in prosecuting the work to its completion.

200 feet in the air, and, hanging visibly for a few seconds, it subsided, and a heavy cloud of black smoke floated off."* Immediately the artillery opened along the whole line, and the assaulting column, under Gen. Ledlie, advanced to the charge. On reaching the site of the fort, there was found a huge crater, 150 feet long, sixty feet wide, and about twenty-five feet deep. Here the column sought shelter, instead of instantly dashing forward and securing the ridge above alluded to. This could, at that time, have been readily done, for the rebels were paralyzed, and so remained for more than half an hour. Recovering, however, from their surprise, they took prompt measures to prevent our success, and by forming their infantry in a ravine to the right, and planting their artillery on both the right and left of the crater, they succeeded in repulsing the various efforts made by our troops for an advance. "It was now seven A.M.," says Swinton, in a rather highly colored account of the "mine fiasco," as he calls it, "more than two hours after Ledlie occupied the crater, yet he made no advance himself, and obstructed the efforts of other officers. In this state of facts, the more troops that were thrown in, the worse was the confusion; yet Gen. Burnside threw forward the black division to essay an assault. Passing beyond the crater, the colored troops made an advance towards the crest, when, encountering a fire of artillery and infantry, they retired in great disorder through the troops in the crater, and back to the original lines. After the repulse of the colored division, all semblance of offensive efforts ceased; blacks and whites tumbled pell-mell into the hollow of the exploded earthworks—a slaughter pen, in which shells and bombs, raining from the enemy's lines, did fearful havoc. Failing to advance, it soon proved almost equally difficult to retreat, though parties of tens and twenties, crawling out, ran back as best they could. The enemy then made a sally towards the crater, but was repulsed. A second assault, however, shook the disjointed structure of the hapless mass, which, without head or direction, obeyed the instinct of *sauve qui peut.* Above 4,000 were killed or captured."*

Grant's statement, in his report, is brief and expressive:—"On the morning of the 30th of July, between four and five o'clock, the mine was sprung, blowing up a battery and most of a regiment, and the advance of the assaulting column, formed of the 9th corps, immediately took possession of the crater made by the explosion, and the line for some distance to the right and left of it, and a detached line in front of it,

* In this fearful explosion, not only huge masses of earth, mingled with cannon, caissons, and camp equipage were thrown up, but there were also mingled with these the bodies and limbs of more than 200 men who were on garrison duty in the fort.

* Swinton's "*Army of the Potomac,*" p. 523. This writer is very severe in his criticism, and attributes the failure of the assault to the fact that, not the best picked men were chosen for this duty, but a portion of the 9th corps, under Burnside, a corps which he estimates as anything but the *élite* of the army. As an offset to this, the reader will find it profitable to consult Woodbury's "*Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps,*" chapters v. and vi., pp. 418–462, in which there is a full account of the mine, and of the inquiry and investigation resulting from the disaster on the 30th of July. Woodbury's narrative places Gen. Meade's conduct in no enviable light.

but for some cause failed to advance promptly to the ridge beyond. Had they done this, I have every reason to believe that Petersburg would have fallen. Other troops were immediately pushed forward, but the time consumed in getting them up enabled the enemy to rally from his surprise (which had been complete), and get forces to this point for its defence. The captured line thus held being untenable, and of no advantage to us, the troops were withdrawn, but not without heavy loss. Thus terminated in disaster what promised to be the most successful assault of the campaign."* 1864.

This last attempt on our part having met with so lamentable a failure, matters resumed their usual course in carrying on the siege against Petersburg. Grant learning by reports from various sources that Lee had detached a large body of troops to reinforce Early in the Shenandoah Valley, availed himself of the occasion to order a force to threaten Richmond from the north side of the James, in order to prevent Lee from sending off troops, and if possible to draw back those which had been sent. Accordingly, on the night of August 13th, Gregg's cavalry division and Birney's corps crossed the river on the pontoon bridge and joined Foster's brigade in its old position at Deep Bottom, while, at the same time, Hancock's corps, which had been ostentatiously sent down the river on transports, was secretly brought back and united with this force. The next day, August 14th, an oppressively hot day, both corps were engaged in a forward movement upon the enemy's entrenchments covering the road to Richmond immediately in their front. Birney was partially successful; but Hancock was repulsed in an advance upon an advantageous position of the enemy, our loss of the day being estimated at least at 1,000. On the following day, there was some heavy cavalry skirmishing on the right where Gregg's division, guarding the flank, reached the Charles City road. On Tuesday, the 16th of August, the weather still continuing oppressively hot, fighting was renewed. The enemy's line was carried; but having rallied, it was again retaken by them, the contest continuing until evening. On the night of the 18th of August, Birney's line was attacked by the rebels in heavy force; but after half an hour's fighting, they were repulsed with great loss. Gen. Miles, with two brigades, took part in the fight, attacking the enemy on his right flank. Two days later, Hancock returned, by way of Bermuda Hundred, to his old camp before Petersburg. Our loss in this movement was estimated to exceed 1,500 men. The principal advantage was, the keeping back troops under orders to march for the Valley: and the capturing six pieces of artillery and several hundred prisoners.* 1864.

The rebel commander, having withdrawn largely from Petersburg, in order

* Gen. Grant's "*Report*," p. 25. See also, on the subject of the mine at Petersburg, Coppée's "*Grant and his Campaigns*," pp. 364–373.

* About this date, August 10th, to the north of the James River a strong working party was presently engaged, under cover of our advanced batteries on that side, in digging a canal across the peninsula at Dutch Gap, for the sake of securing a nearer base of operations against Richmond.

to resist the movement above narrated, Grant determined to strike out on the left flank, which now rested within three miles of the Weldon Railroad. On the morning of August 18th, Warren moved from camp towards the Weldon Road, which he struck about noon at Six-mile Station. While Griffin's division remained there breaking up the road, Ayer's, with Crawford's and Cutter's divisions, advanced several miles beyond, and took up a position to the right and left of the railroad. Lee, aware of the vast importance of this road for his communications, ordered a determined assault to be made, and our men to be driven off. Hill's corps advanced, and charged with impetuous confidence. At first, they were successful in the assault, but afterwards were repulsed. Again and again they renewed the assault; but were in each instance driven back; and at the close of the day, Warren was in possession of the road. Resolved to hold the important advantage thus gained, Warren at night threw up entrenchments in a heavy rain. The next day, while the new line was being strengthened and reinforced to connect with the old position before the city on the right, it was again assailed in the afternoon in the midst of a heavy rainstorm by A. P. Hill, and the two right divisions of Warren's corps were driven in, and a number of prisoners captured. Wilcox's and White's commands—about 2,000 in all—of the 9th corps,* coming up at the opportune moment, and the artillery being effectively employed, the enemy was driven from the field, and the Union lines re-established. Another desperate attempt was made by the enemy on the 21st of August, to break up the line now firmly established across the railroad. An attack was made in two heavy columns, both of which were repulsed, the enemy suffering fearfully from their exposure to the fire from our works. The loss of officers on the field was large. The aggregate loss sustained by Warren in these actions was, in killed, wounded, and missing, about 4,500.

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While Warren was strengthening his position before Petersburg, a considerable body of infantry, with cavalry supports, was engaged in the destruction of the railroad below. They had been reinforced in this work in the vicinity of Ream's Station by the 2d corps, when, on the 25th of August, the enemy made a fierce and determined attack on Hancock's men. Twice the rebels were repulsed, but as A. P. Hill resolved to carry the position at all hazards, the attack was renewed about 5.30 P.M. "The enemy," says Hancock, in his report of Ream's Station, "formed in the woods, placed their artillery in position, opened a heavy cannonade, lasting about fifteen minutes, and then assaulted Miles's force. He resisted tenaciously, but the enemy broke his line. Some of Gibbons's troops were hurried over to repair the damage, and the enemy only gained a slight foothold. The fighting was continuous until dark, the enemy being held in check by artillery, dismounted cavalry and

* Gen. Burnside, after the disaster above detailed, was relieved from command of the 9th corps, on the 13th of August. He returned to Providence, R. I., and was not called again into active service during the war.

skirmishers. At dark we withdrew to a line in the rear and left of the station. . . . . This is acknowledged to have been one of the most determined and desperate fights of the war, resembling Spottsylvania in its character, though the number engaged gives less importance to it. A few more good troops would have given a victory of considerable importance." Hancock's loss numbered 2,400 in killed, wounded, and missing, out of his small command of 8,000 infantry and cavalry. Five pieces of artillery were also lost. The rebel loss is not known in numbers, but it is known that it was very severe

CHAPTER XII.

1864.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY: ACTION OF CONGRESS.

Condition of the country — Preparations for the presidential election — Apprehensions — Trials to be encountered — The Republican party at this date — Cleveland Convention, in May — Platform — Fremont and Cochrane nominated — The Union and Republican Convention at Baltimore, in June — Resolutions and platform — Lincoln and Johnson nominated — The Arguelles case — The forged proclamation — *Journal of Commerce* and *World* offices seized — Gen. Dix arrested — The Niagara Falls Conference — Longing desire for peace — Greeley and his efforts — The president's course in the matter — Raymond's remarks — Democratic Convention in Chicago, in August — Its platform — McClellan and Pendleton nominated — Action of the Thirty-eighth Congress — Appropriations, loans, internal revenue, taxation, etc. — New enrollment bill — Proposed constitutional amendment — Fugitive slave law repealed — Reconstruction of states in rebellion — Provisions of the bill — Not signed by Mr. Lincoln — His reasons, as given in a proclamation — Protest of Messrs. Wade and Davis — Day of fasting, humiliation and prayer appointed by the president.

In the history of every country where war has been prevailing for a length of time, details of military movements, and their various ramifications, necessarily occupy the larger space, and it is apt to be forgotten that the narrative of military and naval operations, important as these may be and are, affords but a partial and imperfect view of the history of the nation, in the comprehensive and proper sense of the term. The American people were now going through other trials than those of the camp and the tented field, and the discipline to which they were subjected, in God's Providence, was testing them, in various ways, and teaching them to understand and appreciate, better than ever, the blessings and privileges of freedom under the Constitution and laws of the land. We shall, then, before resuming the narrative of the further progress of the war, take this opportunity of turning aside for a while, and of devoting a chapter to some other matters than the ensanguined battle-field, matters which, although not free from connection, more

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or less direct, with war and its terrors, are of historical importance and needful to be placed on record.

It was one of the severe trials at this period in our country's history, that the time had arrived when it was necessary to go through the proper preliminaries, and then for the people, by their suffrages, to make choice of him who was to be the president of the United States from and after the 4th of March, 1865. Mr. Lincoln's term of office would expire at that date; and it was now to be determined whether he should be re-elected to carry on to its completion the present policy of the government, or whether some other citizen should be placed in this most responsible and difficult position. That such an election, always abundantly exciting, had become necessary in the midst of a civil war, when men's passions were roused to a fearful extent, was a strain upon the American system of government which foreboded dangerous and possibly fatal consequences. It was an entirely new thing in our history; wise and thoughtful men looked uneasily at the state of public affairs, and feared even more than they hoped; and many a dark cloud hung over the political horizon. "The public debt was steadily and rapidly increasing. Under the resistless pressure of military necessity, the government, availing itself of the permission of the Constitution, had suspended the great safeguard of civil freedom, and dealt with individuals, whom it deemed dangerous to the public safety, with as absolute and relentless severity as the most absolute monarchies had ever shown. Taxes were increasing; new drafts of men, to fill the ranks of new armies, were impending; the democratic party, from the very beginning hostile to the war, and largely imbued with devotion to the principle of state sovereignty on which the rebellion rested, and with toleration for slavery, out of which it grew, was watching eagerly for every means of arousing popular hatred against the government, that they might secure the transfer to their own hands; and the losses, the agonies, the desolations of the war, were beginning, apparently, to make themselves felt injuriously upon the spirit, the endurance, the hopeful resolution of the people throughout the loyal states." * Yet the duty was to be performed; it could not be evaded; and the people entered upon the work before them with a profound sense of the magnitude of the interests involved, and of the obligations resting upon them to see that the Republic suffered no harm through their negligence or lack of patriotic effort.

Preparations for the nomination of candidates were begun in the spring of 1864. For a time, there was considerable hesitation as to the course to be pursued. A portion of the party, which placed Mr. Lincoln in the presidential chair, was strongly opposed to his continuance in office. The radical and sweeping anti-slavery leaders deemed Mr. Lincoln too slow and uncertain for their wishes; active and ambitious men were dissatisfied with the president for not giving them the opportunity to advance their own as well as their country's interests; and office seekers,

* Raymond's "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p 547.

in no small number, resented the lack of discrimination at Washington in not placing them in positions of trust and emolument. As it was impossible for Mr. Lincoln to please every body among his supporters, even under the most favorable circumstances, so he offended numbers in the republican party, by declining to act upon their advice, or by determining upon great and critical measures in a way which they did not approve. It was no wonder, then, that, under the pressure of various motives and causes, efforts should be made to bring forward other prominent men, such as Secretary Chase, Gen. Grant, Gen. Fremont, etc., and to obtain for some of these the nomination in place of Mr. Lincoln.

The earliest movement of a direct kind for nominating candidates for the presidency was made by a convention which assembled at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 31st of May. Some 350 representatives or delegates met at the time appointed, having come from fifteen of the different states, and the District of Columbia. Gen. John Cochrane of New York presided. Resolutions were adopted, asserting that "the Constitution and laws of the United States must be maintained;" that "rights of free speech, free press, and the *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed;" that the rebellion has destroyed slavery, and the Federal Constitution should be amended to prohibit its re-establishment and to secure to all men absolute equality before the law; that "the national policy, known as 'The Monroe Doctrine,' has become a recognized principle; and that the establishment of an anti-republican government on this continent by any foreign power cannot be tolerated." The question of "the reconstruction of the rebellious states" was pronounced to "belong to the people through their representatives in Congress, and not to the executive;" and it was declared, "that the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice." Having passed these, among other resolutions, the convention nominated Major-General John C. Fremont for president of the United States, and Gen. John Cochrane for vice president. Fremont's letter of acceptance was dated, New York, June 4th, in reply to the letter of the nominating committee of the convention, in which he was styled "the standard bearer of the radical democracy of the country." He expressed himself strongly in hostility to the policy of President Lincoln, and approved of the platform of the convention, except the proposed confiscation. He also expressed himself ready to withdraw from the field, if the Baltimore convention should "nominate any man whose past life justified a well grounded confidence in his fidelity to our cardinal principles." *

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The Union and Republican convention met at Baltimore on the 7th of

* According to Mr. Raymond's statements, "the convention, the nomination, and the letter of acceptance fell dead upon the popular feeling. . . . The position which Fremont had here taken at once separated him from those who had been his truest friends," etc.—"*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 552. For the proceedings of the Cleveland convention, the documents, etc., in full, see McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 410–414.

June. It numbered nearly 500 delegates, who came from the various loyal states, as well as others from Tennessee, Missouri, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The convention was organized by placing ex-governor Dennison, of Ohio, in the chair, determining upon the credentials of delegates, etc. Mr. Raymond, of New York, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported, the next morning, a series of eleven resolutions, in which were clearly set forth the principles and policy of the Union and Republican party. The first resolution pledged the members and all Union men to support the government to the full in crushing the rebellion; the second applauded the determination of the government not to make any compromise with the rebels, but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor; the third called for the extirpation of slavery and an amendment to the Constitution to that effect; the fourth gave utterance to words of eulogy upon the patriotism and valor of the soldiers and sailors in the army and navy; the fifth applauded warmly Abraham Lincoln, his policy, his measures, his unselfish patriotism, etc.; the sixth urged the need of harmony in the national councils; the seventh affirmed that the government was bound to protect all those in its service, without regard to distinction of color; the eighth urged the fostering and encouraging of foreign immigration; the ninth advocated the speedy construction of the Pacific Railroad; the tenth declared the necessity of rigid economy and responsibility in regard to public expenditures, of a just system of taxation, etc.; and the eleventh advocated the "Monroe doctrine" in strong terms, not to allow any foreign interference in the affairs of the Western Continent, etc.

The resolutions were adopted with great unanimity, and Mr. Lincoln was nominated by the vote of all the delegates present, except those from Missouri, who were previously pledged to vote for Gen. Grant. After a brief contest in the convention, Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, was nominated for vice-president, in place of Hannibal Hamlin, the present incumbent. Mr. Lincoln was informed directly of the result, as was also Mr. Johnson; and both accepted their nominations.* The executive committee of the convention sent Mr. Lincoln a letter announcing the result, and the president, under date of June 27th, replied in a courteous but characteristic manner, especially thanking the convention because they had not forgotten the soldier and the sailor, who "must and will be forever remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives."

The nomination of Mr. Lincoln for a second term was, on the whole, quite acceptable to the great body of those who supported the government in its course of policy and action. The opposition, however, was active and energetic, and several of the president's acts were discussed with no friendly feeling, and censured in the bitterest terms. Among these was the case of a Cuban named Arguelles, who, at the close of

* For Andrew Johnson's letter of acceptance, and the proceedings of the convention in detail, see McPherson's "*History of the Rebellion*," pp. 403–409.

1863, had taken up his residence in New York. Early on the morning of May 11th, Arguelles was seized by authority of the president, and secretly placed on board of a steamer which sailed immediately for Havana, to be delivered up to the Spanish authorities as a criminal. Congress directly asked the president for information, and Mr. Seward furnished a report, May 30th, with the documents. According to these it appeared, that Don José Augustin Arguelles, an officer in the Spanish army in Cuba, had captured a slave expedition, while he was acting as Lieut. Gov. of the district of Colon, in Cuba. It was subsequently discovered, that he had, with the connivance of the curate of Colon, made representations to the Spanish government that 141 of the recaptured negroes had died of the small pox, though in fact, he had sold them into slavery, and succeeded in escaping to the United States, where, as above stated, he was arrested and handed over to the Cuban authorities. Arguelles had received some $15,000 as his share of the prize, and had left Cuba on leave of absence for twenty days. There being no extradition treaty between our country and Spain, the Cuban government could take no proceedings before the courts in the matter, and the only question was, whether the president would take the responsibility of arresting Arguelles and sending him back or not. Mr. Lincoln determined to assume the responsibility, and Arguelles was seized and sent off, before an appeal to any of the courts could be made in his behalf. The U. S. Marshal, Robert Murray, who effected the arrest, was indicted by the grand jury of New York for kidnapping Arguelles, and was brought before the court of sessions and held for trial.

This assumption of power on the part of the president, even his admirers admit, was of very doubtful expediency, to say the least, and it afforded the opponents of the administration abundant opportunity of denouncing those who denied the right of asylum, who exceeded the legal powers entrusted to them, who insulted the laws and courts of the land, and who thereby endangered the rights and liberties of the citizen. Mr. Seward excused the action of the president, on the ground that it was done "in virtue of the law of nations and the Constitution of the United States," and that "a nation is never bound to furnish asylums to dangerous criminals who are offenders against the human race." This excuse and defence, however, were held to be weak and insufficient, and the government suffered, to no little extent, for its action in this matter.

It had been a subject of complaint, on various occasions, against the present administration, that it was in the habit of exceeding its just prerogatives, by undue and unlawful interference with the freedom of the press. This was illustrated in the case of proceedings against two of the daily journals published in New York City, and the occasion was taken to berate the government, in the severest manner, for its tyranny and highhanded usurpation of power. It appears, that an unscrupulous but skilful fellow forged a proclamation under the name of the presi-

dent, and timed its delivery at the offices of several New York papers very late in the evening, so that it was put in type, without special examination, and appeared the next morning, May 18th, in the *Journal of Commerce* and the *World*. At the time, Grant was engaged in the bloody struggle at Spottsylvania, Sigel had been driven back, and Butler was held in check. The pretended proclamation announced that Grant's campaign was virtually closed, and that "in view of the situation in Virginia, the disaster at Red River, the delay at Charleston, and the general state of the country," the 26th day of May was to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, and a fresh draft was directly to take place of 400,000 men. The malice of this document was plain enough; it was published on the morning when the steamers sailed for Europe; and being telegraphed all over the country, before the forgery was discovered, it produced a wide-spread alarm for several days.

The action of the government was prompt and decisive. Not only was the forgery denounced instantly from Washington, but the two papers above named were seized by government orders and their publication suppressed. The author and abettors of the forged proclamation were ferreted out and sent to Fort Lafayette, and the *Journal of Commerce* and the *World* resumed their issues after a few days, it being evident that they had published the false and malicious paper through inadvertence, and not of evil purpose. As in the Arguelles case, so now, Mr. Lincoln was sharply censured for daring to interfere with the freedom of the press. The governor of New York—no friend to the administration—ordered the district attorney to take steps at once for prosecuting and punishing all who had been connected with the shutting up the newspaper offices. The matter was brought before a grand jury, which, after due consideration, deemed it best not to interfere, and reported that it was "inexpedient to examine into the subject." Gov. Seymour was not satisfied with this result, and by his direction the matter was taken in hand by the city judge, who issued warrants to arrest Gen. Dix and all the officers who had acted under his orders in the present case. Gen. Dix appeared, and the subject was ably discussed, after which the judge, on the 1st of August, gave his decision that he should hold Dix and the rest concerned for the action of the grand jury of the city and county. No further proceedings, however, were ever taken, and the whole matter rested at this point.*

Besides other causes of complaint against the administration, such as the heavy burdens of a protracted war, the slow progress of Grant, and the terrible losses incident on his movements, the call of the president, in June, for 500,000 men, the depressed state of the currency, financial derangements, etc., all of which were charged directly on President Lincoln and his

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* For the forged proclamation in full, the steps taken by Gov. Seymour in the case, the arguments of counsel, etc., see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1864, pp. 389–393.

policy. There was another affair, which occurred during the summer, and which gave the opponents of the government a capital opening to cast reproach upon it, and prophesy ruin and disgrace should it continue to rule the country. We refer to the Niagara Falls conference, and its history and results.*

Naturally enough, at this date, a very strong desire found place in the public mind for *peace*, and with many, "peace on any terms." The great length and the intense severity of the struggle had begun to tell, even upon those who were warm and hearty supporters of the administration, and it required all the nerve and strength of principle of loyal people everywhere, to bear up under the disheartening results thus far, as it seemed, of the prosecution of the war. The notion found more or less ready acceptance, at least it was persistently urged, that the rebellion could never be effectually crushed, as was the purpose of the government, that ere long our resources would be exhausted, and that, as terms of some kind would have to be made with Jeff. Davis and his co-workers, the sooner negotiations were entered upon the better. Rebel emissaries were well aware of all this, and actively engaged in furthering such notions. Davis, in his usual set phrase, kept crying aloud, that all he and the rebels wanted was, to be let alone, and to have peace. The declaration was repeated, over and over, in varied form, that *they* were never guilty of bringing on war, *they* were not the aggressors, *they* wished for and loved peace—if the barbarian invaders of the North would only let them have it!

Under the influence of this longing desire for peace, if it could only be brought about, Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, and a prominent member of the republican party, put himself in communication with certain rebel agents in Canada, viz., C. C. Clay, J. B. Holcombe, and G. N. Sanders, who professed to have powers from Davis and the rebel government to enter into negotiations looking towards peace. Under date of July 7th, Greeley wrote to the president a very earnest letter on the subject, and asked him to give heed to the matter. He reminded the president "that our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country longs for peace—shudders at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, of further wholesale devastations, and of new rivers of human blood; and a wide-spread conviction that the government and its prominent supporters are not anxious for peace, and do not improve proffered opportunities to achieve it, is doing great harm now, and is morally certain, unless removed, to do greater in the approaching elections." He also sketched a "Plan of Adjustment," and urged an offer of peace, since it might, he said, "save us from a northern insurrection."

* A similar effort to negotiate as to peace was made by two persons, J. F. Jacques, a colonel in the United States Army, and J. R. Gilmore, who obtained passage through our lines and visited Jeff. Davis at Richmond. They appear to have had a long conversation with the arch-rebel, but, as might be supposed, they were unable to convince him that the way to obtain peace was for him to lay down arms and submit to the law of the land. The visit of Messrs. Jacques and Gilmore resulted in nothing of any value. See Pollard's bitter remarks on "these two obscure Yankees, who were treated with silly distinction in Richmond."—"*Last Year of the War*," pp. 66, 67.

Mr. Lincoln, on the 9th of July, replied, that "any person any where professing to have any proposition of Jeff. Davis, in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery," should have safe conduct to meet the president, and return also in safety. A number of letters passed to and fro. Greeley thought that duly empowered commissioners were ready to proceed to Washington for a conference, which, however, turned out to be quite a mistake. The rebel agents were only "in the confidential employment of Davis, and entirely familiar with his wishes," etc. This changed the position of matters considerably, and Mr. Lincoln thereupon sent further instructions, by his private secretary, under date of July 18th, headed "To whom it may concern," as follows:—"Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways." The rebel agents took great offence at this; it, they said, "provoked as much their indignation as their surprise;" and regretting, with Greeley, "the sad termination of the initiatory steps taken for peace," in consequence, as they alleged, of the president's change of views and bad faith, they haughtily reasserted, that the rebel authorities and people would never submit, and that they would have peace on their own terms or not at all. Thus, Horace Greeley's well meant, as we think, but not very judicious effort, produced no good result, and Mr. Lincoln and his course were bitterly denounced in consequence. "The effect of this attempt at negotiation, upon the public mind," says H. J. Raymond, "was, for the moment, unfavorable to the Union cause. The people, responding heartily to the demand of the Baltimore platform, that no peace should be accepted by the government on any terms short of an unconditional surrender, were distrustful of negotiations which might look to some other issues. The charge of bad faith urged against the president stimulated the opposition, and, in the absence of facts, embarrassed his supporters; while the fact, that Mr. Lincoln insisted upon the abandonment of slavery as one of the conditions of peace, was cited by the opponents of his administration as proof that the object of the war was changed, and that it was to be waged hereafter, not solely for the preservation of the Union, but for the emancipation of the slaves. In the absence of any opposing candidate, these and countless other charges were urged against the administration with marked effect, and added very materially to the popular despondency which the lack of military success had naturally engendered." *

* Raymond's "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 590. Mr. R. gives all the letters, documents, etc. (pp. 571-590), in connection with this matter; and, after a review of Mr. Greeley's course and conduct, and the harm which was done by him, affirms, that "it is due to justice, as well as to Mr. Lincoln, that impressions so

The democratic party, which had delayed its convention to the end of the month of August, was encouraged by the existing condition of political and other affairs, to go forward and secure the present favorable opening for making its nomination for the presidency. The National Democratic convention met at Chicago, on the 29th of August, and was organized by placing Gov. Seymour, of New York, in the chair. His opening speech was strongly denunciatory of the government, and called imperatively for a change. "The democratic party," he said, "will restore the Union, because it longs for its restoration; it will bring peace, because it loves peace; it will bring back liberty to our land, because it loves liberty; it will put down despotism, because it hates the ignoble tyranny which now degrades the American people. . . . . This administration cannot now restore the Union if it would. It has, by its proclamations, by vindictive legislation, and by displays of hate and passion, placed obstacles in its own pathway which it cannot overcome. It has hampered its own freedom of action by unconstitutional ties."

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The platform of the convention was contained in a number of resolutions, which were adopted. The second of these set forth the spirit and object of the democratic party, as follows:— "*Resolved*, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare, demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the states." The other resolutions were strongly condemnatory of the government, on the ground of its military interference with elections, its arbitrary arrests, suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, denial of the right of asylum, shameful disregard of duty in respect to those who were prisoners among the rebels, etc. The final resolution extended "the sympathy of the democratic party to the soldiers of our army and the seamen of our navy," and promised that, in case this party came into power, they should "receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic have so nobly earned."

Gen. G. B. McClellan was nominated for president, and G. H. Pendleton for vice-president, and the party expected to be able to carry the election in their favor. McClellan, in his letter accepting the nomination, gave expression to sentiments in respect to the war, etc., which were far from agreeable to men

injurious and so false should no longer prevail." See also, Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*," for 1864, pp. 780–783.

of the Vallandingham type and the ultra peace democrats; yet, as he was the most available candidate they could secure, they determined to push forward the canvass with the utmost vigor and skill,—with what success we shall see by and by.*

In a previous chapter, (see p. 388) we have given an abstract of the opening proceedings and the general tone and tendency of the action of Congress. The session was a long one, reaching into July, 1864, at a period of the deepest interest and importance in the history of the war. The opponents of the administration were diligent in striving to ward off the penalties of confiscation, and to impede and defeat the various anti-slavery measures, which were steadily gaining ground in public estimation, as our armies moved onward in the work of suppressing the rebellion. Several resolutions, offered at different times, in the nature of overtures of "peace negotiations" with the rebel authorities at Richmond, were promptly laid on the table by a decided and decisive vote. Though much time was spent in discussion over the preservation, to the states in rebellion, of their former rights under the Constitution, and the policy of arming and freeing the negro population, yet in the end the result was substantially the same. The government was sustained in its various measures for pushing forward the war, and adequate means were provided for carrying out these measures in the field.* Relying upon the support and confidence of the national legislature, and of the people of the loyal states, there was a disposition, on the part of the government, to relax a portion of its severity against those who opposed and vilified its action and purpose; and it was deemed not only safe, but every way proper, to allow large and comparatively full liberty to such as desired to express sentiments, and even indulge in action, hostile to the principles and policy of Mr. Lincoln and his supporters. The men who advocated loudly and persistently "peace-at-any-price," were not disturbed in any efforts they chose to make in order to carry out their views; and when the notorious Vallandingham (p. 340) saw fit to venture upon a return to Ohio, and enter upon his former work of enmity to the administration and its course, he was tacitly permitted by the authorities at Washington to pursue the path which pleased him best, without let or hindrance on their part.

The action of the preceding Congress had provided liberally for the prosecution of the war, leaving but little for the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress to do, except to continue the

* "The action of this convention was eminently cheering to the friends of the administration. It was more open and honest than they had anticipated; it avowed sentiments which, though entertained, it was feared would be concealed. The whole tone of the convention had been in opposition to the popular feeling on the war. The ultra peace men had been prominent in its deliberations. Vallandingham, Harris, Long, Pendleton, men who had done their utmost to help on the rebellion and hamper the government, had been its ruling spirits. The tone of its speeches had been in entire sympathy with the rebels, for whom no words of reproof were uttered, while they were unmeasured in their denunciation of Mr. Lincoln and his administration."—Raymond's "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 593.

* For several resolutions adopted by Congress, and strongly in support of the government and its policy, see pp. 393, 394.

course of action marked out, to amend its legislation, where necessary, etc. The additional measures entered upon were for securing increased revenues, granting new facilities for enlistments, and sanctioning the policy of the administration in regard to slavery. An ample appropriation bill, meeting the demands of the secretaries of war and the navy, was passed; new loans were authorized; a new tariff act largely increased the duties on imports, and an internal revenue law augmented licenses and taxes. Various special taxes were imposed on manufactures and articles of luxury, and the annual assessment on incomes was increased from three to five per cent. on returns between $600 and $5,000; from five to seven and a half per cent. on returns between $5,000 and $10,000, and to ten per cent. on all excess over the last sum. A special war tax of five per cent. in addition to the three per cent. already levied, was ordered on the incomes of the year 1863. This last item, it was subsequently calculated, would produce $35,000,000.

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A new enrollment act, approved July 4th, 1864, supplementary to an amended enrollment bill, passed in February, had placed the whole population of the country, between the ages of twenty and forty-five, not physically or otherwise disqualified from bearing arms, at the disposal of the president. He was authorized to call, at his discretion, for any number of volunteers for one, two, or three years, and in case the quotas assigned to the several districts were not forthcoming at the end of fifty days, he was directed then to order a draft for one year, to fill such quota or any deficient portion of it. In case of such draft no payment of money was to be received as commutation for the service; but a substitute might be provided by the person drafted. Volunteers, under this act, were to receive government bounties of $100, $200, and $300, according to their term of service of one, two, or three years. Clergymen were not exempted, but conscientious and consistent members of religious denominations, whose rules prohibit the bearing of arms were, according to the provisions of the act in February, when drafted, to be considered non-combatants, and assigned to hospital or other duty, or released on payment of $300. The distinction of classes, with respect to age and married and unmarried persons within the period exposing to service, was abolished by the act of February. By the last mentioned act, all able bodied male persons of African descent, between the ages of twenty and forty-five, resident in the United States, whether citizens or not, were ordered to be enrolled. If a slave of a loyal master was thus drafted, the bounty of $100 was to be paid to the master; on the latter freeing the slave mustered into the service, he was to be awarded a sum not exceeding $300. The supplementary act made it lawful for the executive of any other state to send recruiting agents into any of the states declared to be in rebellion, except the states of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana, and to recruit volunteers to be credited to the state procuring such enlistment.

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Various steps were taken with refer-

ence to the final extinction of slavery, which was now considered by the whole country to be doomed to destruction as the inevitable result of the war. The most noticeable measure on this subject before Congress, at its present session, was the proposition to submit to the action of the several states an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting the existence of slavery within the states and territories of the Union forever.

On the 8th of April, 1864, the joint resolution proposing this amendment for the ratification of the state legislatures (three-fourths being necessary to give it effect) was passed in the Senate, by a vote of 38 to 6. It was taken up in the House on the 31st of May, and discussed with much earnestness during the following two weeks. The vote was taken on the 15th of June, and resulted in ayes 93, nays 65. Less than two-thirds being in favor of the joint resolution, it failed to pass the House, and the matter went over to the next session.

On the 13th of June, a bill was passed by the House to repeal the odious fugitive slave law. The vote was 82 to 58. Two days later it was introduced into the Senate and referred to the committee on slavery and freedmen. A vote was reached on the 23d of June, and the bill received 27 ayes to 12 nays.

The question of state reconstruction, as the states in rebellion might be brought under the national authority, was much discussed in Congress, and the views of the majority in both Houses were finally expressed in the passage of a bill on this subject, on the last day of the session. This bill provided that the president should appoint, for each of the states declared in rebellion, a provisional governor, who should be charged with the civil administration of the state until a state government should be organized, and such other civil officers as were necessary for the civil administration of the state; that as soon as military resistance to the United States should be put down, and the people had sufficiently returned to their obedience, the government should make an enrollment of the white male citizens, specifying which of them had taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and if those who had taken it were a majority of the persons enrolled, he should order an election for delegates to a constitutional convention, to be elected by the loyal white male citizens of the United States, aged twenty-one years, and resident in the district for which they voted, or absent in the Army of the United States, and who had taken the oath of allegiance prescribed by the act of Congress, July 2d, 1862; that this convention should declare, on behalf of the people of the state, their submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and adopt the following provisions, prescribed by Congress in the execution of its constitutional duty to guarantee to every state a republican form of government, viz:—"*First*—No person who has held or exercised any office, civil or military, except offices ministerial, and military offices below the grade of colonel, state or confederate, under the usurping power, shall vote for or be a

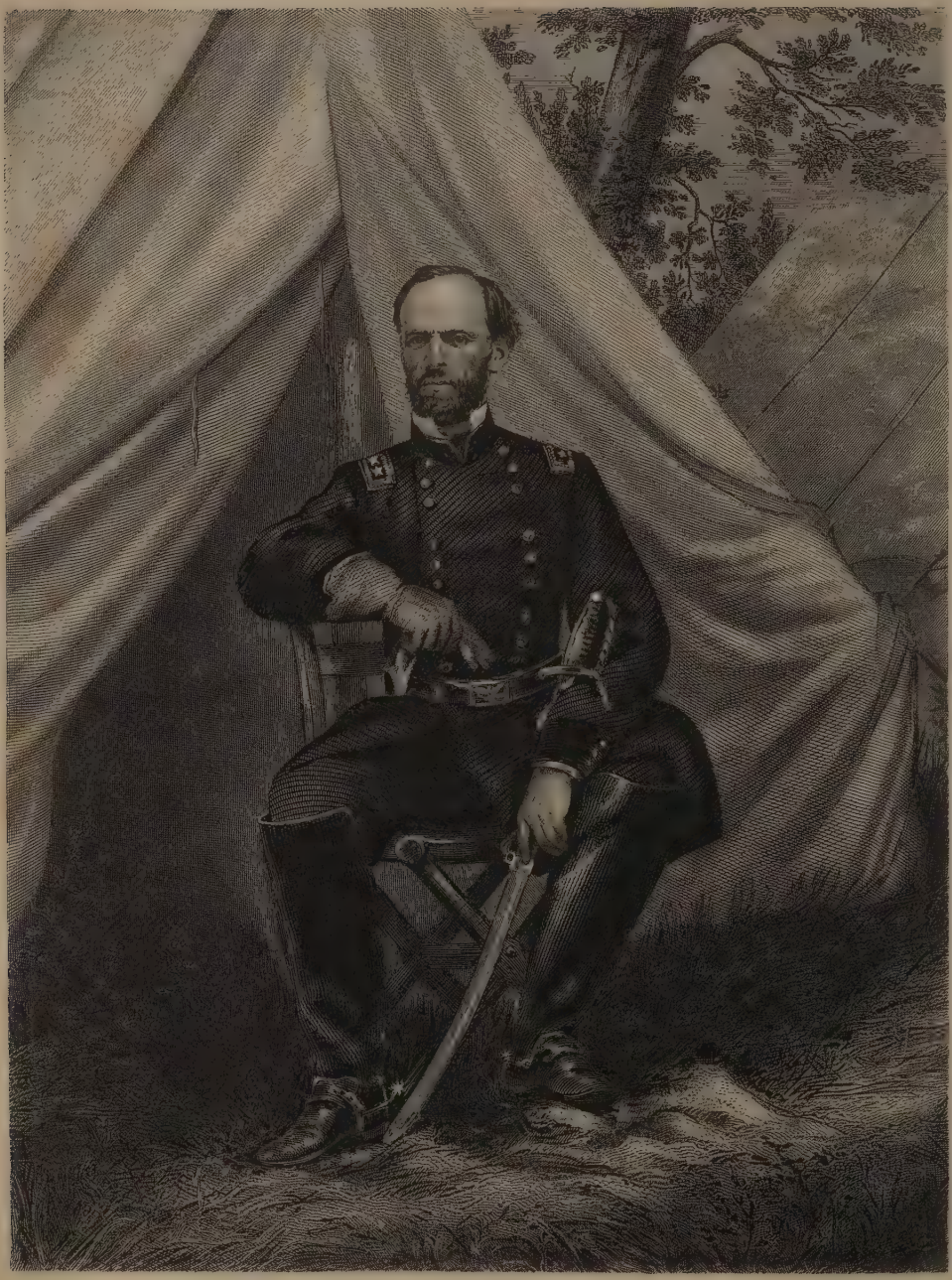
member of the legislature or governor. *Second*—Involuntary servitude is forever prohibited, and the freedom of all persons is guaranteed in said state. *Third*—No debt, state or confederate, created by or under the sanction of the usurping power, shall be recognized or paid by the state."

The bill further provided, that when a constitution was formed and adopted by the popular vote, the governor should certify the president of the fact, who, after obtaining the assent of Congress, should recognize the state government as established, and from that date senators and representatives, as well as electors for president and vice-president, should be elected in the state. Further provisions were made in case any difficulty should occur in carrying out the measures above ordered, for the administration of the state government in the meantime, for the abolition of slavery, etc.

This bill, as passed by Congress, was received by the president just at its close, and as he did not affix his signature to it, it failed to become a law. Mr. Lincoln gave his reasons for not signing the bill in a proclamation issued on the 8th of July.*

A few days before the adjournment of Congress a resolution was passed, requesting the president, in view of the state and condition of the country, to appoint a day to be observed throughout the land as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. The president accordingly appointed as such day, the first Thursday in August, which received at the people's hands its due and proper consideration.

* This proclamation of Mr. Lincoln called forth an energetic protest, emanating from Senator Wade, chairman of the Senate Committee, and H. W. Davis, chairman of the House Committee. They held that Mr. Lincoln had exceeded his powers and dealt unfairly and unhandsomely by the supporters of the administration. For the protest, see Appleton's *"American Annual Cyclopædia"* for 1864, pp. 307–310.



W. T. Sherman

From the original painting by Nast in the possession of the publishers

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CHAPTER XIII.

1864.

SHERMAN IN GEORGIA: ATLANTA OCCUPIED.

Gen. Sherman in command of the southern and western part of the field — His effective helpers — Atlanta his objective point — Its important and valuable position — Sherman's task no light one — His army in motion — Buzzard's Roost Gap — Johnston falls back — Hooker's encounter with the rebels at New Hope Church — Allatoona Pass turned by Sherman's strategy — Kenesaw Mountains — Sherman's attack — Heavy loss — Marietta secured — Johnston retreats to Atlanta — Rousseau's cavalry expedition — Hood succeeds Johnston as rebel commander — Attack on Sherman — Rebel line driven in — Bloody battle of July 22d — The brave Gen. McPherson killed — Garrard's cavalry on the Augusta Road — Stoneman's and McCook's extensive expeditions — Not successful — Sherman's flank movement — Gets between Hood and Hardee — Atlanta evacuated — Hood retreats — Sherman's congratulatory order — Resolves to occupy Atlanta simply as a military post — Letters to Hood and Calhoun — Families furnished with transportation — J. H. Morgan's last raid into Kentucky — Killed at Greenville, Tennessee.

HERETOFORE we have gone as much into details as was possible, being desirous to afford the reader a tolerably full account of the progress of the rebellion, and of the steps taken to put it down; but, as our remaining limits warn us to use greater brevity, we shall not undertake to describe at any length the great and closing campaigns of Sherman and Grant. Nor is this to be regretted. The rebellion was now fast approaching its end; its strength was well nigh exhausted; desperate but fitful efforts were all that it could make; and by the early spring of the next year, its military power and consequence were utterly broken, and with these perished all pretence to any further life in the flaunting and boastful "Confederacy."

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Gen. Grant, as we have seen (p. 421), having taken command of all the armies of the United States, and having concluded to give his personal attention to the Army of the Potomac and its important work, left the southern and western part of the great field in the hands of one of the bravest and most skilful officers in the entire service. This was Gen. W. T. Sherman, who, by order of the war department, March 12th, was placed in command of the military division of the Mississippi, comprising the departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas. Gen. J. B. McPherson, who also ranked very highly in Gen. Grant's estimation, was assigned to the command of the department and Army of the Tennessee. Gen. Thomas was in command of the Army of the Cumberland, at Chattanooga, and Gen. Schofield of the Army of the Ohio, at Knoxville. By a subsequent order, in April, Gen. Hooker was placed in command of the 11th and 12th consolidated corps; Gen. Howard was assigned to the command of the 4th corps; and

Gen. Schofield to the 23d corps. Relying on the co-operation of these and other tried officers in the field, including Gens. Blair, Palmer, Logan, Stoneman, etc., Gen. Sherman, at the beginning of the month of May, and simultaneously with the advance of the Army of the Potomac, already narrated, began that campaign destined to become famous in our annals, and fearfully crushing in its effects upon the rebellion.

Next to Richmond, Atlanta—the objective point of Sherman's present campaign—was the most important position, as a centre of military operations for the rebels, and it was determined to make especially vigorous efforts to deprive them of these their last, most valuable strongholds. Atlanta, from its admirably protected situation, had been chosen at the outset, as a great military depot of supplies and materials, and a vast workshop for the purposes of war. Here were arsenals, foundries, furnaces, rolling-mills, machine-shops, laboratories, factories, which had been for three years past, and were now, busily engaged in furnishing the munitions of war for the rebels. Here was the best rolling-mill in the South, which had been turning out iron rails for roads and armor plating for iron-clads, the latter in great abundance. Here were factories for shot and shell, for powder, and for equipments of all kinds needful in war; and some 2,000 men were kept steadily occupied in the various public workshops. But, further than this, Atlanta was one of the chief railroad centres in the insurgent states. Northerly ran the Western and Atlantic Road to Chattanooga. South-westerly, the Atlanta, West Point, and Montgomery Road, connecting the former point with the capital of Alabama, thence with Mobile on the south, and with the whole Mississippi Valley on the west. South-easterly ran the important road to Macon, and thence to Savannah; easterly, the road to Augusta, and again to Savannah and Charleston. There was also another important advantage which Atlanta presented. The principal military point in all the neighboring mountain region was Chattanooga. Its chief value, however, lay in its defensive relation to East Tennessee, because from that point a column could easily be thrown upon the communications of any hostile force which had passed through the mountain gaps to ravage the interior of the state. Accordingly, it was the key of all that was behind, and closed up that region from assault. But for penetrating Central Georgia, Atlanta formed the true, proper starting point. Atlanta was essentially the door of Georgia, as Chattanooga of Tennessee. Unless it were taken possession of by our forces, only cavalry could be used further south, and their raids would have to be hurried, brief, and always dangerous. Even a movable column of infantry, as in the case of Sherman's march from Vicksburg to Meridian (p. 404), would encounter great peril, as an army in Atlanta could harass its rear. Between these two main points, Chattanooga and Atlanta, extend the Alleghanies, ridging the whole face of the country into a mountainous forma-

tion. Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge, Taylor's Ridge, John's Mountain, Dug-Down Mountain, and other parallel ranges, break up the region lying between the Tennessee and the Chattahoochie. So long as Chattanooga was Sherman's base, the rebels could fight him with great advantage to themselves. But, Atlanta once acquired, it would become the new, advanced position from whence to operate, and his rear would be entirely secure.

It was no light task which Sherman had before him, to pass over a track of 138 miles by the route of the railroad, and overcome the numerous obstacles in his path. Opposed to his advance was the rebel army, under J. E. Johnston, second only to that of Lee in Virginia, and officered by experienced leaders, as Polk, Hardee, Hood, and others. In point of numbers, Sherman's force was much superior. He had nearly 100,000 men, with 254 guns. Of these, 60,000, with 130 guns, were in Thomas's Army of the Cumberland. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee numbered nearly 25,000, with 96 guns; and Schofield's Army of the Ohio numbered about 14,000, with 28 guns. The rebel force was estimated, by Gen. Sherman, at 58,000, including 10,000 cavalry, under Wheeler.* But, as an offset, the rebels had every advantage of position, thorough knowledge of the ground, interior line of communication, etc.; while Sherman, at every move, departed further from his base, and risked all on the issue of the campaign.

* Pollard reports Johnston's army at, artillery and infantry, 40,900; cavalry, about 4,000.—"*Last Year of the War*," p. 48.

Under this state of affairs, Sherman prepared for active, energetic work. The advance from Chattanooga was begun on the 2d of May, the army moving in three columns, Gen. Thomas in front, Gen. Schofield on the left, and Gen. McPherson on the right. No resistance was offered until our troops came near Buzzard's Roost, thirty-five miles from Chattanooga, and guarded on the west by Rocky Faced Ridge, a steep height of several hundred feet for some twenty miles in length. On the 9th of May, a part of Hooker's army attempted to gain position on this ridge, and assaulted the rebel works, under a murderous fire. The line was carried, but was held for only a brief space. With the rebels on this crest, guarding the passage to Dalton, no efforts to capture or hold Buzzard's Roost Gap were at all practicable. Our loss, on the 8th and 9th of May, was about 800. 1864.

McPherson, meanwhile, was making his way by Snake Creek Gap below, through Rocky Faced Ridge, to Sugar Valley on the east, opening upon Resaca, on the railroad, eighteen miles south of Dalton. Schofield also, closing in on the flank from Cleveland, Johnston abandoned Dalton, and fell back to Resaca. On the 12th of May, Sherman ordered a movement against Resaca, which was bravely carried; two days later, the rebels were found in a strong position behind Camp Creek; and on the afternoon and evening of the 15th, a heavy battle ensued. Johnston escaped during the night, and immediate pursuit was ordered.

During several days following, from

the 16th to the 19th of May, Gens. Thomas, McPherson and Schofield pushed forward by different roads, and met with encouraging success. Kingston was passed through on the 18th (seventy-nine miles south of Chattanooga), and on the 19th, the rebels retreated across the Etowah River, near Cartersville, twelve miles further south on the railroad. Sherman now gave the troops a few days needed rest, and had supplies brought forward. Satisfied that Johnston would check his advance at the Allatoona Pass, Sherman resolved to turn it by a circuit to the right. On the 23d of May, the army was put in motion for Dallas. Two days after, Gen. Hooker met a body of the enemy, while he was pushing forward to secure a point known as New Hope Church, where three roads meet from Ackworth, Marietta, and Dallas. A sharp engagement ensued, and Sherman's plans were considerably interfered with by the resistance of the enemy, entrenched in front of the roads leading from Dallas to Marietta. On the 28th of May, the rebels ventured an attack on McPherson at Dallas, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Sherman, by gradually moving his force to the left, was able, on the 1st of June, to occupy all the roads leading back to Allatoona and Ackworth. He then pushed Stoneman's cavalry into Allatoona (ninety-eight miles from Chattanooga), at the east end of the Pass, and Garrard's cavalry around by the rear, to the west end of Pass. Thus was accomplished Sherman's real purpose of turning the Allatoona Pass.

Having ordered the railroad bridge over the Etowah to be rebuilt, Sherman, on the 4th of June, moved directly upon Ackworth, compelling thereby Johnston to abandon New Hope Church, and occupying Ackworth on the 6th of June. On the 9th, a forward movement of five miles was made, to Big Shanty. Between this and Marietta (twenty miles from Atlanta), is a mountainous region with three prominent summits, Kenesaw, Pine and Lost Mountains, covering perfectly the town of Marietta and the railroad back to the Chattahoochie. Johnston had determined to make a stand here, and, accordingly, had covered the lofty hills and summits with batteries, and set his men at work in felling trees, digging pits, and preparing for the severe struggle at hand. Signal stations, at various points, enabled the rebels to watch Sherman's advance to good effect. The rebel front extended westward from the railroad about three miles, comprising several successive lines of entrenchments. McPherson moved towards Marietta, his right on the railroad, Thomas on Kenesaw and Pine Mountains, and Schofield toward Lost Mountain. By the 11th of June, dispositions were made to break the line between Kenesaw and Pine Mountains. For several days, the enemy were pressed at all points with vigor and success. The works on Pine Mountain were abandoned on the 14th of June, and those on Lost Mountain on the 17th, and the next day possession was secured of the Dallas and Marietta Road. The weather, at the time, was very bad, and it showed the spirit and energy of our troops that there was no cessation of

continual skirmishing and harassing the rebels in their mountain fastnesses.

Johnston drew in his left flank towards Kenesaw, covering Marietta and his important communications with the Chattahoochie River. On the 22d of June, the rebels made an attack on our troops at Kulp House; but were speedily repulsed with heavy loss. Sherman, on studying the ground, had no alternative but to assault the rebel lines, or turn their position. He resolved on the former, and accordingly, on the 27th of June, a vigorous assault was made. It resulted, however, we are sorry to say, in failure and heavy loss; Gens. Harker and McCook were killed, and our entire loss numbered 3,000. The next step was to turn the enemy's left, the movements for which, on the 1st and 2d of July, were noted by the rebel commander, who at once abandoned Kenesaw. Thomas's whole line was moved forward in pursuit toward the Chattahoochie, and on the morning of the 3d of July, Gen. Sherman entered Marietta. During the retreat about 2,000 prisoners were captured.

The rebel general endeavored to make a stand at the Chattahoochie, where he had constructed a strong *tête de pont*, with an advanced line at Smyrna. Sherman, by his excellent strategy, forced Johnston across the river, and while leading him to suppose that the purpose was to turn his *left* flank, Sherman pushed forward really against Johnston's *right* flank. For several days, energetic movements were in progress, and Johnston soon took the alarm. On the 9th of July, he retreated to Atlanta, burned his bridges, and left Sherman undisputed master, north and west, of the Chattahoochie.*

Thus, one principal object of the campaign was accomplished, the advancement of our lines from the Tennessee to the Chattahoochie; but Atlanta, only eight miles distant, was yet to be taken; and Sherman could not rest till his great work was accomplished. The troops needing repose after their severe labors, they remained in camp on the Chattahoochie until the 16th of July. The next day a general advance was made, the river was crossed, and a line formed along the Old Peach Tree Road. McPherson, and his fellow workers, Thomas and Schofield, under Sherman's direction, continued their movements from different points, and everywhere found the enemy in more or less force, skirmishing frequently and heavily.

Great complaints having been made against the rebel Gen. Johnston, seeing that he had done little else than retreat before Sherman's advance, he was removed by Jeff. Davis from command, and J. B. Hood put in his place, July 18th. This latter was the impersonation of the impetuous, dashing "chivalry" of the South; and it was confidently ex-

* On the 10th of July, Sherman sent a force of about 2,000 cavalry, under Gen. Rousseau, from Decatur, Alabama, to cut the Montgomery and Opelika Railroad, and destroy Johnston's source of supply from this quarter. Rousseau, as Gen. Sherman states, "fulfilled his orders and instructions to the very letter, whipping the rebel Gen. Clinton *en route;* he passed through Talladega, and reached the railroad on the 16th, about twenty-five miles west of Opelika, and broke it well up to that place; also three miles of the branch toward Columbus, and two toward West Point. He then turned north, and brought his command safely to Marietta, arriving on the 22d, having sustained a trifling loss, not to exceed thirty men."

pected that, discarding Johnston's Fabian policy, Hood would speedily teach Sherman some bitter lessons, and as he phrased it, "wrest his country from the grasp of the invader."* On the 20th of July, all the armies had closed in, converging towards Atlanta; but as Hood had discovered a point in the line weaker than the rest, he resolved to commence the new system which he proposed to introduce, viz., of taking the offensive, and making a sudden, overwhelming attack upon our men. Accordingly about four P.M., of the 20th, he sallied out from his works in force and attacked Sherman's right centre. The blow was heavy and wholly unexpected, and for several hours the battle raged fiercely, Hooker's corps being especially exposed; but Hood was defeated, with a loss of probably 5,000, whereas Sherman's did not exceed 1,500. During the 21st of July, a division of the 17th corps, under Leggett, drove the enemy from a high hill to the south and east of the railroad, and thereby obtained a commanding position, within easy view of the very heart of the city. The rebels fought desperately to retake the hill, but without success, and McPherson immediately threw out working parties to occupy it with strong batteries.

The rebels having, on the 22d of July, abandoned their advanced line of works, Sherman at first thought that they meant to give up Atlanta without further contest; but this was not so. Hood was manœuvring in order to induce Sherman to advance rapidly, and thereby afford him an opportunity to make a sudden and crushing assault upon our troops. Sherman pushed forward his force, thus favoring in part Hood's wishes; but he was by no means unaware that the rebel commander intended to fight, and he continued his dispositions for pressing the city on its eastern and southern fronts. During the forenoon, Sherman met McPherson and had a conference with him on some points of importance. Shortly afterwards, Gen. McPherson was killed. It appears that, in some way, unattended by his staff, which had been sent off on duty in various directions, he had fallen in with the rebel skirmishers, and refusing to surrender, had been shot down, —a loss particularly severe just at this time.*

The battle, which had been begun by the enemy's attack on Sherman's left flank, raged violently during the remainder of the day. The rebels fought with persistency and even fury; while their assaults were met by our men, who stubbornly refused to give way. The details are fully given in Gen. Sherman's report, to which the reader is

* Pollard, in his spiteful way, says: "Johnston was removed, and Lieut.-Gen. Hood put in command of the army, President Davis declaring that if the people wanted 'a fighting general,' they should have such in this man, who was brave, headstrong, incompetent; who had the heart of a lion, but, unfortunately, with it *a head of wood*."—"*Last Year of the War*," p. 86.

* "Among the dead," are Sherman's few, expressive words, in his report, "was Major-General McPherson, whose body was recovered and brought to me in the heat of battle, and I had it sent in charge of his personal staff back to Marietta, on its way to his northern home. He was a noble youth, of striking personal appearance, of the highest professional capacity, and with a heart abounding in kindness that drew to him the affections of all men." Gen. Grant, in his report, speaks of the "brave, accomplished, and noble-hearted McPherson," p. 34.

referred. This battle of the 22d of July, we may here mention, was by far the most bloody which had as yet been fought in Georgia. Sherman's loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 3,722. The rebel loss was much heavier, over 3,000 being killed, and some 5,000 or 6,000 wounded and made prisoners.

On the 21st of July, Sherman detached Gen. Garrard's cavalry to go to Covington, on the Augusta Road, forty-two miles east of Atlanta, and from that point to send detachments to break the two important bridges across the Yellow and Ulcofauhatchee Rivers, tributaries of the Ocmulgee. The work was thoroughly performed, and immense damage was inflicted on the rebels. Garrard returned in safety on the 24th of July. Sherman next determined to cripple the Macon Road, the only avenue by which the rebels obtained stores and ammunition. Two large bodies of cavalry were organized for this purpose, under Stoneman and McCook. Stoneman's force amounted to 5,000, McCook's to 4,000, and Sherman considered that between them the rebels under Wheeler could be disposed of, and their work effectually accomplished. These well appointed forces were to move in concert, the one to the left to McDonough, the other to the right by Fayetteville; both were to meet on the Macon Road near Lovejoy's, on the night of July 28th, and destroy it completely. Stoneman was not successful in his portion of the task, and was taken prisoner with several hundred men, the rest of his force managing to escape. McCook did better, but was not successful to the extent which Sherman expected. As a whole, the raid was rather a failure, and the rebel communications were only temporarily interrupted.

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Steadily pursuing his purpose, Sherman, early in August, extended his right in order to flank Hood in that direction; but the rebel commander, having interior lines and impregnable works, acted on the defensive entirely, and could not be assaulted to advantage. This led Sherman to resolve on a new movement, which virtually involved raising the siege of Atlanta, and by which, marching to the south and south-west of the city, he meant to break up the roads and means of communication of the rebels. Setting a battery at work on Atlanta, Sherman proceeded to carry out his movement, much to the surprise of the enemy, watching him, who thought that he might be retreating. On the morning of August 28th, the Armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee devoted themselves to the destroying the West Point Railroad. It was done with a will, as Sherman said, and over twelve miles were destroyed, the rails being heated and twisted in the most effectual manner, and some torpedoes and shells being left to explode in case of any attempt at repairing the road. On the 30th of August, the army again moved southeasterly to strike the Macon Road, from Rough and Ready to Jonesboro. A severe engagement took place with Hardee's troops, in which the enemy lost very heavily. Sherman was in hope of closing in upon the rebels, and an assault was made, September 1st,

on their works at Jonesboro, with Howard's corps. The other corps did not get up in time, and Hardee, during the night, fell back seven miles to Lovejoy's and entrenched himself.

Hood was astounded on ascertaining the true position of affairs, and that our army was between him and Hardee. He at once ordered an evacuation of Atlanta, and the destruction of such supplies and ammunition as could not be carried away. Fire was applied about midnight, September 1st, and explosions of ordnance trains were heard for miles in every direction. Gen. Slocum, the next morning at nine o'clock, entered the city without opposition, and the national flag waved over the rebel stronghold.

Hood marched towards McDonough, and soon after formed a junction with Hardee and Lee. Sherman followed, on the 2d of September, but did not attack the rebels in their strongly fortified position. On the 4th, he began his march to Atlanta, and in a few days the armies were encamped around the city.*

As giving a comprehensive summary of the striking incidents of this campaign, we may quote Gen. Sherman's words, in his congratulatory order, dated at Atlanta, September 8th: "The officers and soldiers of the Armies of the Cumberland, Ohio, and Tennessee, have already received the thanks of the nation, through its President and Commander-in-Chief; and it now remains only for him who has been with you from the beginning, and who intends to stay all the time, to thank the officers and men for their intelligence, fidelity and courage displayed in the campaign of Atlanta. On the 1st of May, our armies were lying in garrison, seemingly quiet from Knoxville, and our enemy lay behind his rocky-faced barrier at Dalton, proud, defiant and exulting. He had had time, since Christmas, to recover from his discomfiture on the Mission Ridge, with his ranks filled and a new commander-in-chief, second to none of the Confederacy in reputation for skill, sagacity, and extreme popularity. All at once our armies assumed life and action and appeared before Dalton; threatening Rocky Face, we threw ourselves upon Resaca, and the rebel army only escaped by the rapidity of its retreat, aided by the numerous roads with which he was familiar, and which were strange to us. Again, he took post in Allatoona, but we gave him no rest; and by a circuit toward Dallas, and subsequent movement to Ackworth, we gained the Allatoona Pass. Then followed the eventful battles about Kenesaw, and the escape of the enemy across Chattahoochie River. The crossing of the Chattahoochie and breaking of the Augusta Road was most handsomely executed by us, and

* Wheeler, with the rebel cavalry, did some mischief to Sherman's railroad communication, but the roads were repaired about as fast as he broke them. On the 15th of September, as Sherman stated, the roads and telegraph were in order, and the cars running with regularity and speed. It may be mentioned here, that, during the operation of this campaign, expeditions were sent out from Memphis and Vicksburg to check any movements of the enemy's forces in Mississippi upon our communications. The manner in which this object was accomplished reflected credit upon Gens. A. J. Smith, Washburn, Slocum, and Mower; and although Gen. Sturgis's expedition was less successful than the others, it assisted in the main object to be accomplished.

will be studied as an example in the art of war. At this stage of our game, our enemies, dissatisfied with their old and skilful commander, selected one more bold and rash. New tactics were adopted. Hood first boldly and rapidly, on the 20th of July, fell on our right at Peachtree Creek, and lost. Again, on the 22d, he struck our extreme left, and was severely punished; and finally again, on the 28th, he repeated the attempt on our right, and that time must have been satisfied, for since that date he has remained on the defensive. We slowly and gradually drew our lines from Atlanta, feeling for the railroads which supplied the rebel army and made Atlanta a place of importance. We must concede to our enemy that he met these efforts patiently and skilfully, but at last he made the mistake we had waited for so long, and sent his cavalry to our rear, far beyond the reach of recall. Instantly our cavalry was on his only remaining road, and we followed quickly with our principal army, and Atlanta fell into our possession as the fruit of well concerted measures, backed by a brave and confident army. This completed the grand task which had been assigned us by our government, and your general again repeats his personal and official thanks to all the officers and men composing this army, for the indomitable courage and perseverance which alone could give success. We have beaten our enemy on every ground he has chosen, and have wrested from him *his own Gate City*, where were located his foundries, arsenals, and workshops, deemed secure on account of their distance from our base, and the seemingly impregnable obstacles supervening. Nothing is impossible to an army like this, determined to vindicate a government which has rights wherever our flag has once floated, and is resolved to maintain them at any and all costs."

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Gen. Sherman, in view of the exigencies of the case, determined to remove the citizens of Atlanta, and garrison it strictly as a military post. Situated in the heart of the enemy's country, and valuable only as a base of further operations, he could not consent that it should be occupied by a doubtful or disaffected population, composed largely of families many of whose members were in the rebel service. He accordingly announced to Gen. Hood his intention of removing the remaining inhabitants, offering to them the choice of going North or South; and in order to give them the opportunity of doing so, he proposed a cessation of hostilities for ten days. Servants or negro slaves were to be allowed, if they wished to do so, to accompany their masters or mistresses; otherwise, to be sent away or employed by the quartermaster. Hood accepted the proposition as a matter of necessity, but protested, "in the name of the God of humanity, against the expulsion of the people of Atlanta from their firesides," declaring, while he agreed to the truce, that Gen. Sherman's purpose "transcended the studied and ungenerous cruelty of acts ever before brought to the attention of mankind, even in the darkest history of war."

Sherman, whose pen had a point to

it quite equal in its way to that of his sword, replied to Hood, under date of September 10th. The whole letter is worth reading; we give only a single extract: "In the name of common sense, I ask you not to appeal to a just God in such a sacrilegious manner—you who, in the midst of peace and prosperity, have plunged a nation into civil war, 'dark and cruel war,' who dared and badgered us to battle, insulted our flag, seized our arsenals and forts that were left in the honorable custody of a peaceful ordnance serjeant, seized and made prisoners of war the very garrisons sent to protect your people against negroes and Indians, long before any overt act was committed by the (to you) hateful Lincoln government, tried to force Kentucky and Missouri into the rebellion in spite of themselves, falsified the vote of Louisiana, turned loose your privateers to plunder unarmed ships, expelled Union families by the thousand, burned their houses, and declared by act of your Congress the confiscation of all debts due northern men for goods had and received. Talk thus to the marines, but not to me, who have seen these things, and who will this day make as much sacrifice for the peace and honor of the South, as the best born Southerner among you. If we must be enemies, let us be men, and fight it out as we propose to-day, and not deal in such hypocritical appeals to God and humanity. God will judge us in due time, and He will pronounce whether it be more humane to fight with a town full of women and the families of a 'brave people' at our back, or to remove them in time to places of safety among their own friends and people."

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The city authorities of Atlanta also made an appeal to Gen. Sherman; but his purpose was fixed, and in his reply to Mayor Calhoun he reiterated some home truths for the benefit of the insurgents generally. Transportation was furnished south as far as Rough and Ready, and north as far as Chattanooga. Great complaints were made of cruelty to the exiles, and that they had been "robbed of everything before being sent into the rebel lines," which complaints were distinctly and pointedly denounced by Gen. Sherman as without any foundation. Atlanta was henceforth occupied simply and exclusively for warlike purposes, in accordance with Sherman's order of September 14th.

It may be noted here, that, at the end of May, the notorious raider, J. H. Morgan, with his guerrillas, some 2,000 or 3,000 in number, invaded Kentucky. Passing through Pound Gap, he moved on, robbing wherever he could, and destroying railroads and bridges as much as possible. Hobson, at Cynthiana, was captured, June 11th, with 1,600 men; but Gen. Burbridge, who was in pursuit, came upon Morgan at Cynthiana and routed him completely. Morgan escaped, with a part of his followers, into Tennessee; but at the beginning of September, he was surprised at Greenville by Union troops under Gen. Gillem, and in attempting to get away Morgan was killed, and his guerrilla career brought to an inglorious end.

CHAPTER XIV.

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NAVAL OPERATIONS: KEARSARGE AND ALABAMA: FARRAGUT AND MOBILE BAY.

The famous cruiser "290" or Alabama — Her career of destruction — Arrives at Cherbourg — The Kearsarge looks after her — Semmes says he wishes to fight — Winslow's course — Account of the battle — Alabama sunk — Semmes's dishonorable conduct — Effect of the contest — Other cruisers captured — The Florida taken in Bahia, Bay of San Salvador — Position of Mobile and its defences — Determination to attack them — Farragut's fleet, and the attack, August 5th — The ram Tennessee captured — Fort Powell evacuated — Fort Gaines reduced — Attack on Fort Morgan — Surrendered — Unmanly behavior — Effect of these successes — National salutes ordered — President's congratulatory order on this occasion.

THE noted piratical cruiser, the "290" or Alabama, who had been so exceedingly successful in preying upon the commerce of the loyal states (see p. 396), met, at last, with a deserved fate, in June of the present year. Semmes, her commander, after destroying the Hatteras (p. 278), made his way across the Atlantic, and passing beyond the Cape of Good Hope, continued his depredations with very great effect upon American commerce in the eastern seas. From time to time he found refuge in sympathizing British harbors, whence, refitted and supplied anew, he sallied forth to plunder and destroy; and as the "Confederacy" had no port into which to take his prizes for legal adjudication, Semmes set up an admiralty court on the deck of his own ship, and setting fire to the merchant vessels, he took the crews prisoners and put them ashore at any place most convenient in his roving career. By his activity and shrewdness, aided, as he was, by our professedly "neutral" English friends, in every way in their power, Semmes managed to escape the various ships sent to seek after and catch him, and after a prosperous cruise in the Southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, returned to northern waters early in the summer of 1864. The Alabama put into Cherbourg, expecting to refit and start anew on her mission of robbery and ruin. Mr. Dayton, at Paris, having remonstrated against this use of a French harbor, Semmes was notified that he must leave so soon as he had taken on board coal and provisions. Outside the port was the U. S. steamer Kearsarge, Capt. J. A. Winslow, arrived, June 14th, from Holland, in the hope of meeting with the Alabama. Semmes, desirous, apparently, of putting himself on a respectable footing, and aware that he could not with any decency escape a contest, sent word to Capt. Winslow, begging him not to depart, as he intended to fight the Kearsarge within a day or two.

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As this was what Winslow especi-

ally desired, he very gladly awaited the further action of Semmes. Accordingly, on Sunday morning, June 19th, the Alabama ventured out to meet something else than defenceless merchant vessels.* She was accompanied by the French iron-clad Couronne, some five miles out to sea, and was followed by a steam yacht, Deerhound, belonging to a person named Lancaster, ostensibly as a looker on, but in reality to act as a tender to the Alabama. Capt. Winslow, on discovering the approach of the privateer, steamed further out, so as to avoid any possibility as to being within the line of jurisdiction. When about seven miles from the Cherbourg breakwater, the Kearsarge was rounded to, and steered directly for the Alabama, who opened fire at a mile range. "Immediately," says Captain Winslow, "I ordered more speed; but in two minutes the Alabama had again loaded, and fired another broadside, and following it with others, without damaging us except in rigging. We had now arrived within 900 yards of her, and I was apprehensive that another broadside, nearly raking as it was, would prove disastrous. I accordingly ordered the Kearsarge sheered, and opened on the Alabama. The positions of the vessels were now broadside to broadside, but it was soon apparent that Capt. Semmes did not seek close action. I became then fearful lest, after some fighting, that he would again make for the shore. To defeat this I determined to keep full speed on, and with a port helm to run under the stern of the Alabama and rake, if he did not prevent it, by sheering and keeping his broadside to us. He adopted this mode as a preventive, and, as a consequence, the Alabama was forced with a full head of steam, into a circular track, during the engagement. The effect of this manœuvre was such that, at the last of the action, when the Alabama would have made off, she was nearly five miles from the shore; and had the action continued from the first in parallel lines, with her head to shore, the line of jurisdiction would no doubt have been reached. . . . The effect of the training of our men was evident; nearly every shot from our guns was telling fearfully on the Alabama, and on the seventh rotation on the circular track, she winded, setting foretrysail and two jibs, with head in shore." No doubt, Semmes would have been only too glad to get off in this way, but his vessel was now at the mercy of the Kearsarge, and a few more shots settled the affair. A white flag was run up; an officer came on board the Kearsarge and said the Alabama was sinking; Winslow ordered instant aid to save life, and begged Lancaster, who had come alongside in the Deerhound, to take part in the same work of humanity; and in fifteen or twenty minutes, the noted cruiser went down to her ignoble grave. To Capt. Winslow's astonishment and disgust, the Deerhound, having picked up Semmes and some forty of the crew, sneaked away

* Semmes, with a sort of consciousness that he might find the Kearsarge too much for him, took care to deposit in Cherbourg, in a place of safekeeping, not only whatever personal property he was honestly possessed of, but also between sixty and 100 chronometers, the fruits of his thieving and pilfering of merchant vessels on the high seas.

to the English coast before she could be prevented. The course of Semmes in throwing his sword into the sea after his surrender of the Alabama, and his meanly running away as he did, fixed upon him an indelible stigma, which can never be effaced.*

This remarkable contest, so brief and so decisive, produced a profound impression abroad as well as at home, and it afforded a significant warning to such as might at any time be disposed to trespass upon the rights and immunities of the United States. Capt. Winslow received the especial thanks of the navy department, under date of July 6th: "I congratulate you," said the secretary, "on your good fortune in meeting this vessel, which had so long avoided the fastest ships, and some of the most vigilant and intelligent officers of the service; and for the ability displayed in this combat you have the thanks of the department. You will please express to the officers and crew of the Kearsarge the satisfac-
1864. tion of the government at the victory over a vessel superior in tonnage, superior in number of guns, and superior in the number of her crew. The battle was so brief, the victory so decisive, and the comparative results so striking, that the country will be reminded of the brilliant actions of our infant navy, which have been repeated and illustrated in this engagement."

We may mention, in this connection, that two other piratical cruisers, which had given much trouble and done great injury to our commerce, were soon after captured and disposed of. One of these, the Georgia, after cruising about with various success, was taken into Liverpool, where a change of ownership was effected, and her armament removed. Setting out thence for Lisbon, she was overhauled by the Niagara, Commodore Craven, taken possession of as a prize, August 15th, and sent to the United States for adjudication. The other, the Florida, originally named Oreto, sailed from England to Nassau, where by the efforts of the American consul, she was brought before the court as a rebel cruiser. The authorities decided in her favor, and proceeding to Green Bay, where she took on board her armament, she ran into Mobile, changed her name to Florida, and was subsequently very successful not only in eluding our ships of war, but in destroying our merchant vessels. In February, 1864, availing herself of a dark night, she escaped from Brest, eluding the Kearsarge, which was off that port. In June, she visited the neutral port of St. George's, Bermuda, and remained there nine days, receiving all the coal and supplies necessary for a long piratical cruise. Leaving St. George's on the 27th of that month, she remained outside, but in sight, for

* Secretary Welles's remarks are worth quoting here: "When beaten and compelled to surrender, Semmes threw overboard the sword that was no longer his own, and abusing the generous confidence of his brave antagonist, he stole away in the English tender, whose owner proved himself, by his conduct, a fit companion for the dishonored and beaten corsair. Having surrendered, he cannot relieve himself of his obligations, as a prisoner of war, until he shall be regularly exchanged. He, and each of his surviving officers and crew, whether received upon the Kearsarge or the Deerhound, are, and will be, held to be prisoners of war, and amenable to the laws which govern civilized communities. A predatory rover may set the laws of nations, as well as those of his own country, at defiance, but in doing so he must abide the consequences."

three or four days, boarding all vessels that approached the island. On the 10th of July, she captured the Electric Spark, near our coast, while several vessels were cruising for her, but she escaped, and was next heard from at Teneriffe, on the 4th of August. Subsequently, early in October, she entered Bahia, in the Bay of San Salvador, where she found the U. S. gun boat Wachusett, Commander N. Collins. This latter thought the opportunity too good to be lost, and so, without being too nice in regard to a neutral harbor, he determined to attack the Florida, and either sink her or carry her off. Accordingly, very early on the morning of October 7th, the Wachusett steered for the Florida, striking her on the quarter without doing any great injury. On demand, the cruiser surrendered; a hawser was made fast, the chain shipped, and the vessel towed out to sea. About seventy, including officers, were captured with the Florida, and brought to the United States as prisoners. While the subject of the capture of the Florida and its attendant circumstances were under discussion between our government and that of Brazil, the vessel was run into, at the close of November, in Hampton Roads, by an army transport and sunk.*

Turning from the story of privateers and privateering, we shall now proceed to give some account of naval and military operations in Mobile Bay, during the latter part of this year. The city of Mobile, at the head of the bay, thirty miles from the Gulf, was protected by a series of redoubts, batteries and entrenchments, covering the approaches by land from above and on either side, while the shallow waters of the bay rendered defence easy from below. The city, it was understood, was garrisoned by a force sufficient to man the fortifications; but the main dependence against attack was placed in the iron-clad fleet which had been diligently prepared, and which was under the command of Buchanan. This, with the powerful aid of the forts at the mouth of the bay, was relied upon for warding off any assault by sea, and keeping open the communication of the fort by the blockade runners for the much needed supplies from abroad. The rebel fleet was composed of the powerful iron-clad ram, the Tennessee, the iron-clad gun boats Selma, Morgan and Gaines, and other vessels of lighter construction, suited for harbor defence. There were two avenues of approach to the bay from the Gulf, and both were well guarded by fortifications. The main entrance on the south, by the passage about three miles wide between the eastern extremity of Dauphin Island and Mobile Point, was protected by Fort Morgan on the latter and Fort Gaines on the island; while the other passage from Mississippi Sound on the south-west, known as Grant's Pass, was protected by Fort Powell and a battery and earthworks on the mainland. With these means of defence, and a liberal use of obstructions in the channel, the operations of our fleet had not as yet

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* The Tallahassee, an English built ship for running the blockade, was fitted out at Wilmington in August, 1864, as a rebel cruiser, and began her depredations along the coast. Numerous vessels started in search of her, but she succeeded, after getting supplies at Halifax, in reaching Wilmington again.

been productive of any special result against the rebels. It was determined, however, at this date, to make a combined movement against Mobile and its defences, by the land and naval forces of the department.

By an arrangement between Gen. Canby and Admiral Farragut, troops were landed on Dauphin Island, and early on the morning of August 5th, Admiral Farragut began the attack with the fleet. Five of the iron-clads were already within the bar, and fourteen others, two and two abreast and lashed together, followed up the main ship channel. About seven o'clock, the fort opened fire, and the action soon became general. For particulars we must refer to Farragut's report, which is a plain and sensibly written narrative and worthy the reader's attention. It must suffice here to state, that, in an hour's time Fort Morgan was passed, and the great ram, Tennessee, dashed out against the Hartford, Farragut's flag-ship. The rebel gun boat Selma was captured, the Gaines was run ashore and destroyed, and the Morgan escaped to Mobile. Farragut declares the fight with the ram to have been "one of the fiercest naval combats on record;" but aided by the gun boats and monitors, admirably handled as they were, the Tennessee could not hold out. As the old admiral says, looking down upon matters from the main rigging near the top, and speaking of the latter part of the combat, the ram "was at this time sore beset; the Chickasaw was pounding away at her stern, the Ossipee was approaching her at full speed, and the Monongahela, Lackawanna, and this ship, were bearing down upon her, determined upon her destruction. Her smoke-stack had been shot away, her steering chains were gone, compelling a resort to her relieving tackles; and several of the port-shutters were jammed. Indeed, from the time the Hartford struck her until her surrender, she never fired a gun. As the Ossipee was about to strike her, she hoisted the white flag, and that vessel immediately stopped her engine, though not in time to avoid a glancing blow. During the contest with the rebel gun boats and the ram Tennessee, and which terminated by her surrender at ten o'clock, we lost many more men than from the fire of the batteries of Fort Morgan." The total casualties were about 250; twenty officers, including Buchanan, and about 170 men were captured in the Tennessee, and ninety officers and men in the Selma.

Having attained this great success, the reduction of the forts was soon after secured. Fort Powell, protecting Grant's Pass, was evacuated and dismantled the night after the naval engagement, the garrison escaping, but leaving all the guns, eighteen in number, in excellent condition for immediate service. Fort Gaines, on Dauphin Island, after a bombardment by one of the iron-clads, was unconditionally surrendered on the 6th of August. The articles of capitulation were signed on board the flag-ship Hartford by Admiral Farragut and Gen. Granger, on the part of the Union forces, and by Col. Anderson, the rebel officer in command of the post. By this surrender 818 prisoners of war were captured; to-

gether with twenty-six guns and a large amount of ordnance stores, ammunition, supplies, etc.

Fort Morgan still held out, and some two weeks were spent in preparing for its reduction. Powerful batteries were erected on Mobile Point, and at dawn, on the 22d of August, the combined attack began. The fire was steadily kept up during the day from the shore batteries, the monitors and ships inside, and the vessels outside the bay. Between nine and ten in the evening, a shell, from one of the land batteries, exploded in the citadel and set it on fire. The bombardment was kept up slowly but steadily through the night, and again became general with the daylight on the 23d. An hour afterward, at six A.M., a white flag was hoisted in the fort, and at two in the afternoon, the fort was unconditionally surrendered by its commander, R. L. Page.

By this surrender Canby reported: "We have about 600 prisoners, sixty pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of material. In the twelve hours preceding the surrender, about 3,000 shell were thrown into the fort. The citadel and barracks are entirely destroyed, and the works generally much injured. Many of the guns were spiked, the carriages burned, and much of the ammunition destroyed by the rebels.* The losses in the army were one man killed and seven wounded."

The city of Mobile, it is true, was not yet captured, but that was comparatively of minor importance. The possession of the bay effectually suppressed every attempt to use the harbor as heretofore by blockade runners, or for fitting out piratical cruisers. President Lincoln, under date of September 3d, ordered salutes of 100 guns to be fired at the national arsenals and navy yards, in commemoration of the brilliant achievements of the army and navy. By another order he congratulated the officers and men who had taken part in the work just accomplished. "The national thanks are tendered by the president to Admiral Farragut and Major-General Canby for the skill and harmony with which the recent operations in Mobile harbor and against Fort Powell, Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan were planned and carried into execution; also to Admiral Farragut and Major-General Granger, under whose immediate command they were conducted, and to the gallant commanders on sea and land, and to the sailors and soldiers engaged in the operations, for their energy and courage, which, under the blessing of Providence, have been crowned with brilliant success, and have won for them the applause and thanks of the nation."

* Farragut, in his dispatch, contrasts the conduct of Anderson at Fort Gaines with that of Page on this occasion. The former behaved in an honorable manner after the surrender, "whilst Page and his officers, with a childish spite, destroyed guns which they said they would defend to the last, but which they never defended at all, and threw away or broke those weapons which they had not the manliness to use against their enemies; for Fort Morgan never fired a gun after the commencement of the bombardment and the advance pickets of our army were actually on its glacis."

CHAPTER XV.

1864.

INVASION OF TENNESSEE: SHERMAN FROM ATLANTA TO SAVANNAH.

Forrest's cavalry raid and success — Hood moves on Allatoona — Repulsed — Burbridge destroys Saltville and works there — Hood and Beauregard — Jeff. Davis's speech and wishes — Sherman's bold plan — Hood's invasion of Tennessee — Thomas at Nashville — Rebels beaten at Franklin — Thomas assumes the offensive — Decisive battle at Nashville and rout of Hood — Sherman's arrangements and special order — Railroad destroyed and Atlanta dismantled — Sherman's line of march — Rebel blindness as to his purpose — Howard and the right wing march — Their progress to the south and east — Slocum and the left wing march eastwardly — Demonstration against Augusta — Rebels deceived — Governor Brown and others in the emergency — Milledgeville occupied — Millen, the next point in view, reached, December 2d — The Oconee crossed — The crossing of the Ogeechee secured — Sherman's advance to Savannah — Fort McAllister taken — Sherman's dispatch — Savannah taken and occupied.

AFTER the fall of Atlanta, the rebel cavalry made special efforts to break Sherman's extended line of railroad communication with Nashville. On the 20th of September, the noted rebel raider, Forrest, with a strong cavalry force, crossed the Tennessee near Waterloo, Alabama, and attacked the garrison at Athens, consisting of 600 men, who surrendered the next day. Two regiments of reinforcements, which arrived shortly after the capture of the garrison, were also compelled to surrender to the enemy. Forrest destroyed the railroad westward, captured the garrison at Sulphur Branch trestle, skirmished with the garrison at Pulaski, on the 27th of September, and on the same day cut the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad near Tullahoma and Dechard. One column of Forrest's command, under Buford, appeared before Huntsville, on the 30th of September, and summoned our troops to surrender. This being refused, he remained near the place till the next morning, when he renewed his demand, and received the same refusal as before. He withdrew in the direction of Athens, which town had been re-garrisoned, and attacked it on the afternoon of the 1st of October; but without success. The next morning, he renewed the attack; but he was decisively repulsed. Another column, under Forrest, appeared before Columbia, October 1st; but did not make an attack. Two days later, he moved toward Mount Pleasant. Every exertion was made by Gen. Thomas to catch and destroy the forces under Forrest, before he could recross the Tennessee; the rebel raider, however, was too active for our men, and succeeded in escaping to Corinth, Mississippi.

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In the meantime, Hood had crossed the Chattahoochee from the Macon Railroad and moved on Allatoona, which was attacked by a division of his force, under French, on the 5th of

October. Gen. Sherman, who had been engaged in active preparation to resist this threatened assault on his line of communications, had ordered Gen. Corse, with reinforcements, from Rome to Allatoona. The enemy's attack was accordingly met and repulsed, Gen. Sherman himself having reached Kenesaw Mountain from Atlanta in time to gain a distant view of the military operations being carried on. "Hood, observing our approach," as Sherman wrote, on the 9th of October, "has moved rapidly back to Dallas and Van Wert, and I am watching him, in case he tries to reach Kingston or Rome. Atlanta is perfectly secure to us, and this army is better off than in camp."

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In September, an expedition from East Tennessee, under Gen. Burbridge, was sent to destroy the salt works at Saltville, Virginia. He met the enemy on the 2d of October, about three miles and a half from Saltville, and drove him into his strongly intrenched position around the salt works, from which, however, he was unable to dislodge him. During the night, Burbridge withdrew his command and returned to Kentucky. In December, another and successful attempt was made to destroy the works at Saltville, where the rebel Gen. Breckenridge now had his headquarters, detachments of his command being at Greenville, Jonesboro' and Rogersville. The new expedition was led by Gen. Stoneman, Gen. Gillem, with his brigade, taking the advance, coming up with the enemy, under Duke and Morgan, at Kingsport, defeating him and capturing Morgan, a brother of the notorious John Morgan. Stoneman pushed on, by a forced march, to Bristol, took the town by surprise, and made many important captures. He then moved on Abingdon, Va., Gillem advancing to Marion, routing Vaughan's forces there and pursuing him to Wytheville, destroying the valuable lead mines in the vicinity. A portion of Burbridge's command, being left in the neighborhood of Glade Spring, near Saltville, was attacked by Breckenridge, with a superior force, and routed, when Gillem, coming up, turned the tide of battle, and put Breckenridge to flight. Saltville, and its extensive salt manufactories and works, were now effectually destroyed; a loss to the rebels of immense severity. Our forces soon after returned to Tennessee with a vast amount of spoils.

After the movement on Allatoona, Hood, reaching Resaca on the 14th of October, made a partial attack on that place, which was successfully defended by Gen. Watkins, when Hood advanced and took possession of Dalton. Col. Johnston, in command there, surrendered the garrison, about 1,200 men, to the vastly superior force brought against him. The enemy now threatened Chattanooga, but Gen. Sherman was in pursuit of Hood, who, retiring from Dalton, moved westwardly to Lafayette, and thence across the Alabama state line, south-west to Jacksonville. Here he was reinforced by Beauregard, who, on the 17th, assumed command of the Military Division of the West, as it was called by the rebels, Hood, at the same time, remaining at his post.*

* Beauregard issued an addess, as usual, striving to arouse the spirit of the Georgians:—"The army of

It was at this time, during the latter part of September, that Jeff. Davis went to Macon, Georgia, and, aware of the terrible blow which had already been struck, and of the necessity of doing something to counteract it, made a speech, which Pollard calls "ill tempered and swollen," and which was probably more unwise than any thing he had done for a long time. He announced a line of policy which was in imitation of Sherman's flanking movements, and in accordance with which Hood was to get to the rear of Atlanta, break up the communications of Sherman, and thus compel him to retreat again into Tennessee. By so indiscreet exposure of his plans, Davis enabled Sherman to take measures fully to meet them; and, as Grant says, in his report, "he exhibited the weakness of supposing that an army that had been beaten and fearfully decimated in a vain attempt at the defensive, could successfully undertake the offensive against the army that had so often defeated it."

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Davis and his co-workers, however, did not appreciate the daring boldness and energy of the man they had to deal with, and the course which they determined upon was exactly that which Grant and Sherman desired. The latter was entirely unwilling to remain simply on the defensive at Atlanta, and expend his energies in guarding the road to Chattanooga and Nashville; and so he formed the bold plan of cutting loose from his bases and destroying effectually the railroad to Chattanooga; thence, mainly subsisting on the rich country in the interior of Georgia, he meant to march through the state directly to the sea.

Accordingly, the damage done to the railroad having been repaired, Sherman took the preliminary steps for carrying out his plan, keeping watch meanwhile of Hood and his proceedings. The early part of November was spent in sending to Chattanooga the sick and wounded and surplus stores; in bringing to Atlanta the convalescents, furloughed men and ordnance supplies; and in getting everything in most complete readiness for the march of the army. Before proceeding, however, to give a narrative of Sherman's great march, we must briefly record what Hood undertook to do, under the vain delusion noted above.*

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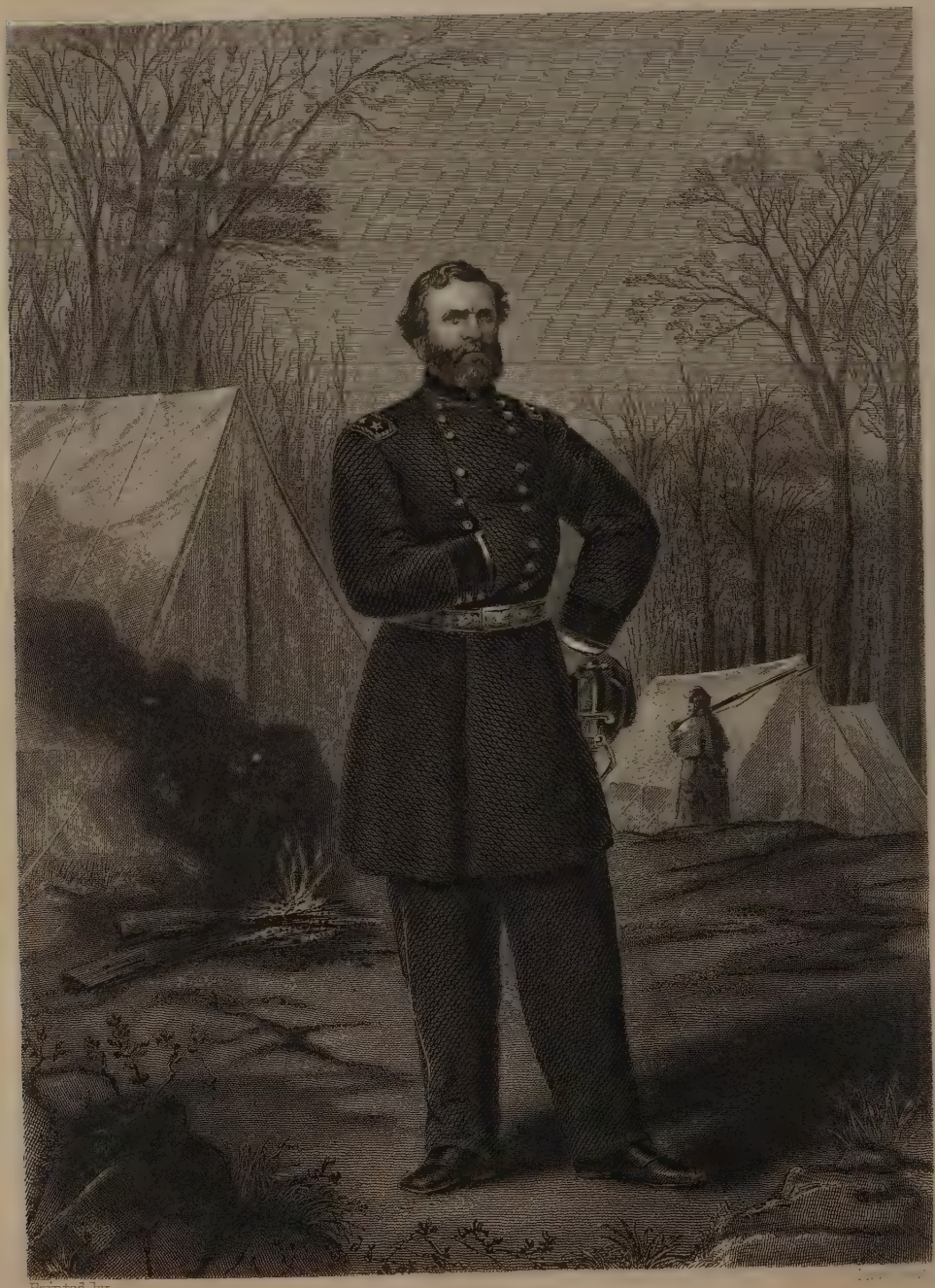
From Jacksonville Hood's army marched in a northwesterly direction to Guntersville, on the Tennessee River, which they reached on the 22d of Oc-

Gen. Sherman still defiantly holds Atlanta. He can and must be driven from it. It is only for the good people of Georgia and the surrounding states to speak the word, and the work is done. We have abundant provisions. There are men enough in the country liable to and able for service to accomplish this result. To all such I earnestly appeal to report promptly to their respective commands, and let those who cannot go see to it that none remain who are able to strike a blow in this critical and decisive hour. . . . . The security of your wives and daughters from the insults and outrages of a brutal foe shall be established soon, and be followed by a permanent and honorable peace. The claims of home and country, wife and children, uniting with the demands of honor and patriotism, summon us to the field."

* Gen. Grant, in his report, (p. 44) says, very forcibly: "Hood, instead of following Sherman, continued his move northward, which seemed to me to be leading to his certain doom. At all events, had I had the power to command both armies, I should not have changed the orders under which he seemed to be acting."

tober, and thence, after some delays, made their way to Florence, in the vicinity of which Forrest had been operating with his cavalry, interrupting communication on the river. Hood was now preparing for his intended invasion of Tennessee. Gen. Thomas was in command, at Nashville, of all the troops which Sherman did not wish to use for his own especial purpose; and this brave and accomplished officer was diligently guarding his northern line of railroad, and preparing to meet the threatened invasion. Several weeks elapsed before Hood began his advance. On the 20th of November, he moved northwardly from Florence, between which place and Corinth his forces had been gathered, and advanced to Waynesborough and Lawrenceburg, where he outflanked the advanced Union position on the line of the Nashville and Decatur Railroad at Pulaski. From the latter place Gen. Thomas now withdrew his forces to Franklin, on the same road, eighteen miles south of Nashville. In this retreat, which was a preconcerted strategic movement of the Union commander, to concentrate his forces for the defence of the latter city, our troops were closely pursued by the enemy, whose aggregate strength, including the infantry corps of S. D. Lee, Cheatham, Stewart, and Taylor, and Forrest's superior cavalry, was estimated at about 40,000. Gen. Schofield was in command of the force at Pulaski, which consisted of Stanley's 4th and Cox's 23d corps, together with a few regiments which had recently entered the service. There was some sharp fighting on the road to Franklin, at Columbia and Spring Hill, Forrest's cavalry pressing hard upon the column. On the 30th of November, Schofield occupied Franklin. Repeated assaults were made by the rebels during the afternoon until late at night; but they were in every instance repulsed. The rebel loss in this battle was 1,750 killed, 702 prisoners, and 3,800 wounded. Among the losses were six general officers killed, six wounded, and one captured. Our entire loss was 2,300. "This was the first serious opposition the enemy met with," says Grant, in his report, "and I am satisfied was the fatal blow to all his expectations. During the night, Gen. Schofield fell back toward Nashville. This left the field to the enemy —not lost by battle, but voluntarily abandoned—so that Gen. Thomas's whole force might be brought together. The enemy followed up and commenced the establishment of his line in front of Nashville on the 2d of December."

Although the central and southern portions of Tennessee were left open to the enemy by Schofield's retiring to Nashville, and though they drove out the garrisons and for the time possessed themselves of various towns and stations, yet they were not able to accomplish anything of moment. Murfreesborough, where Rousseau was stationed, effectually resisted the enemy; the line of road below, from Stevenson to Chattanooga, was firmly held; and the defences of Nashville, where Thomas's main army was, proved unassailable. Hood's army entrenched itself in front of Nashville, on the southerly side throwing up a complete line extending to the Cumberland River, on both



Painted by

Geo H Thomas

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson, F[illegible] & Co Publishers, New York

wings. Thomas's line of entrenchments, supported by a chain of forts, protected the city, and reached on each flank to the river, which was protected and securely held by gun boats and two iron-clads.

After delaying action for nearly two weeks, mainly on account of the inclemency of the weather and the remounting his cavalry force, Thomas assumed the offensive, on the morning of the 15th of December, and began the attack upon Hood's army. The battle lasted for two days, and the rebels were driven from the river, from their entrenchments, from the range of hills on which their left rested, and forced back at all points, during the 15th and 16th of December, for some eight or nine miles. They were, in fact, completely routed, and anxious only to escape from the victorious defenders of the cause of loyalty and order. Sixty-eight pieces of artillery were taken from the enemy, besides about 10,000 prisoners. In addition, they lost in killed and wounded at least 10,000 more. Pursuit was kept up for several days, notwithstanding the roads were almost impassable in consequence of the heavy rains and deep mud, and the shattered forces of the enemy were closely pressed, principally by our cavalry, even to the Tennessee River. On the 28th of December, our advance ascertained that Hood and his army had made good their escape to the south side of the river. Thus, the close of the year saw Tennessee thoroughly freed from the presence of the rebel army, and the invasion, from which so much had been hoped and expected by Davis and others, resulted in complete rout and confusion.*

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Gen. Sherman, having sent two of his army corps to aid Thomas against Hood, retained the four others and the cavalry division for carrying out the work which he had set himself to do. On the 9th of November, he issued a special order to this effect: the army was divided into two wings; the right, consisting of the 15th and 17th corps, was under command of Gen. Howard; the left, consisting of the 14th and 20th corps, was under command of Gen. Slocum; and the cavalry division was assigned to the command of Gen. Kilpatrick. The habitual order of march, it was ordered, should be, whenever practicable, by four roads, as nearly parallel as possible, and converging at points to be hereafter indicated. There were to be no general trains of supplies, and each corps was to have its limited ammunition and provision train so distributed that, in case of danger, the advance and rear brigades should be unencumbered by wheels. The separate columns were to start habitually at seven, A.M., and

* Pollard, in his account of this mortifying and discreditable termination of the battle and campaign, says of Hood, no favorite with him (see p. 472, note): "He finally made his escape across the Tennessee River with the remnant of his army, having lost from various causes more than 10,000 men, half of his generals, and nearly all of his artillery. Such was the disastrous issue of the Tennessee campaign, which put out of existence, as it were, the splendid army that Johnston had given up at Atlanta, and terminated forever the whole scheme of Confederate defence west of the Alleghanies." Pollard also says: "the effect of Sherman's march to the sea on the *morale* of the Confederacy dates the first chapter of its subjugation." —"*Last Year of the War*," pp. 128, 129.

make about fifteen miles a day, unless otherwise ordered. The army was directed to "forage liberally on the country during the march." For this purpose, brigade commanders were to organize "good and sufficient foraging parties, under the command of one or more discreet officers," to gather corn or forage of any kind, meat, vegetables, or other necessaries, aiming always to keep on hand ten days' provisions for the men and three days' forage. "Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants or commit any trespass; during the halt or a camp, they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, and other vegetables, and drive in stock in front of their camps." The power was entrusted to army corps commanders to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc., in districts or neighborhoods where the army was molested by guerrillas or bushwhackers, or the inhabitants should burn bridges, obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostility; but no such devastation was to be permitted where the inhabitants remained quiet. "As for horses, mules, wagons, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, the cavalry and artillery may appropriate freely and without limit; discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly. Foraging parties may also take mules or horses to replace the jaded animals of their trains, or to serve as pack mules for the regiments or brigades. In all foraging, of whatever kind, the parties engaged will refrain from abusive and threatening language, and may, when the officer in command thinks proper, give written certificates of the facts, but no receipts; and they will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance. Negroes who are able-bodied and can be of service to the several columns, may be taken along; but each army commander will bear in mind that the question of supplies is a very important one, and that his first duty is to see to those who bear arms." A pontoon train fully equipped and organized was assigned to each wing of the army.

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In accordance with his plan, Gen. Sherman effectually destroyed the railroad in his rear, and then set fire to and burned all the storehouses, depots, machine-shops, and everything else in Atlanta which could be of any service to the rebels. Having concentrated at Atlanta, his troops, numbering between 50,000 and 60,000, the right wing, under Howard, moved on the 12th of November, and was followed by the left, under Slocum, on the 14th. Sherman himself accompanied the left wing. The lines of march followed generally the two lines of railroad traversing the state, the Georgia and Central, running from Savannah to Macon, and thence by a north-westerly line to Atlanta, a distance in all of nearly 300 miles; and the Georgia Railroad, running north of the former, in an easterly direction, between Atlanta and Augusta. This was connected with the southerly line by way of Waynesborough and Millen with Savannah. In the area bounded by these lines, resembling a parallelogram with Atlanta, Macon, Augusta and Millen at the four

corners, and Milledgeville at a central point in the enclosure, the important movements of Gen. Sherman's army were effected.

The rebels at first, and for some time, supposed that Sherman was engaged upon a raiding expedition into Georgia. It seemed as if it were impossible for them to grasp the boldness of that general's undertaking; and hence, as Grant says, "the blindness of the enemy in ignoring his movement, and sending Hood's army, the only considerable force they had west of Richmond and east of the Mississippi River, northward on an offensive campaign, left the whole country open, and Sherman's route to his own choice.* For full and accurate details, we must refer the reader to Sherman's report, written in his lively and energetic style. A brief outline is all that we have room here to present.

Howard marched in two columns southwardly on the railroad as far as Jonesborough, the rebels being able to make but feeble opposition. One of his columns occupied McDonough, on the 15th of November, about thirty-five miles south-east of Atlanta, and the county seat of one of the richest portions of Georgia. Howard, on the 20th, crossed the Ocmulgee, and passing south, left Macon on the right and in the rear, and then moved rapidly through Monticello and Hillsborough to Clinton, so as to strike the Georgia Central at Gordon, twenty miles east of Macon. Kilpatrick's cavalry, meanwhile, were demonstrating in the direction of Macon, and the rebels were firmly possessed of the idea that that city was to be attacked, and gathered all the forces they could, under Cobb, for its defence.

On striking the Georgia Central, on the 22d of November, Howard's corps began to destroy the track between Gordon and Griswoldville, in that thorough and complete manner which they had acquired by long experience. While engaged in this work, a severe skirmish or battle between a section of our artillery and some cavalry, and about 5,000 of the rebels, occurred at Griswoldville. Desperate assaults were made on our force, but they resulted in nothing but loss and disaster, and the rebels were glad to make their way back to Macon. Milledgeville was occupied on the 21st of November, just a week after leaving Atlanta, the distance travelled being about ninety-five miles.

The corps under Slocum marched eastwardly towards Augusta, and by the 17th of November, the road was effectually destroyed as far as Covington. One column turned southeastwardly in the direction of Milledgeville, while another continued on the line of the railroad, and destroyed it as far as Madison, sixty-nine miles east of Atlanta, and 102 west of Augusta. The cavalry were pushed on between twenty and thirty miles further, serving as a

* "The whole plan, which had originated in the brain of President Davis, to compensate for the enemy's offensive movement in Georgia by penetrating Tennessee was outrageously foolish, from the simple consideration that the two invasions were necessarily unequal; for that into the enemy's country could not seriously affect his superabundant resources, while that into the southern interior went right into the heart of the Confederacy; and having once passed the frontiers, on which the South had necessarily thrown all its resources in men, was destined to realize Gen. Grant's assertion, that the Confederacy was merely a shell."—Pollard's "*Last Year of the War*," p. 130.

demonstration against Augusta, and thoroughly deceiving the enemy as to Sherman's real plan. From Madison Slocum marched to Milledgeville, which was reached November 22d; and the two wings were thus brought together again.

A few days before, when Gov. Brown and the legislature (then in session) waked up to the fact that Sherman's army was about to enter the city, they fled in a very great hurry, carrying off what they could, the public archives, funds, etc., and escaping to Augusta, and Macon, and anywhere, to get out of the way of the dreaded Yankee host. In fact, the leaders of the rebellion could no longer evade the unwelcome truth, that our army was moving directly and successfully through the heart of Georgia to the sea coast, and that, unless it could be stopped, disastrous results must inevitably follow. Beauregard came to the rescue, in his peculiar way, and issued an address, November 18th, calling on the Georgians to "obstruct and destroy all the roads in Sherman's front, flank and rear, and then his army will soon starve in your midst." So, too, rebel congressmen urged upon the people to devastate and destroy everything in Sherman's path, a kind of advice which, as might be expected, was treated with indifference or contempt. Gov. Brown set forth a proclamation, and ordered a levy, *en masse*, of all the white population, in the effort to stay the progress of our army. But it was all in vain. The resistance which troops, thus gathered for an emergency, were able to make, amounted to almost nothing against a large and well appointed army, such as Sherman's was.*

On the 24th of November, the army left Milledgeville, having Millen, seventy-four miles distant, in view. The main body crossed the Oconee at Milledgeville, destroying the bridge over that river, and the railroad bridge over Fisher's Creek, south of the city. A large force of Kilpatrick's cavalry demonstrated at the Central Railroad bridge over the Oconee, twenty-five miles south-east of Milledgeville, which was defended by earthworks, by the rebel Gen. Wayne, with a body of stragglers and militia which had been picked up between Milledgeville and Augusta. This road here runs for several miles through a swamp, which borders the west bank of the Oconee. Wheeler, who had been left in the rear at Macon, by the excellent strategy practiced in his case, as above noted, made extraordinary efforts and succeeded in getting across the Oconee, in order, with Wayne's help, to dispute the passage of the river. Howard, finding the bridge strongly guarded, sent the 15th corps some eight miles below to a ford where a pontoon bridge was laid. The rebels thereupon retreated hastily, and by the 26th of November, the whole right wing was across the river, moving eastward along

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* "Sherman's march assumes the aspect of a great swinging movement, the pivot of which was the army before Petersburg. But it was a swinging movement described on a radius of half a continent—one of those colossal enterprises whereof there are few exemplars in military history, and which fill up the measure of the imagination with the shapes of all that is vast and grandiose in war."—Swinton's "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 566.

the railroad, and destroying it effectually as the column advanced.

Slocum crossed the Oconee at the same time with the right wing, and moved northwardly, aiming for Sparta in Hancock County. On the evening of the 24th of November, Slocum's advance encamped at Devereaux, seven miles west of Sparta, and the cavalry scoured the whole country, one of the most fertile and thickly settled in the whole state, and vast quantities of forage and provisions, and many horses and mules were obtained, and much cotton burned. The Georgia Railroad, on Slocum's left flank was not neglected. While the army lay at Milledgeville, a portion of the cavalry force was actively engaged in different directions, striking the railroad repeatedly, burning the bridge over the Oconee at Blue Spring, destroying public property, etc.

The army being now east of the Oconee, the rebels were much frightened, not knowing whether Sherman would strike at Augusta or Savannah. His own purpose was clear enough to himself, but by the exceeding activity and skill of the cavalry, and by various apparent indications that Augusta was the point immediately in view, the rebels were again deceived; Wheeler's cavalry fell back, and forces from every quarter were gathered at Augusta in order to defend it; Sherman, all this while, was quietly advancing towards Millen, and securing an unobstructed passage of the Ogeechee with his main body. Kilpatrick, having driven Wheeler back through Waynesborough and beyond Brier Creek, within twenty miles of Augusta, destroyed the railroad bridge, and then took up his position as a guard in Sherman's rear.

Howard passed through Sandersville, November 26th, and Louisville, November 30th. Slocum marched through Sparta and then moved upon Louisville. Millen was reached on the 2d of December, Sherman having moved slowly, but with a purpose. As it was somewhat uncertain as to supplies when he moved on to Savannah, Sherman paid special attention to foraging, and also to the complete destruction of the railroads, including the bridge over the Ogeechee, twenty-five miles west of Millen.

Savannah was now about eighty miles distant, and Sherman having left the rebel troops in his rear, where they could do no harm, advanced rapidly and regularly forward. Howard, on the 9th of December, struck the canal which connects the Ogeechee with the Savannah, about ten miles in the rear and west of the city. From this point he communicated, by means of scouts, with a gun boat in Ossabaw Sound, and gave intelligence of his success thus far. On the 10th of December, Sherman advanced to within five miles of Savannah, where the rebels had erected the first of a line of defences. Sherman resolved to capture Fort McAllister and thus open the Ogeechee, so as to communicate with the fleet, and cut off communication between Savannah and the southern part of the state. Accordingly, as Sherman stated in a dispatch, dated 11.50, P.M, December 13th, on board the gun boat Dandelion, Ossabaw Sound: "To-day, at five o'clock, P.M., Gen. Hazen's division of

the 15th corps carried Fort McAllister by assault, capturing its entire garrison and stores. This opened to us the Ossabaw Sound, and I pushed down to this gun boat to communicate with the fleet. Before opening communication we had completely destroyed all the railroads leading into Savannah, and invested the city. The left is on the Savannah River, three miles above the city, and the right on the Ogeechee, at King's bridge. The army is in splendid order, and equal to anything. The weather has been fine, and supplies are abundant. Our march was most agreeable, and we were not at all molested by the guerrillas. We reached Savannah three days ago, but, owing to Fort McAllister, could not communicate; but now we have McAllister, we can go ahead. We have already captured two boats on the Savannah River, and prevented their gun boats from coming down. I estimate the population of Savannah at 25,000, and the garrison at 15,000. General Hardee commands. We have not lost a wagon on the trip, but have gathered in a large supply of negroes, mules, horses, etc., and our teams are in far better condition than when we started. My first duty will be to clear the army of surplus negroes, mules and horses. We have utterly destroyed over two hundred miles of rails, and consumed stores and provisions that were essential to Lee's and Hood's armies. The quick work made with Fort McAllister, and the opening of communication with our fleet, and the consequent independence of supplies, dissipates all their boasted threats to head me off and starve the army. I regard Savannah as already gained."

1864.

Hardee, in Savannah, undertook to hold out for a while; but, on the 20th of December, he considered the case hopeless, and destroying whatever he could, he fled to Charleston. On the 21st, Savannah was occupied, and Sherman sent a message to the president begging to present him with the city "as a Christmas gift," with its 150 heavy guns, its ammunition, and some 25,000 bales of cotton. Gen. Geary was placed in command, and Sherman's order, December 26th, with reference to the government of the city, was judicious and considerate. The disposition of the citizens was to quiet and orderly behavior, and little if any trouble was given to the constituted authorities in the changed condition of affairs.

CHAPTER XVI.

1864.

SHERIDAN IN THE VALLEY: ARMY OF THE JAMES: WILMINGTON AND FORT FISHER.

Sheridan in command in the Shenandoah Valley — Enters upon his work with spirit — Defeats Early at Opequan Creek — Early's attack upon our forces at Cedar Creek — Nearly a rout, but turned to a victory by Sheridan's arrival — Extracts from Sheridan's dispatches — Early's chagrin — Grant's plans and purposes in neighborhood of Richmond — Fort Harrison taken — Cavalry expeditions and service — Reconnaissances and engagements — Attempt at Hatcher's Run — Subsequent movements — Strategic importance of Wilmington — Expedition against Fort Fisher — Porter and the naval part of the expedition — Weitzel to command the land troops — Butler accompanies the troops — Naval attack — The troops landed, but not allowed by Butler to assault the fort — Expedition given up by Butler, who is superseded by Gen. Ord — Starts anew under Terry and Porter — Extracts from Gen. Terry's report, January, 1865 — Gallant conduct of the navy and army — Value and greatness of our success.

GEN. GRANT, clearly possessed of the idea that it was necessary to have some one efficient commander in the departments of West Virginia, Washington, Susquehanna, and the middle department, recommended that Gen. Sheridan be placed in charge; which was accordingly done, and Sheridan, on the 7th of August, assumed command of the "middle military division."

1864.

The enemy, at the time, were concentrated in the neighborhood of Winchester, and our forces occupied the line of the Monocacy, at the crossing of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, leaving open to the rebels Western Maryland and Southern Pennsylvania.

Sheridan entered vigorously upon his work. He pushed forward a column from Harper's Ferry up the Shenandoah Valley to Winchester, and beyond, to Fisher's Hill, in the vicinity of Strasburg, where Early was in position. Severe skirmishing ensued, here and elsewhere, and Sheridan found it expedient to retire again to the neighborhood of the Potomac. The month of August and the first half of September passed in this way, without any general engagement. "The two armies lay in such a position—the enemy on the west bank of the Opequan Creek covering Winchester, and our forces in front of Berrysville—that either could bring on a battle at any time. Defeat to us would lay open to the enemy the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania for long distances, before another army could be interposed to check him. Under these circumstances, I hesitated about allowing the initiative to be taken. Finally, the use of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which were both obstructed by the enemy, became so indispensably necessary to us, and the importance of relieving Pennsylva-

nia and Maryland from continuously threatened invasion was so great, that I determined the risk should be taken. But fearing to telegraph the order for an attack without knowing more than I did of Gen. Sheridan's feelings as to what would be the probable result, I left City Point, on the 15th of September, to visit him at his headquarters, to decide, after conference with him, what should be done. I met him at Charleston, and he pointed out so distinctly how each army lay; what he could do the moment he was authorized; and expressed such confidence of success, that I saw there were but two words of instructions necessary—Go in! For the convenience of forage, the teams for supplying the army were kept at Harper's Ferry. I asked him if he could get out his teams and supplies in time to make an attack on the ensuing Tuesday morning. His reply was, that he could before daylight on Monday. He was off promptly to time, and I may here add that the result was such that I have never since deemed it necessary to visit Gen. Sheridan before giving him orders.

1864.

"Early on the morning of the 19th of September, Gen. Sheridan attacked Gen. Early at the crossing of the Opequan Creek, and after a most sanguinary and bloody battle, lasting until five o'clock in the evening, defeated him with heavy loss, carrying his entire position from Opequan Creek to Winchester, capturing several thousand prisoners and five pieces of artillery. The enemy rallied and made a stand in a strong position at Fisher's Hill, where he was attacked and again defeated with heavy loss on the 20th. Sheridan pursued him with great energy through Harrisonburg, Staunton, and the gaps of the Blue Ridge. After stripping the Upper Valley of most of the supplies and provisions for the rebel army, he returned to Strasburg, and took position on the north side of Cedar Creek." *

The rebel commander, having been reinforced, again returned to the Valley, and while Sheridan was absent on business at Washington, he made an assault on our army, which nearly resulted in complete rout and overthrow. On the night of the 18th of October, the rebels crossed the mountains which separated the branches of the Shenandoah, forded the North fork, and early on the morning of the 19th, under cover of the darkness and the fog, surprised and turned our left flank, and captured the batteries which enfiladed our whole line. Affairs were in a most painfully critical condition. Panic was fast demoralizing the army, and in a brief space, had not help arrived, all would have been lost. Most opportunely, that help came in the person of Sheridan himself. He was on his return from Washington, on this eventful morning, and at Winchester, thirteen miles distant, heard the booming of cannon. Instantly, aware of the importance of his presence, he set off at full speed, and never drew rein till he reached the battle field, his horse covered with foam and he himself in a state of intense excitement. He took in the situation at once. He rode along the lines; he shouted to the men, "turn,

* "*Report of Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant*," pp. 29, 30.

boys, turn; we're going back!" and so powerful was his influence over the troops, and such new spirit was infused into them by his presence, that they rallied, and renewed the battle to good purpose.

At ten P.M. of the same day, Sheridan sent Grant a dispatch, in which he said: "I have the honor to report, that my army at Cedar Creek was attacked this morning before daylight, and my left was turned and driven in confusion. In fact, most of the line was driven in confusion, with a loss of twenty pieces of artillery. I hastened from Winchester, where I was, on my return from Washington, and found the armies between Middletown and Newtown, having been driven back about four miles. I here took the affair in hand, and quickly united the corps, formed a compact line of battle just in time to repulse an attack of the enemy, which was handsomely done at about one P.M. At three P.M., after some changes of the cavalry from the left to the right flank, I attacked with great vigor, driving and routing the enemy, capturing, according to the last report, forty-three pieces of artillery and very many prisoners. Affairs, at times, looked badly, but by the gallantry of our brave officers and men, disaster has been converted into a splendid victory. Darkness again intervened to shut off greater results. I now occupy Strasburg." Two days later, October 21st, Sheridan wrote again to Grant: "I pursued the routed force of the enemy nearly to Mount Jackson, which point he reached during the night of the 19th and 20th, without an organized regiment of his army. From the accounts of our prisoners who have escaped and citizens, the rout was complete. About 2,000 of the enemy broke and made their way down through the mountains on the left. Fourteen miles on the line of retreat the road and country were covered with small arms thrown away by the flying rebels and other debris. Forty-eight pieces of captured artillery are now at my headquarters. I think that not less than 300 wagons and ambulances were either captured or destroyed. From all that I can learn, I thing that Early's reinforcements were not less than 16,000 men.*

1864.

Thus was brought to end, as Grant states in his report, "the enemy's last attempt to invade the North by way of the Shenandoah Valley. I was now enabled to return the 6th corps to the Army of the Potomac, and to send one division from Sheridan's army to the Army of the James, and another to Savannah, Georgia, to hold Sherman's new acquisitions on the sea coast, and thus enable him to move without detaching from his force for that purpose."

* Early was greatly annoyed at his defeat, and he told his troops so, in an address, October 22d: "I had hoped to have congratulated you on the splendid victory won by you on the 19th, but I have the mortification of announcing to you that, by your subsequent misconduct, all the benefits of that victory were lost, and a serious disaster incurred. Had you remained steadfast to your duty and your colors, the victory would have been one of the most brilliant and decisive of the war. You would have gloriously retrieved the reverses at Winchester and Fisher's Hill, and entitled yourselves to the admiration of your country. But many of you, including some commissioned officers, yielding to a disgraceful propensity for plunder, deserted your colors to appropriate to yourselves the abandoned property of the enemy," etc.

After the occupation by Gen. Warren of the Weldon Railroad below Petersburg, in August, (p. 453) there was no active demonstration of importance for more than a month. Grant was watching the opportune moment, and guiding the affairs of the several armies so as to tend steadily, if not rapidly, to the destruction of the rebels in arms. On the night of the 28th of September, the 10th and 18th corps, forming part of Butler's army, were crossed to the north side of the James, and advancing, early the next morning, carried the very strong fortifications and entrenchments below Chapin's Farm, known as Fort Harrison. Fifteen pieces of artillery were captured, and possession was taken of the New Market road and entrenchments. Following this, an assault was made upon Fort Gillmore, immediately in front of Chapin Farm fortifications; but it was unsuccessful and attended with heavy loss.

Kautz's cavalry was pushed forward on the right, moving along the Central Road, supported by the 10th corps, to the main works, within three miles of Richmond. The two corps now formed a junction on the line of works which they had captured, where they were next day vigorously assailed by the enemy, who had been brought up in force from Petersburg to regain the lost positions. In this assault the Union troops acting on the defensive had the advantage, and gallantly repulsed the impetuous assaults of the foe.

On the morning of the 30th of September, Gen. Grant sent out a reconnaissance, with a view to attacking the enemy's line, if it was found sufficiently weakened by withdrawal of troops to the north side. In this reconnaissance we captured and held the enemy's works near Poplar Spring church. In the afternoon, troops moving to get to the left of the point gained, were attacked by the enemy in heavy force, and compelled to fall back, until supported by the forces holding the captured works. Our cavalry, under Gregg, was also attacked, but repulsed the enemy with great loss. On the 7th of October, an attack was made on Kautz's cavalry, north of the James, which succeeded in driving back our force, with heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, and the loss of all the artillery, eight or nine pieces. The enemy then attacked the entrenched line, where Birney was in command, but were repulsed with great slaughter. On the 13th of October, a reconnaissance was sent out by Butler, with a view to drive the rebels from some new works they were constructing; no advantage, however, was gained, and our troops met with heavy loss. 1864.

An attempt was made by Grant, on the 27th of October, to penetrate the rebel lines, the movement being on their right flank. The 2d corps, followed by two divisions of the 5th corps, with the cavalry in advance and covering our left flank, forced a passage of Hatcher's Run, and moved up the south side of it toward the Southside Railroad, until the 2d corps and part of the cavalry reached the Boydton Plank Road where it crosses Hatcher's Run. At this point our troops were six miles distant from the Southside Railroad, which Grant

had hoped, by this movement, to reach and hold. But, finding that the end of the enemy's fortifications had not been reached, and no place presenting itself for a successful assault, our troops were ordered to withdraw within our fortified lines. Late in the afternoon, the rebels moved out across Hatcher's Run, in a gap not yet closed between Hancock's and Warren's troops, and made a furious assault on Hancock's right and rear. The corps was immediately faced to meet the assault, and, after a bloody combat, our men drove the enemy within his works, and withdrew that night to their old position. In support of this movement, Butler made a demonstration on the north side of the James, and attacked the enemy on the Williamsburg Road, and also on the York River Railroad. In the former he was unsuccessful; in the latter he succeeded in carrying a work which was afterward abandoned, and his forces withdrew to their former positions.

The subsequent movements in the Army of the Potomac, during the year, were directed against the enemy's line for receiving supplies to the south of Petersburg. On the 1st of December, Gen. Gregg, at the head of a strong cavalry force, made a successful raid upon Stony Creek Station on the Weldon Railroad, where there was a store of supplies, this being the depot whence they were transferred by wagoning across to the Southside Railroad. A fort at this place, mounting two guns, was assaulted and taken, together with about 200 prisoners. This expedition was followed, on the 6th of December, by another, led by Gen. Warren, which resulted in the destruction of the Weldon Railroad from Jarrett's, below Stony Creek Station, to Bellfield at the Meherrin River. A cold rainstorm, turning to hail and snow, rendered the march, which lasted five days, especially severe and trying to our men.

1864.

The successful operations of the navy, in closing the ports of Savannah, Charleston and Mobile, had reduced the rebels to a single place of entrance for the blockade runners and such like. This was the harbor of Wilmington, North Carolina. The approach to this important and valuable strategic position, situated on Cape Fear River, thirty miles from the sea, was protected by several formidable forts and batteries, at the two main entrances at either extremity of the island, stretching across the mouth of the river. The old or western inlet was commanded by Forts Caswell and Johnson and the coast fortifications, while the new or eastern inlet was defended on Federal Point by Fort Fisher, a newly-erected casemated earthwork of great strength, mounting some forty heavy guns. Other formidable defences, stretched along the shore, affording a secure protection to blockade runners entering the harbor. The two main entrances being forty miles apart, intersected by numerous channels, it was virtually impossible effectually to prevent the English vessels, specially constructed for the purpose, entering the river.

In order to gain possession of Fort Fisher, the land north of New Inlet was a matter of prime importance, and as it required the co-operation of the

land force, Gen. Grant gave earnest attention to the furnishing it. During the latter part of November and early in the month following, a most formidable armada, over seventy vessels in all, under Admiral Porter, was gathered in Hampton Roads at the beginning of December; and a force of 6,500 men, taken from Butler's troops, was added, Gen. Weitzel being designated as their commander. Grant, having learned that Bragg had gone to Georgia, taking with him the larger part of the forces about Wilmington, deemed it the opportune moment to urge forward the expedition. He wrote out full and careful instructions, intending them for Weitzel but sending them through Butler, who accompanied the expedition, and was greatly interested in a projected explosion of a powder-boat. After some delays, the fleet sailed, on the 13th of December, and arrived at the place of rendezvous, off New Inlet, near Fort Fisher, on the evening of the 15th. Porter was hindered, for two or three days, having put in at Beaufort, to get ammunition for the monitors. A heavy gale set in from the south-west, and the sea becoming very rough, made it difficult to land troops; the supply also of water and coal being nearly exhausted, the transport fleet put back to Beaufort to replenish; this, with the state of the weather, delayed the return to the place of rendezvous until the 24th of December. "The powder-boat," as Grant sarcastically says, "was exploded on the morning of the 24th, before the return of Gen. Butler from Beaufort; but, it would seem, from the notice taken of it in the southern newspapers, that the enemy were never enlightened as to the object of the explosion until they were informed by the northern press."

1864.

Porter, on the morning of December 24th, gave order to engage the forts, which was gallantly done, and in little more than an hour after the first shot was fired, not a shot came from the fort. On the 25th, all the transports had arrived, and Porter and Weitzel, after a conference, determined that, while the ships attacked the forts, as before, the troops should land and assault them, if possible, under the heavy fire. The ships did their duty thoroughly; but after some 3,000 men had been landed, and a close approach made to the works, the troops were re-embarked, by order of Butler, and, as Grant says, "in direct violation of the instructions given." This was accomplished by the morning of December 27th. Porter was very much mortified at the course pursued by the troops, and believed the assault entirely practicable. "I don't pretend," said Porter, "to put my opinion in opposition to that of Gen. Weitzel, who is a thorough soldier and able engineer, and whose business it is to know more of assaulting than I do. But I can't help thinking that it was worth while to make the attempt, after arriving so far. . . . We have not commenced firing rapidly yet, and could keep any rebels inside from moving their head until an assaulting column was within twenty yards of the works. I wish some more of our gallant fellows had followed the officer who took the flag from the parapet, and the brave fellow who brought the horse out from the

fort. I think they would have found it an easier conquest than is supposed."*

Butler returned with his troops to Hampton Roads, and shortly after was superseded by Gen. E. O. C. Ord, who took command of the department of Virginia and North Carolina. Butler, whose active connection with the war was now brought to a close, issued a farewell address to the "Army of the James," in which, after considerable flourish as to the glory of being able to say, "I, too, was of the Army of the James," he bestowed a severe side-thrust upon the lieutenant-general: "Knowing your willing obedience to orders, witnessing your ready devotion of your blood in your country's cause, I have been chary of the precious charge confided to me. I have refused to order useless sacrifices of the lives of such soldiers, and I am relieved from your command. The wasted blood of my men does not stain my garments. For my action I am responsible to God and my country."†

Porter, who was dissatisfied with the result, remained with his fleet off Fort Fisher, and sent word to the secretary of the navy, expressing his conviction that, under a proper leader, the fort could be taken. Grant thereupon very gladly resumed the effort which had thus far proved unsuccessful. He selected for commander of the expedition Gen. A. H. Terry, an officer of some note, though young in years, and gave him the same troops that composed the former expedition, together with a brigade of about 1,500 men, and a small siege train. Terry sailed from Fortress Monroe on the 6th of January, 1865, and two days after, arrived off Beaufort, N. C. A violent storm set in, and for several days nothing could be done, except to care for the safety of the vessels and wait for better weather. On the 12th, the fleet again got under way, and reached its destination about nightfall, but too late to land the troops. Under cover of the fleet, the disembarkation took place the next morning, and about 8,000 men, with rations for three days, ammunition, tools, etc., were landed, by three o'clock P.M. After preparation of a defensive line across the peninsula, to protect the rear, and a careful reconnaissance, on the 14th of January, it was decided by Gen. Terry and Admiral Porter to attempt an assault the next day, provided that, in the meantime, the fire of the navy should so far destroy the palisades as to make one practicable.

Porter at once placed a division of his vessels in a position to accomplish

* Grant was quite indignant at Butler's conduct. He never expected Butler to interfere, and supposed that of course Weitzel received his instructions, which, it seems, never took place; and further, as Grant states, in his report, "on return of the expedition, officers and men, Gen. Curtis being of the number, voluntarily reported to me that when recalled, they were nearly into the fort, and, in their opinion, it could have been taken without much loss." Early in January, 1865, Butler was relieved of his command, at Grant's request.

† The rebel leaders were disposed to claim a victory, seeing that Fort Fisher was not taken. Bragg, the commander at Wilmington, wrote to Davis, in this wise: "The enemy has re-embarked under the cover of his fleet. His movement is not developed. I have visited Fort Fisher, and find the damage slight, excepting the buildings not necessary for defence. Only two guns were disabled. The marks remaining indicate that the bombardment was very heavy. Gen. Whiting, commanding the defences at the mouth of the river; Col. Lamb, commanding the fort, and the officers and men comprising the garrison, deserve especial commendation for the gallantry, efficiency, and fortitude displayed under very trying circumstances."

the destruction of the palisades. "It was arranged," says Terry, in his report, "in consultation with Admiral Porter, that a heavy bombardment from all the vessels should commence early in the morning, and continue up to the moment of the assault, and then it should not cease, but should be diverted from the points of attack to other parts of the work. It was decided that the assault should be made at three o'clock P.M.; that the army should attack on the western half of the land face, and that a column of sailors and marines should assault at the north-east bastion. The fire of the navy continued during the night. At eight o'clock A.M. of the 15th of January, all of the vessels, except a division left to aid in the defence of our northern line, moved into position, and a fire, magnificent alike for its power and accuracy, was opened. . . . At 2.25 P.M., all the preparations were completed, the order to move forward was given to Gen. Ames, and a concerted signal was made to Admiral Porter to change the direction of his fire. Curtis's brigade at once sprung from their trenches and dashed forward in line; its left was exposed to a severe enfilading fire, and it obliqued to the right so as to envelop the left of the land front; the ground over which it moved was marshy and difficult, but it soon reached the palisades, passed through them, and effected a lodgment on the parapet. At the same time the column of sailors and marines, under Capt. Breese, advanced up the beach in the most gallant manner, and attacked the north-east bastion; but, exposed to a murderous fire, they were unable to get up the parapet. After a severe struggle and a heavy loss of valuable officers and men, it became apparent that nothing could be effected at that point, and they were withdrawn. . . . On this side (between the work and the river), there was no regular parapet, but there was abundance of cover afforded to the enemy by cavities from which sand had been taken for the parapet, the ruins of barracks and storehouses, the large magazine, and by traverses, behind which they stubbornly resisted our advance. Hand to hand fighting of the most desperate character ensued, the huge traverses of the land face being used successively by the enemy as breast works, over the tops of which the contending parties fired in each other's faces. Nine of these were carried one after the other by our men. . . . Until six o'clock P.M., the fire of the navy continued upon that portion of the work not occupied by us; after that time it was directed on the beach, to prevent the coming up of reinforcements, which it was thought might possibly be thrown over from the right bank of the river to Battery Buchanan. The fighting for the traverses continued till nearly nine o'clock, two more of them being carried; then a portion of Abbott's brigade drove the enemy from their last remaining strongholds, and the occupation of the work was completed. The same brigade, with Gen. Blackman's regiment, were immediately pushed down the Point to Battery Buchanan, whither many of the garrison had fled. On reaching the battery, all of the enemy who had not been previously captured

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were made prisoners. Among them were the rebel Gen. Whiting and Col. Lamb, the commandant of the fort.*

The losses in this expedition were, on the part of the navy, about 300; on the part of the land forces, about 700.

The capture of Fort Fisher was followed the next day by the blowing up by the rebels, of Forts Caswell and Campbell on the Old Inlet, and the abandonment of these and the works on Smith's Island and those at Smithville and Reeves's Point. These places were occupied by the navy. The whole number of guns captured in the defences, as reported by Admiral Porter, on the 20th of January, was 168. Gen. Terry reported the number of prisoners, 112 commissioned officers, and 1,971 enlisted men.† In his dispatch, enumerating the different forts taken, Admiral Porter adds: "We have found in each an Armstrong gun, with the 'broad arrow' on it and the name 'Sir William Armstrong' marked in full on the trunnels. As the British government claims the exclusive right to use these guns, it would be interesting to know how they came into forts held by the southern rebels. I find that immense quantities of provisions, stores, and clothing have come through this port into rebeldom. I am almost afraid to mention the amount, but it is enough to supply over 60,000 men. It is all English, and they have received the last cargo; no more will ever come this way."

The gallant conduct of all concerned in this expedition is spoken of, in the highest terms, by both Porter and Terry. "The troops fought like lions, and knew no such word as fail," said the former. "I should signally fail to do my duty," said the latter, "were I to omit to speak in terms of the highest admiration of the part borne by the navy in our operations. In all ranks, from Admiral Porter to his seamen, there was the utmost desire not only to do their proper work, but to facilitate in every possible manner the operations of the land forces." And, as Grant briefly remarks, in his report, "thus was secured, by the combined efforts of the navy and army, one of the most important successes of the war."

* Porter's report of his share in the capture of Fort Fisher gives many interesting details, and he states that, in his opinion, Fort Fisher was a stronger work than the famous Malakoff Tower, which Porter had an opportunity of examining shortly after its surrender to the British and French in the Crimea.

† In the list of the forts with their armaments taken possession of after the fall of Fort Fisher, is a sufficient explanation of the protection given for so long a time to the blockade runners: Reeves's Point, two 10-inch guns; above Smithville, two 10-inch guns; Smithville, four 10-inch guns; Fort Caswell, ten 10-inch guns, two 9-inch, one Armstrong, and four 32's (rifled), two 32's (smooth), three 8-inch, one Parrot twenty pounder, three rifled field pieces, three guns buried—twenty-nine guns. Forts Campbell and Shaw, six 10-inch, six 32's (smooth), one 32 (rifled), one 8-inch, six field pieces, two mortars—twenty-two guns. Smith's Island, three 10-inch, six 32's (smooth), two 32's (rifled), four field pieces, two mortars and seventeen guns. Reported at the other end of Smith's Island, six guns. Total captured, eighty-three guns.

CHAPTER XVII.

1864.

CLOSING OF THE YEAR: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: REBEL ENORMITIES.

The approaching election for president — Fremont withdraws — Division in the democratic party — Active canvassing — Result — Lincoln re-elected by a large majority — Jeff. Davis and his lofty style of talking and promising — Rather gloomy realities, however — Thirty-eighth Congress, second session — Cabinet changes — Mr. Lincoln's message — Extracts from — The treasury and navy reports — Price's invasion of Missouri — Rosecrans in command in the department — Attack, by the rebels, on Pilot Knob — Pleasanton's cavalry operations — Result of the invasion — Grant's opinion — Sufferings of our officers and men in rebel prisons and dens — The United States Sanitary Commission — Report by gentlemen appointed to inquire into the matter — Horrible revelations — Extracts from the report — Conclusion as to rebel malignity — Efforts to mitigate suffering — Raids from Canada into the United States — St. Albans, Vermont, attacked — Steps taken — Attempt to fire New York city, in November — Not successful.

In a previous chapter (p. 455), we have given an account of the proceedings, in the summer of 1864, of the political conventions for the nomination of candidates for the presidency. As the autumn election approached, the canvassing became very active, and the issue settled at last between the supporters of the principles and policy which were represented, on the one hand, by Abraham Lincoln, and on the other, by George B. McClellan. Fremont, who had been nominated by "the radical democracy," deemed it best, on reflection, to withdraw from the field, and in a letter, dated at Boston, September 21st, gave his reasons for this course. He professed to be unchanged in his sentiments as to Mr. Lincoln; he "considered his administration, politically, militarily, and financially, a failure, and its necessary continuance a cause of regret to the country;" and he had, he said, no wish "to aid in the triumphs of Mr. Lincoln, but to do his part toward preventing the election of the democratic candidate." As, however, the republican party was pledged "to re-establish the Union without slavery," while the democrats of the Chicago convention, which nominated McClellan, were pledged to "separation or re-establishment with slavery," Fremont preferred to withdraw and leave the field clear for Abraham Lincoln.

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The democratic party, who had George B. McClellan as candidate for the presidency, were by no means unanimous in favor of the platform laid down by the Chicago convention (p. 462). Men like Gen. Dix and others,* known as "war democrats," were entirely op-

* Gen. Dix, in a letter written in October, said: "In calling for a cessation of hostilities, the members of the Chicago convention have, in my judgment, totally misrepresented the feelings and opinions of the great body of the democracy. The policy produced in its name makes it—so far as such a declaration can—what it has never been before, a peace party, degrading it from the eminence on which it has stood in every other national conflict. In this injustice to the country, and to a great party indentified with all that is honorable in our history, I can have no part. I can only mourn over the reproach which has been brought upon it by its leaders, and cherish the hope that it may hereafter, under the auspices of better counsellors, resume its ancient effective and beneficent influence in the administration of the government."

posed to any measures which looked toward the giving up the contest with the rebels, except by their being reduced to submission to the laws of the land; and, consequently, this division in the democratic ranks added virtually to the support of Mr. Lincoln. "The political canvass was prosecuted with energy and confidence in every section of the country. The main consideration which was pressed upon the public mind was, that the defeat of Mr. Lincoln would be, in the eyes of the rebels, an explicit disapproval of the general line of policy he had pursued, and a distinct repudiation by the people of the northern states of the Baltimore declaration, that the war should be prosecuted to the complete and final overthrow of the rebellion. This view of the case completely controlled the sentiment and action of the people, and left little room or disposition for wrangling over the many petty issues to which such a contest gives birth. As the canvass advanced, the confidence of success increased (on the part of Mr. Lincoln's friends), and received a still further impulse from the grand military victories which, in quick succession, began to crown the Union arms."* On both sides, the best talent was engaged, and speeches and addresses were made all through the country, in favor or against one or the other of the candidates. Various charges, of a more or less serious character, were made against the administration, in order to affect the election; but they did not produce much impression; while, on the other hand, events occurred which tended to damage the chances of success of the democratic candidate. One of these was, the discovery of an organized secret association in the western and northwestern states, controlled by prominent men among the democrats, whose object was, by its league of affiliated societies, to overthrow, by revolution, the existing administration, and render assistance, in every way possible, to the interests of the rebellion. Judge Advocate-General Holt, in an official report, gave conclusive proof of the existence and intents of this association; a considerable part of the democratic press, however, rather sneered at the matter, as something got up for political effect. There were also threats of raids and invasions along the northern frontiers, by rebel agents and sympathizers, which led to active measures, on the part of the government, to protect our exposed line next to Canada; and rumors were freely circulated of a proposed revolution, especially in New York city, if Mr. Lincoln were re-elected, all danger of which was effectually put an end to by the sending a body of regulars from the Army of the James, under Gen. Butler, who took up their residence in New York for the purpose of precaution.

Happily, there was no need whatever of interference. The state elections, in September and October, in Vermont, Maine, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, resulted in large republican majorities; and in Maryland the new free state constitution was adopted. These clearly foreshadowed the termination of the contest. On the 8th of November, the presidential elec- 1864.

* Raymond's "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 602.

tion was held. There was no disturbance or excitement; everything was conducted quietly and orderly; and, as was expected, it was decisive in its result. McClellan received the votes of three states, viz., New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky; Mr. Lincoln received in his favor the votes of all the other loyal states, twenty-three in number. The total of McClellan's vote was, 1,797,019; the total of Lincoln's vote was, 2,203,831, showing a popular majority of 406,812.

Early in November, Jeff. Davis addressed a message to the rebel congress, then in session at Richmond. It was couched in the usual style, confidently anticipating success, and earnestly urging all under his rule to activity and zeal in order to obtain it. Sherman's having obtained possession of Atlanta was made light of, and, as on former occasions, severe blows and losses were counted to be rather an advantage, or at least no material disadvantage. "If the campaign against Richmond," Davis went on to say, "had resulted in success instead of failure; if the valor of the army, under the leadership of its accomplished commander, had resisted in vain the overwhelming masses which were, on the contrary, decisively repulsed; if we had been compelled to evacuate Richmond as well as Atlanta, the Confederacy would have remained as erect and defiant as ever.* Nothing could have been changed in the purpose of its government, in the indomitable valor of its troops, or in the unquenchable spirit of its people. The baffled and disappointed foe would in vain have scanned the reports of your proceedings, at some new legislative seat, for any indication that progress had been made in his gigantic task of conquering a free people. The truth so patent to us must, ere long, be forced upon the reluctant northern mind. There are no vital points on the preservation of which the continued existence of the Confederacy depends. There is no military success of the enemy which can accomplish its destruction. Not the fall of Richmond, nor Wilmington, nor Charleston, nor Savannah, nor Mobile, nor of all combined, can save the enemy from the constant and exhaustive drain of blood and treasure which must continue until he shall discover that no peace is attainable unless based on the recognition of our indefeasible rights."

Severe and bitter complaints were made by Davis respecting the conduct of European nations in not recognizing the "Confederacy;" at the same time he said, "we seek no favor, we wish no intervention, we know ourselves fully competent to maintain our rights and independence against the invaders of the country." In speaking of the financial condition of affairs it was stated, that the total amount of the public

* In an article in the Richmond *Examiner*, under date of February 27th, 1865, this extravagance of Davis was sharply criticised, and the folly and absurdity of attempting to maintain such ground as that set forth by the rebel chief abundantly manifested. Richmond, it was held, was absolutely essential to the life of the "Confederacy," and, as the writer forcibly said, "from the hour of giving up the seat of government, our cause would sink into a mere rebellion in the estimation of foreign powers, who would cease to accord to us the rights of belligerents; while the enemy would be free to treat our officers and soldiers as traitors and criminals; so that every 'rebel' would fight thenceforth with a halter round his neck."

debt, as exhibited on the books of the register of the treasury, on the 1st of October, 1864, was $1,147,970,208, of which $539,840,090 were funded debt, bearing interest; $283,880,150 were treasury notes of the new issue, and the remainder consisted of the former issue of treasury notes, about to be converted into other forms of debt. In this statement, it was added, "the foreign debt is omitted. It consists only of the unpaid balance of the loan known as the cotton loan. This balance is but £2,200,000, and is adequately provided for by about 250,000 bales of cotton owned by the government, even if the cotton be rated as worth but sixpence per pound." The great depreciation of the treasury notes, or paper currency, was admitted, and attributed to two causes, "redundancy in amount, and want of confidence in ultimate redemption." To remedy this pressing difficulty, it was proposed, 1st, That the faith of the government be pledged that the notes shall ever remain exempt from taxation. 2d, That no issue shall be made beyond that which is already authorized by law. 3d, That a certain fixed portion of the annual receipts from taxation during the war, shall be set apart specially for the gradual extinction of the outstanding amount, until it shall have been reduced to $150,000,000; and 4th, The pledge and appropriation of such proportion of the tax in kind, and for such number of years after the return of peace, as shall be sufficient for the final redemption of the entire circulation."

Various other matters were discussed at length by the rebel president, among which was the question as to the policy of a general arming of the slaves to serve in the ranks. Neither Davis nor his Congress could bring their minds to the conviction that it was best to adopt this course, although it was advocated by some of the prominent men engaged in the rebellion.

On the whole, despite the haughty words of Jeff. Davis, the condition of affairs, at the close of the year 1864, was gloomy enough for the rebels. They were groaning under a central military despotism. Conscription, which was carried to its extremest extent, was odious everywhere, and was everywhere evaded without scruple. Direct taxes were laid in defiance of the rebel theory of government. The vast floods of paper money had rendered it almost valueless. The holders of this paper money were compelled to fund it, or lose one-third. The government seized all the railroads, destroying some and building others. Property was impressed at government prices, and paid for in government money. The government monopolized the export trade of the cotton and great staples of the country. The *habeas corpus* was suspended, and a passport system established. And, added to all these, the military reverses were numerous and severe; yet the traitors and conspirators against the Union, with whom it was a matter of life or death, held on in their evil course, and determined to persist in efforts to uphold a rebellion now drawing near its end.

The Thirty-eighth Congress commenced its second session on the 5th of December, 1864. The president's

message, which was sent in the next day, was of moderate length, and discussed the subjects requiring his attention, in a clear, straightforward manner.* The condition of our foreign relations was pronounced to be "reasonably satisfactory," as was evinced in a brief *résumé*. "It is possible," Mr. Lincoln said, "that if it were a new and open question, the maritime powers, with the lights they now enjoy, would not concede the privileges of a naval belligerent to the insurgents of the United States, destitute, as they are, and always have been, equally of ships of war and of ports and harbors. Disloyal emissaries have been neither less assiduous nor more successful during the last year than they were before that time in their efforts, under favor of that privilege, to embroil our country in foreign wars. The desire and determination of the governments of the maritime states to defeat that design are believed to be as sincere as, and cannot be more earnest than, our own. Nevertheless, unforeseen political difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports, and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required, and are likely to continue to require, the practice of constant vigilance, and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well as of the nations concerned and their governments."

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Affairs in the several departments of the treasury, the war, and the navy, were spoken of in encouraging and cheering terms, and various objects of philanthropy and justice were commended to the attention of Congress. In reference to the proposed amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery forever, (p. 465) Mr. Lincoln expressed himself frankly: "At the last session of Congress a proposed amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the United States, passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress, and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course, the abstract question is not changed; but an intervening election shows, almost certainly, that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the states for their action; and as it is to go at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes, any further than, as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the

* Several changes in the cabinet took place during the year. Mr. Chase resigned in June, and Mr. W. P. Fessenden was appointed secretary of the treasury. Mr. M. Blair resigned the postmaster-general's office in September, and Mr. W. Dennison was placed in the vacant office. On the 1st of December, the attorney-general, Mr. Bates, resigned, and his post was afterwards filled by James Speed, of Kentucky. We may also put on record here, the death of Chief-justice Taney, which occurred on the 12th of October. This important position was filled, December 6th, by the appointment of the late secretary of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase.

voice of the people now, for the first time, heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours, unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable, almost indispensable; and yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable, unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end, such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment."

Having shown, by some statistics, that the loyal states had more men for duty at this date than when the war began; that "the national resources were unexhausted and inexhaustible;" and that the war must be prosecuted to the complete demolition of the rebel power and pretension, he concluded his message with saying, that, while he should not retract or modify his emancipation proclamation, still, when the insurgents abandoned armed resistance, the war would end. "In stating a single condition of peace, I mean to say that the war will cease on the part of the government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it."

The reports accompanying the president's message gave full particulars in connection with the various departments of the government. Our limits do not admit of details, and we must refer the reader to the documents themselves.* The whole debt of the nation at the beginning of the fiscal year in July, was stated to be $1,740,690,489 49, an increase during the year of over $618,000,000. The prospective debt on the 1st of July, 1865 was estimated at $2,223,064,677 51. The expenditure for the war department was set down at about $963,000,000; for the navy, about $43,000,000; and for interest on the public debt, over $90,000,000. The secretary of the navy, in a long and elaborate presentation of the state and condition of the navy, reported a total of 671 vessels afloat or in process of construction, mounting 4,610 guns and registering 510,396 tons, being an actual addition to the navy, during the year, of 109 vessels and 313 guns. From this latter estimate, however, were to be deducted twenty-six vessels lost by shipwreck, in battle, capture, etc., during that period. Of this huge array of naval vessels, nearly one-fifth in number and more than one-fourth in guns and tonnage, were screw steamers, especially constructed for the service; fifty-two were paddle-wheel steamers, and seventy-one iron-clad vessels of various descriptions. The total number of men in the service at this date was 6,000 officers and 45,000 men.* The action of Congress during this, its

* The annual report of the secretary of war, deferred through the exigencies of the public service, was presented at the close of the session, in March, 1865. Its statement of the army material furnished within the preceding twelve months, exhibits the gigantic proportions which the war assumed at its height. The ordnance supplies furnished to the military service during the fiscal year, included 1,441 pieces of ordnance, 1,896 artillery carriages and caissons, 455,910 small arms, 502,044 sets of accoutrements and harness, 1,913,753 projectiles for cannon, 7,624,685 pounds of bullets and lead, 464,549 rounds of artillery ammunition, 152,067 sets of horse equipments, 112,087,553 cartridges for small arms, 7,544,044 pounds of powder.

* For full and interesting details respecting the Army of the United States, amounting, at this date, to about 700,000 men, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1864, pp. 32–40.

second session, we shall note on a subsequent page.

Although of no particular moment in its bearing on the final result of the war, the invasion of Missouri, by the rebel Gen. Price, may here be placed on record. Having gathered about 10,000 men, Price reached Jacksonport, at the close of August, on his way to make an inroad into and ravage that state in which he had already done vast mischief. Rosecrans was in command in the department (p. 383), and in order to strengthen his force, Grant ordered Gen. A. J. Smith with his command, and a cavalry force under Col. Winslow from Memphis, to join Rosecrans. This made his forces superior to those of Price, and, as Grant said, "no doubt was entertained he would be able to check Price and drive him back, while the forces under Gen. Steele, in Arkansas, would cut off his retreat." Price crossed the southern frontier by way of Pocahontas and Poplar Bluff, and plundering the farmers of horses to mount his men, and impressing all he could lay hands upon, he prepared to strike at the centre of the state.

On the 26th of September, Price assaulted Pilot Knob, where Gen. Ewing was in command, with a garrison of about 1,000 men. On the second day, Ewing evacuated the place and retreated, skirmishing along his march to Harrison and thence to Rolla. Price moved north to the Missouri River, and continued up that river towards Kansas. Gen. Curtis, who was in command in Kansas, immediately collected such forces as were within reach to repel the invasion of the state, while the cavalry of Rosecrans, under Pleasanton, was operating in Price's rear.

Pleasanton having reached Jefferson city on the 8th of October, sent Gen. Sanborn, with all the available cavalry force, in pursuit of the invaders. Sanborn, with inferior numbers, harassed the enemy and attacked them at Booneville, whence Price moved to Marshall and Lexington, freely plundering by the way. Pleasanton, having now efficiently organized his cavalry force in four brigades, under Gens. Brown, McNeil, Sanborn, and Col. Winslow, promptly took the offensive. Prior was driven from Lexington on the 20th, and two days after out of Independence, where there was some severe fighting. The pursuit was vigorously kept up to the Big Blue River at Byron's Ford, where Price was defeated, with a loss of nearly all his artillery and trains, and a large number of prisoners. Energetically pursued by Pleasanton, aided by Blunt's command from Kansas, Price was forced to make a hasty retreat with his broken and dispirited forces into Northern Arkansas. 1864.

Rosecrans, in November, congratulated the army on its brilliant success in this campaign; but the lieutenant-general, in his report, expresses himself rather tartly on the subject: "The impunity with which Price was enabled to roam over the state of Missouri for a long time, and the incalculable mischief done by him, show to how little purpose a superior force may be used. There is no reason why Gen. Rosecrans should not have concentrated his forces, and beaten and driven Price before the latter reached Pilot Knob."

The sufferings of our men, who were prisoners in the hands of the rebels, had long been known to be very great and trying; they have before been alluded to (pp. 391, 406); but the actual extent of the horrible exposure and destitution to which the defenders of the country were subjected, was not at all appreciated, or even dreamed of, by the people of the loyal states, until there was furnished incontestable, detailed evidence of the facts, from various sources, especially from the report of the United States Sanitary Commission, in September of this year. This admirable organization which, since the beginning of the war, had been engaged in the noble work of charity, in mitigating, as far as lay in their power, the sufferings and anguish of war, among the sick, the wounded, and the dying, appointed a committee of their body, in May, to inquire into and investigate, patiently and fully, the truth of the rumors and statements as to rebel cruelty and barbarity practised towards our unfortunate men who had fallen into the enemy's hands. Six gentlemen, of high ability and undoubted integrity, composed this committee, viz: Dr. Ellerslie Wallace, the Hon. J. I. Clark Hare, and the Rev. Treadwell Walden, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Valentine Mott, Dr. Edward Delafield, and Gouverneur M. Wilkins, of New York. The committee employed several months in their inquiry, visiting the hospitals where the returned prisoners had been received in Annapolis, Baltimore, and elsewhere, examining carefully into their condition, and taking the depositions of officers and men as to the treatment they had received. A mass of testimony was collected concerning the barbarities practised at Richmond, at the Libby Prison, and more particularly in the camp in its vicinity at Belle Isle. It is impossible to read their testimony without a cold chill of horror, and an oppressive sense of its being almost an impossibility that there should be in human form, creatures so soulless, and so like incarnate demons, as these rebel agents and authorities proved themselves to be. We cannot go into details; the documents are before the world; the projectors and willing instruments in this devilish work are stamped with infamy of the deepest dye; and the reader must ponder the lesson which all this teaches. A paragraph or two at the close of the report may not inaptly be quoted:

"The immensity and variety of that system of abuse to which our soldiers are subjected are too general, too uniform, and too simultaneous to be otherwise than the result of a great arrangement. One prison station is like another—one hospital resembles another hospital. This has been made especially apparent by intelligence that has reached the public just as this investigation is closing, and this report is being written. The remote prison at Tyler, Texas, sends out a tale of suffering identical with that described in these pages. It was only a few weeks ago, that the streets of New Orleans beheld a regiment of half starved and half naked men, who had just been released from that station. Still more heart-rending is the later account, given in a memorial to the president, from

Andersonville, Georgia, and in the full description, verified on oath, of what is now being suffered there by the imprisoned soldiers of our army. It would appear to be Belle Isle five times enlarged, and tenfold intensified. An enormous multitude of 35,000 men are crowded together in a square enclosure or stockade of about twenty-five acres, with a noxious swamp at the centre, occupying one-fourth of the whole space. Here the prisoners suffer not only the privations already mentioned, but others peculiar to circumstances of a worse description. In this pestilential prison they are dying at the rate of 130 a day, on an average! The commissioners allude to this station not as part of the evidence taken by themselves, but as an interesting, authentic, and corroborative illustration of the point now under consideration.*

"It is the same story everywhere:—prisoners of war treated worse than convicts, shut up either in suffocating buildings, or in outdoor enclosures, without even the shelter that is provided for the beasts of the field; unsupplied with sufficient food; supplied with food and water injurious and even poisonous; compelled to live in such personal uncleanliness as to generate vermin; compelled to sleep on floors often covered with human filth, or on ground saturated with it; compelled to breathe an air oppressed with an intolerable stench; hemmed in by a fatal dead-line and in hourly danger of being shot by unrestrained and brutal guards; despondent even to madness, idiocy and suicide; sick of diseases (so congruous in character as to appear and spread like the plague), caused by the torrid sun, by decaying food, by filth, by vermin, by malaria, and by cold; removed at the last moment, and by hundreds at a time, to hospitals corrupt as a sepulchre, there, with few remedies, little care and no sympathy, to die in wretchedness and despair, not only among strangers, but among enemies too resentful either to have pity or to show mercy.

"These are positive facts. Tens of thousands of helpless men have been and are now being disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture or burning at the stake, because nearly as agonizing and more prolonged. This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. No supposition of negligence, or thoughtlessness, or indifference, or accident, or inefficiency, or destitution, or necessity, can account for all this. So many and such positive forms of abuse and wrong cannot come from negative causes. The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that 'these privations and sufferings' have been 'designedly inflicted by the military and other authority of the rebel government,' and cannot have been 'due to causes which such authorities could not control.'" *

* In a supplement to the report is an account of the sufferings of our prisoners at Andersonville, Georgia, and the memorial and appeal, sent through one of their number exchanged, to the president of the United States, under date of August, 1864.

* Some mitigation of these unutterable, indescribable sufferings was happily effected before the close of the year, the result of a correspondence between Gen. Lee and Gen. Grant, the rebel authorities taking the initiative, by which it was agreed that either party might send to their prisoners of war such articles of necessity and comfort as might be desirable. This was

As we have before noted (p. 387), raids were threatened along our northern frontier by rebel sympathisers and traitors in the British dominions. Two small steamers were burned on Lake Erie by a band of these ruffians, who made their escape into Canada;* and in October, another band, about thirty in number, attacked the village of St. Albans, Vermont, plundered the banks, stole all they could, and made off toward the Canada line. They were pursued, and, by the help of the Canadian authorities, twelve of them, beside a fellow named Young, were arrested and put in jail. Various delays occurred before a trial could be had; and then, on the 13th of December, the Canadian judge, Coursol, of Montreal, decided that the court had no jurisdiction, and set the robbers and murderers at liberty. Such conduct stirred up great indignation in the United States; Gen. Dix, at New York, issued a stringent order, requiring, in any similar case, that the marauders be shot, and, if need be, that they be pursued into Canada and brought to his headquarters for summary execution. The president modified the order, and the Canadian authorities re-arrested Young and several of his companions.

In furtherance of their vile purposes, the rebels made a deliberate attempt to set fire to the chief hotels and theatres, on the night of the 25th of November; but, providentially, the murderous attempt was defeated. In speaking of this, Gen. Dix said, the next day: "If this attempt had succeeded, it would have resulted in a frightful sacrifice of property and life. The evidences of extensive combination, and other facts disclosed to-day, show it to have been the work of rebel emissaries and agents. All such persons engaged in secret acts of hostility here can only be regarded as spies, subject to martial law, and to the penalty of death. If they are detected, they will be immediately brought before a court martial or military commission, and, if convicted, they will be executed without the delay of a single day."*

a decided measure of relief pending the negotiation of the entangled question of a general exchange of prisoners. Early in the following year, 1865, the exchange of prisoners, on the part of the North, was placed in the hands of Gen. Grant, by whom arrangements were made and carried into effect for a general exchange. (See p. 390.)

* The leader in this affair, John Y. Beall, a native of Virginia, was arrested, in December, by Mr. Young, chief of the New York Metropolitan detective force. Beall was tried and convicted "as a spy and guerrillero," and was hung on the 18th of February, 1865.

* R. C. Kennedy, a Louisianian, one of the chief incendiaries, was arrested and tried by a military commission at Gen. Dix's headquarters. He was convicted and hung on the 25th of March, 1865.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1865.

PEACE PROPOSITIONS: ACTION OF CONGRESS: INAUGURATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Renewal of efforts to negotiate peace with the rebels — Mr. F. P. Blair goes to Richmond — His movements — The president's course — Conference — Failure of any result — Another attempt — The president's letter to Gen. Grant — The rebel statement — Davis's mortification — Lee appointed rebel commander-in-chief — His urgent appeal — Rebel congress vote to arm the slaves and employ them as soldiers — Bitter necessity of the case — Last appeal of rebel congress — Second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress — Various measures — The most important, the passing the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery — The amendment, as sent to the states — Action thereupon — The national debt at this date — Andrew Johnson's inaugural speech, as vice-president, on the 4th of March — Striking scene at Mr. Lincoln's inauguration — His remarkable address in full — Reasons for hopefulness in the future.

In a previous chapter (p. 460), we have given some account of the efforts made to satisfy the longing desire for peace, and the fruitless results of such efforts. Despite the failure, in the summer of 1864, there was a renewal of the attempt to reach the same end, by the visit of Francis P. Blair, senior, to Richmond, in December. This gentleman was allowed, by an order from the president, on the 26th of December, "to pass our lines, go south, and return," but received no authority to speak or act for the government, nor was the president "informed of anything he would say or do on his own account or otherwise." On his arrival at Richmond, Mr. Blair had an interview with Jeff. Davis, and received from him a letter, dated January 12th, in which he expressed himself desirous to send a commissioner, or receive a commission, "to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries." On returning to Washington, and communicating Davis's letter to the president, Blair received, on the 18th of January, a reply, as follows:— "Sir, you having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you, of the 12th inst., you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he, or any other influential person now resisting the national authority, may informally send me, with a view of securing peace to the people of our common country." Blair, thereupon, revisited Richmond, and Davis appointed three persons, A. H. Stephens, J. A. Campbell, and R. M. T. Hunter, as commissioners to proceed to Washington. On the 29th of January, these agents of Davis reached our lines, and, after some delays, arrived at Gen. Grant's headquarters at City Point, where they met Major Eckert, whom the president had sent on his behalf. An unsatisfactory interview was had, on the 1st of February, and matters would

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probably have closed here, had not Gen. Grant, indirectly, through the secretary of war, urged the president to meet Messrs. Stephens, Campbell and Hunter. Acting on this suggestion, Mr. Lincoln followed Secretary Seward, who had gone to Fortress Monroe a day or two before. He reached Hampton Roads on the evening of the 2d of February, and the next day the interview took place on board of a steamer in the river. "On the morning of the 3d," as the president stated in a message to Congress, in reply to a resolution, "Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell came aboard our steamer, and had an interview with the secretary of state and myself, of several hours' duration. No question of preliminaries to the meeting was then and there made or mentioned. No other person was present. No papers were exchanged or produced, and it was in advance agreed that the conversation was to be informal and verbal merely. On my part, the whole substance of the instructions to the secretary of state, hereinbefore re-
1865. cited, was stated and insisted upon, and nothing was said inconsistent therewith;* while, by the other party, it was not said that, in any event or on any condition, they ever would consent to reunion; and yet they equally omitted to declare that they would never so consent. They seemed to desire a postponement of that question, and the adoption of some other course first, which, as some of them seemed to argue, might or might not lead to reunion, but which course, we thought, would amount to an indefinite postponement. The conference ended without result."

The persons above named, on their return to the rebel capital, made a report to Jeff. Davis, who sent it, with a message to his congress, on the 6th of February. As was to be expected, Davis felt very uncomfortable at the result, which placed Mr. Lincoln, in his view, in the light of a "conquerer," and required "unconditional submission" to the Constitution and laws of the United States, emancipation and the abolishment of slavery included. Several public meetings were held in Richmond, in order, as one of the newspapers phrased it, "to hurl back into Lincoln's teeth the insult put upon the southern people by his answers to the confederate commissioners." Speeches were made by Hunter, Benjamin, and others; fierce denunciations were indulged in; and tremendous efforts were made to rouse up the southern spirit sufficiently to carry on the contest now almost hopeless.

Another attempt at negotiation was made by Davis, at the end of February, arising out of a conversation between Gen. Ord and the rebel Gen. Longstreet, at an interview on the subject

* These instructions were thus worded:—"You will make known to them (Stephens, etc.) that three things are indispensable,—1st, The restoration of the national authority throughout all the states. 2d, No receding by the executive of the United States, on the slavery question, from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress, and in the preceding documents. 3d, No cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all the forces hostile to the government. You will inform them that all propositions of theirs not inconsistent with the above will be considered and passed upon in a spirit of sincere liberality. You will hear all they may choose to say, and report it to me. You will not assume to definitely consummate anything."

of the exchange of prisoners. Lee, by Davis's direction, communicated with Grant, who asked for orders from the president. The answer came directly, on the 3d of March, through the secretary of war :—"The president directs me to say to you, that he wishes you to have no conference with Gen. Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of Gen. Lee's army, or on mere minor and purely military matters. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the president holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meantime, you are to press to the utmost your military advantages." This, of course, put a stop to anything further, and Grant informed Lee accordingly.

Early in February, Lee, who had been made general-in-chief of the rebel forces, issued an order stating the fact, in which he said, "I rely for success upon the courage and fortitude of the army, sustained by the patriotism and firmness of the people, confident that their united efforts, under the blessing of Heaven, will secure peace and independence." Lee followed this by calling, in most urgent terms, upon deserters, absentees, and the like, who, he was sure, would "require no exhortation to respond to the calls of honor and duty." He offered free pardon to all such who would come before twenty days elapsed, and threatened punishment in case of refusal. But the appeal was in vain. Deserters and absentees had had enough of fighting in this war. The "Confederacy" was in the last stages of dissolution, and, bravely and defiantly as the rebels talked, they could not shut their eyes to the fact.

Another measure, which plainly foreshadowed the approaching ruin of the rebellion, was that which, after much bitter discussion in the newspapers, and by the rebel leaders and congress, was finally determined upon in the month of March; we refer to the arming of the negroes and employing them as soldiers. Gen. Lee, who was of opinion that the negroes would make good soldiers, and who was painfully aware of the vast importance of securing an increase to his army, said distinctly, "I think this measure not only expedient but *necessary*." And so others thought and said; but it was a bitter draft to swallow by those haughty men who were trying to build up an edifice, the very corner stone of which was, the blessings of slavery and the absolute, God-ordained inferiority of the negro race. It was like a self-stultification to adopt the course now resolved upon; and this, more than one among them clearly saw. "Whenever," said Gov. Brown of Georgia, "we establish the fact that the negroes are a military people, we destroy our theory that they are unfit to be free. When we arm the slaves we abandon slavery." So, too, Mr. Hunter of Virginia, in the rebel senate, pointed out the inevitable conclusions to which the present measure led. "If we offer slaves their freedom as a boon, we confess that we were insincere, were hypocritical, in asserting that slavery was the best state for the negroes themselves. . . . Arming and emancipating the slaves was an

abandonment of this contest—an abandonment of the grounds upon which it had been undertaken. If this is so, who is to answer for the hundreds of thousands of men who had been slain in the war? Who was to answer for them before the bar of heaven?"

The measure was decided upon by the action of Virginia; and the reply to all contradiction and inconsistency was, the stern necessity of the case. Unpalatable as was the fact, it was nevertheless the last resource. White men could not be had; the blacks must be tried; and so the blacks were called upon to volunteer; the slaves were invited to fight for the people who had doomed them to everlasting bondage! The slaves, however, manifested anything but alacrity to engage in the contest; and the rebel leaders had to endure not only this mortifying result, but also the conviction that the day had passed when their humiliation on this point could be of any avail towards filling up the ranks of Lee's depleted army.*

As we have stated (p. 507), the Thirty-eighth Congress began its second session in December, 1864. This was the short session of only about three months in extent, and the time was spent in the usual course of legislative proceedings. It is not necessary to go into details here; we can only indicate a few of the more important acts, and must refer the reader, who desires full information, to the works containing the official reports and documents. Nothing of moment occurred during the month of December.* In January, 1865, a resolution was passed, requesting the president to give notice of the termination of the Reciprocity treaty with Canada. Other topics occupied the attention of both Houses during the balance of the session; such as military arrests, *habeas corpus*, confiscation, reconstruction, etc. The Freedman's Bureau was established, after considerable debate and conference, just at the close of the session. The tariff bill was modified, a bill for a loan of $600,000,000 was passed, and various other bills of less consequence, received due attention.

By far, however, the most important action of Congress, during the session, was the passage, on the 31st of January, of the resolution for the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. This resolution had passed the Senate, early in the previous session, February 10th, 1864; but coming up in the House in June, had failed to receive the requisite two-thirds vote (p. 465). A motion for reconsideration was made, and laid upon the table. It was again brought before the House early in the present session, and was debated with much earnestness and at great length. It was finally adopted by a vote of 119 to 56, and

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* The rebel congress, just before its breaking up in March, issued a long, supplicating appeal, in which they sought to infuse fresh courage into the hearts of those who sympathised with them, and in which also, while using language of the most confident character, they plainly betrayed to the observant reader, that their words were words merely and nothing else. For this document, see Appleton's *"American Annual Cyclopædia"* for 1865, pp. 195–198.

* On the 19th of December, 1864, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling for 200,000 men. This was to provide for deficiencies in the former call in July, and also for possible needs in the spring campaign.

was expressed in the following terms:

"*Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring*, That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE XIII.

Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. *Sec.* 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."*

This important matter was now transferred to the people, who, acting through the legislatures of the several states were to confirm or reject the amendment to the Constitution. The votes of twenty-seven states were needed to complete the required three-fourths of the whole, in order to make the amendment a part of the law of the land. We may mention here, that Illinois took the lead, on the 1st of February, in ratifying the amendment, and was followed by Maryland, the same day, and by other states as their legislatures met. Before the 4th of March, the close of Mr. Lincoln's first term of office, eighteen states had given their approval of the amendment. Three states, Delaware, Kentucky, and New Jersey rejected it.*

About the middle of February, Mr. Fessenden, secretary of the treasury, made the following statement in regard to the national debt: Aggregate debt, bearing interest in coin, $1,087,556,438 80; interest, $63,433,131 45. Debt bearing interest in lawful money, $608,570,952 44; interest, $29,698,770 41. Debt on which interest has ceased, $350,570 09. Legal tender debt, bearing no interest, $433,160,569. Fractional currency, $24,960,913 93. Total, $2,153,735,444 26. Total interest, $93,131,901 86. Early in the following month, Mr. Fessenden having resigned, the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana, was appointed secretary of the treasury.

We may fitly put on record, in closing the present chapter, the assumption, by Andrew Johnson, of his posi-

* The House was crowded with expectant observers, and when the speaker announced the vote, it was received with enthusiasm, and despite of all parliamentary rules, clapping of hands, cheering, waving of hats and handkerchiefs prevailed for some time. On motion, the House at once adjourned.

* On the 18th of December, 1865, Mr. Seward officially announced from the state department that the amendment to the Constitution had been adopted. From this document it appears, that the states of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Winconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, by their legislatures ratified the proposed amendment. The whole number of states being thirty-six, of which twenty-seven, as just named, being three-fourths, had ratified the amendment, Mr. Seward, in accordance with the duties of his office, "certified that the amendment aforesaid has become valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States." For Mr. Sumner's resolution, in the Senate, on this subject, see Appleton's "*American Annual Cyclopædia*" for 1866, p. 125.

tion as vice-president of the United States, and also the inaugural ceremonies connected with Mr. Lincoln's entrance upon the expected four years of additional service to his country as president of the United States. On the 4th of March, the Senate being then in extra session, Mr. Johnson indulged himself in a speech before taking the oath. Of this speech, in which he spoke several times of his "plebeian" origin and position, and of other things quite as impertinent to the occasion, the best we can say is, that it was in bad taste, and might much better have been dispensed with. "I, a plebian, elected by the people vice-president of these United States, am here to enter upon the discharge of my duties. . . . . I, though a plebeian boy, am authorized by the principles of the government under which I live, to feel proudly conscious that I am a man," etc. Mr. Johnson thereupon took the oath of office and the Senate adjourned.

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The scene presented at the second inaguration of Abraham Lincoln was noted as a very striking one. "The morning had been inclement," says Mr. Raymond, "storming so violently that up to a few minutes before twelve o'clock it was supposed that the inaugural address would have to be delivered in the Senate chamber. But the people had gathered in immense numbers before the capitol in spite of the storm, and just before noon the rain ceased and the clouds broke away, and, as the president took the oath of office, the blue sky appeared above, a small white cloud, like a hovering bird, seemed to hang above his head, and the sunlight broke through the clouds and fell upon him with a glory, afterwards felt to have been an emblem of the martyr's crown, which was soon to rest upon his head." The oath of office was administered by Chief-justice Chase, in the presence of the cabinet officers, heads of bureaus, members of Congress, officers of the army and navy, and the diplomatic corps. The president then delivered his inaugural address from the balcony, the usual place for such a purpose. As this was among the last documents proceeding from Mr. Lincoln's pen, and as it is rather remarkable for its tone and spirit, we give the address in full.

"FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN—At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase in the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

"On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending

civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide the effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came.

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"One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest, was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by war; while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those Divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil, shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so, still it must be said, 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

This brief but touching address having been delivered, a national salute

was fired, and Mr. Lincoln, seated in an open barouche with Senator Foster, of the committee of arrangements, was escorted through Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. Everything passed off quietly and calmly, and the president had good reason to look forward to a successful issue of the great contest and a return of peace, for which he and all true patriots ardently longed.

CHAPTER XIX.

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SHERMAN'S MARCH TO GOLDSBOROUGH, N. C.: CHARLESTON AND WILMINGTON CAPTURED.

Grant's orders to Sherman and his reply — Further orders — Arrangements in regard to Schofield and his co-operating force — Sherman's preliminary movements — March begun on the 1st of February — Advance of the army across the Salkahatchie, to Orangeburg, and thence to Columbia, S. C. — The city burned and pillaged by rebel cavalry — Charleston evacuated by Hardee, February 18th — State and condition of the city — Fort Anderson on Cape Fear River — Attack — Abandoned by the rebels — Wilmington captured — Results of the capture — Grant's directions to Gen. Thomas — Further movements of the right and left wings of Sherman's army towards Fayetteville, N. C. — The town entered, March 11th — Sherman's views as to his position — Movement towards Goldsborough — Advance of Schofield and Terry — Hardee, and contest at Averysborough — Battle at Bentonville with Johnston — Losses — Goldsborough taken — Sherman's conference with Grant — The march and its results — Excellent conduct of the army.

GEN. SHERMAN, as we have already noted (see p. 492), having reached and occupied Savannah, on the 21st of December, 1864, was ready almost at once for any further movement toward securing the triumph of our arms.

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As tending to facilitate his movements, Grant informed Sherman, on the 21st of January, that he had ordered east, from Tennessee, the 23d corps, under Gen. Schofield; that that corps numbered about 21,000 men; that there

was a garrison at Fort Fisher of about 8,000, and at Newbern of about 4,000 men; that if Wilmington was captured, Schofield would go there; if not, he would be sent to Newbern; that in either event, all the surplus force at both points would move to the interior towards Goldsborough, in co-operation with his movement; that from either point railroad communication could be run out; and that all these troops would be subject to Sherman's orders as he came into communication with them.

Sherman having recruited his men, and made all the needful preparations for his advance, sent the 17th corps under Blair, January 15th, by way of Beaufort, S. C., to make a lodgment on the Charleston Railroad, at or near Pocataligo. This was accomplished, and a depot for supplies was established near the mouth of Pocataligo Creek. A demonstration was made in the direction of Charleston, so as to divert the attention of the rebels, and cause them, under apprehension of an attack on that city, to keep a considerable force there prepared to defend it. Sherman, however, had no intention of stopping for this purpose; Charleston would fall of itself in due time; and Sherman's blow against the "Confederacy" was to be much heavier than would result from taking the rebel city where was fired the first gun at the opening of the rebellion.

The march of Sherman's army was begun on the 1st of February. Gen. Slocum, with the left wing, had been delayed, by the heavy rains and floods, from crossing the Savannah River; but he was enabled to gain a passage at Sister's Ferry, on the 2d of February. Kilpatrick's cavalry also was crossed on pontoon bridges. General Howard, with the right wing, was directed to cross the Salkahatchie, and push rapidly for the South Carolina Railroad, at or near Midway. The rebels held the line of the Salkahatchie, in force; but, on the 3d of February, Mower's and Giles's divisions of the 17th corps crossed the swamp nearly three miles wide, and with the water nearly up to the waist, and drove the enemy towards Branchville. The rebels retreated behind the Edisto, and being threatened at Branchville, burned the railroad bridge, and Walker's bridge below, across the Edisto. From the 7th to the 10th of February, the 17th corps was occupied in thoroughly destroying the railroad track. The left wing was similarly occupied with the South Carolina Railroad, from Branchville to Windsor. Having divided the enemy's forces by these operations, a movement was begun on Orangeburg. On the 12th of February, the rebels attempted resistance at the bridge, and it was partially burned; but they were soon repulsed, the bridge was repaired, and our troops entered Orangeburg late in the afternoon. Blair was ordered to destroy this road effectually up to Lewisville, and to push the enemy across the Congaree, and force him to burn the bridges, which he did on the 14th of February. Having forced the passage of the Little Congaree, the head of the column, early on the 16th of February, reached the Congaree, opposite Columbia, but too late to save

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the fine bridge which spanned the river at that point. It was destroyed by the rebels.

Sherman directed the crossing not to be made in front of Columbia, but three miles above, and the town thus to be taken from the north. There were great astonishment and fright in Columbia; and on the 17th of February, it was surrendered by the mayor to our forces. The rebel general, Wade Hampton, in command, had ordered all the cotton to be moved into the street and fired, which was done. Our men tried to put out the conflagration, but were only partially successful. "I disclaim," says Sherman, in his report, "on the part of my army, any agency in the fire, but on the contrary claim that we saved what of Columbia remains unconsumed. And without hesitation, I charge Gen. Wade Hampton with having burned his own city of Columbia, not with a malicious intent, or as the manifestation of a silly 'Roman stoicism,' but from folly and want of sense, in filling it with lint, cotton, and tinder." During the 18th and 19th of February, the arsenal, railroad depots, machine shops, foundries, and other buildings were properly destroyed by detailed working parties, and the railroad track torn up and destroyed down to Kingsville and the Waterce Bridge, and up in the direction of Winnsborough.*

The capture of Branchville, spoken of above, rendered the evacuation of Charleston a necessity. With its supplies cut off, with the army of Sherman in the rear, closely beset on James Island by the forces of the department of the South, with Admiral Dahlgren's powerful navy in front, it was no longer tenable as a military post. It was only left to Hardee, who was in command, to escape while he could by the single northerly coast line of railroad still open to him. Prominent citizens had already left, the army and stores were being removed, and on the 18th of February, the city was surrendered. Gillmore announced the fact in a dispatch to Washington of the same date. All that could be destroyed by the rebels was set on fire or blown up; cotton warehouses, arsenal, bridges, vessels in the ship yard, stores, locomotives, etc., shared a common fate. The cotton destroyed was estimated at 4,000 bales. Gillmore reported a capture of 450 pieces of ordnance and a large quantity of ammunition; but the city itself was in a deplorable state. It was almost desolate, and far the greater part of the inhabitants which were left, were the poor and destitute who could not get away.* Hardee retreated in the direc- 1865.

* The thieving and pillaging done by Wheeler's cavalry before Columbia was taken was bitterly moaned over by the rebels; and when was added to this, the fierce conflagration and the terror and dismay of the inhabitants, it became evident that the capital of South Carolina was paying fearfully for its share in the rebellion.

* A correspondent of one of the journals gives a graphic account of the state of affairs in Charleston when our troops took possession. "It is an indescribable scene of desolation and ruin, of roofless, doorless, windowless houses, crumbling walls, upheaved pavements, and grassgrown streets—silent to all sounds of business, and voiceless only to the woe-begone, poverty-stricken, haggard people, who wander up and down amid the ruins, looking to a jubilant past, a disappointed present, and a hopeless future. They are in rags, and their boots are out at the toes, their shoes down at the heels. There is no longer a manifestation of arrogance, lordly insolence, and conscious superiority over the Yankees on the part of the whites."

tion of North Carolina, having with him about 12,000 men.

Gen. Schofield, who had received instructions from Grant, as noted on a previous page (p. 519), acting in concert with Admiral Porter, entered vigorously upon the work with which he was charged. After the capture of Fort Fisher (p. 500) the chief obstacle hindering an advance by water to Wilmington, N. C., was Fort Anderson, on the Cape Fear River, guarding the approach to the city. It was said to be a work of immense strength and extent, enclosing an area of about four square miles. The movement up the river was begun on the 11th of February, with a reconnaissance which was pushed to the rebel lines on the left bank of the river opposite the fort and about twelve miles from Wilmington. There was some sharp skirmishing at the enemy's outposts, Gen. Hoke being in command of the rebel forces, in which the negro troops were actively engaged, while the Monitor Montauk bombarded the fort. These preliminary movements were followed up, on the 16th of February, by the transfer by Gen. Schofield of Cox's division of the 23d corps across from Federal Point to Smithfield, whence they advanced on the right bank of the river through swampy and difficult ground to the rear of Fort Anderson. Early on the morning of the 18th of February, Porter began and kept up during the day a heavy fire upon the fort. Schofield, meanwhile, was working in the rear of the rebels, to cut them off; but during the night they abandoned the fort, which was occupied by our forces the next morning.

This stronghold having been lost, Hoke speedily evacuated Wilmington, which, after some fighting, on the 20th and 21st of February, was entered, on the morning of the 22d, by the troops under Gen. Terry. The rebels retreated towards Goldsborough during the night, having destroyed before they left about 1,000 bales of cotton, 15,000 barrels of rosin, a large cotton shed and presses, an iron-clad partly completed, three extensive turpentine works, and various bridges. About 700 prisoners were captured, and also some thirty to forty pieces of artillery.

The taking of Wilmington was looked upon as very valuable and important, with reference to further operations on the part of Sherman, and preparations were at once made for a movement on Goldsborough in two columns, the one from Wilmington, and the other from Newbern. Preparations were also made for repairing the railroad leading to Goldsborough, from each of the places just named, as well as to supply Sherman by Cape Fear River toward Fayetteville, if it should become necessary.

On the last day of January, Grant directed Gen. Thomas to send a cavalry expedition, under Gen. Stoneman, from East Tennessee to penetrate South Carolina, well down toward Columbia, to destroy the railroads and military resources of the country, and return, if he was able, to East Tennessee by way of Salisbury, N. C., releasing our prisoners there, if possible. Of the feasibility of this latter, however, Gen. Stoneman was to judge. Sherman's movements, Grant had no

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doubt, would attract the attention of all the force the enemy could collect and facilitate the execution of this. Stoneman was so late in making his start on this expedition, February 27th, and Sherman having passed out of the state of South Carolina, Grant directed Thomas to change his course, and ordered him to repeat his raid of last fall, destroying the railroad toward Lynchburg as far as he could. This would keep him between our garrisons in East Tennessee and the enemy. It was regarded as not impossible that, in the event of the enemy being driven from Richmond, he might fall back to Lynchburg, and attempt a raid north through East Tennessee. About the middle of February, Thomas was directed to start the expedition, consisting of 4,000 to 5,000 cavalry, as soon as he could get it under way

Columbia having fallen on the 17th of February, Slocum moved on Winnsborough, which was reached on the 21st, the roads being destroyed, and a further movement made to Rocky Mount on the Catawba River. This was crossed on the 23d, and the cavalry marched to Lancaster, to keep up the delusion of a movement on Charlotte, N. C., to which Beauregard, with all the rebel cavalry, had retreated from Columbia. Very heavy rains caused considerable delay in advancing; on the 26th of February, however, the Catawba was crossed, and the left wing put in motion for Cheraw. The right wing was also delayed by bad roads, and by skirmishes with the rebel cavalry. On the 3d of March, Cheraw was entered, the enemy retreating across the Pedee, and destroying the bridge at that point. Ammunition, stores, railroad trestles, etc., found here were destroyed.

The columns were again put in motion, directed on Fayetteville, N. C., the right wing crossing the Pedee at Cheraw, and the left wing and cavalry at Sneedsborough. The weather continued bad, and the roads were anything but good; but the 14th and 17th corps reached Fayetteville on the 11th of March, skirmishing with Hampton's cavalry, that covered the rear of Hardee's retreating troops. The three following days were passed at Fayetteville, destroying absolutely the United States arsenal and the vast amount of machinery which had formerly belonged to the old Harper's Ferry United States arsenal. Every building was knocked down and burned, and every piece of machinery utterly broken up and ruined by the engineers, under the immediate supervision of Col. Poe, chief engineer. Much valuable property of great use to the enemy was here destroyed or cast into the river. "Up to this period," says Sherman, in his report, "I had perfectly succeeded in interposing my superior army between the scattered parts of the enemy. But I was then aware that the fragments that had left Columbia, under Beauregard, had been reinforced by Cheatham's corps from the west, and the garrison of Augusta, and that ample time had been given to move them to my front and flank about Raleigh. Hardee had also succeeded in getting across Cape Fear River ahead of me, and could therefore complete the junction with the other armies of Johnston and Hoke in

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North Carolina. And the whole, under the command of the skilful and experienced Joe Johnston, made up an army superior to me in cavalry, and formidable enough in artillery and infantry to justify me in extreme caution in making the last step necessary to complete the march I had undertaken."

Sherman next sent word to Terry at Wilmington, and Schofield at Newbern, that, on Wednesday, March 15th, he would move for Goldsborough, feigning on Raleigh, and giving them orders to march straight for Goldsborough, which place he expected to reach about the 20th. The column from Newbern, we may here mention, was attacked on the 8th of March, at Wise's Forks, and driven back with the loss of several hundred prisoners. On the 11th, the rebels renewed the attack on our entrenched position, but were repulsed with severe loss, and fell back during the night. On the 14th, the Neuse River was crossed and Kinston occupied, and on the 21st, Goldsborough was entered. The column from Wilmington reached Cox's bridge, on the Neuse River, ten miles above Goldsborough, on the 22d of March. On the 15th, as above indicated, Sherman resumed his advance on Goldsborough. The weather continued unfavorable, and the roads were proportionably bad and difficult to travel over. Hardee, on retreating from Fayetteville, had halted in the swampy district between Cape Fear and South Rivers, having, it was supposed, about 20,000 men, and being in hope of delaying Sherman, so as to gain time for Johnston to concentrate the rebel troops either at Raleigh, Smithfield, or Goldsborough. Slocum was ordered to dislodge Hardee, and clear the road for the advance. This was done, after a severe contest, at a place called Averysborough, our loss being about 600. The rebel loss was probably much greater.

On the 18th of March, when near Bentonville, the rebels attacked Slocum's head of column, gaining a temporary advantage, and took three guns and caissons, driving the two leading brigades back on the main body. As soon as Gen. Slocum realized that he had in his front the whole rebel force under Johnston, he promptly deployed the two divisions of the 14th corps, Gen. Davis, and rapidly brought up on their left the two divisions of the 20th corps, Gen. Williams. These he arranged on the defensive, and hastily prepared a line of barricades. Gen. Kilpatrick also came up at the sound of artillery, and massed on the left. In this position the left received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee, and Cheatham, under the immediate command of Johnston himself, without giving an inch of ground, and doing good execution on the enemy's ranks, especially with our artillery, the enemy having little or none. Reinforcements were brought up during the night of the 19th and on the 20th of March. The next night the enemy retreated to Smithfield, leaving the dead and wounded in the hands of our men. Slocum reported the loss on the left wing at 1,250, he having taken 338 prisoners. Howard's loss on the right was reported at 400; prisoners taken, about 1,200. Thus, as

Sherman states, "we had completed our march on the 21st of March, and had full possession of Goldsborough, the real 'objective,' with its two railroads back to the seaport of Wilmington and Beaufort, N. C. These were being ra-
1865. pidly repaired by strong working parties, directed by Col. W. Wright, of the railroad department. A large number of supplies had already been brought forward to Kinston, to which place our wagons had been sent to receive them. I therefore directed Gen. Howard and the cavalry to remain at Bentonville during the 22d, to bury the dead and remove the wounded, and on the following day all the armies to move to the camps assigned them about Goldsborough, there to rest and receive the clothing and supplies of which they stood in need."

Sherman entered Goldsborough in person, on the 23d of March, where he met Schofield and his army. The left wing came in during the same day and next morning, and the right wing followed on the 24th, on which day the cavalry moved to Mount Olive Station, and Gen. Terry back from Cox's Bridge to Falson's. On the 25th, the Newbern Railroad was finished, and the first train of cars came in, thus furnishing the means of bringing from the depot at Morehead City full supplies to the army. Anxious to see and consult with the commander-in-chief, Sherman, on the 27th of March, visited Grant at City Point, returning to his headquarters at Goldsborough, on the 30th. He stated, says Grant, in his report, "that he would be ready to move, as he had previously written me, by the 10th of April, fully equipped and rationed for twenty days, if it should become necessary to bring his command to bear against Lee's army, in co-operation with our forces in front of Richmond and Petersburg. Gen. Sherman proposed, in this movement, to threaten Raleigh, and then, by turning suddenly to the right, reach the Roanoke at Gaston or thereabouts, whence he could move on to the Richmond and Danville Railroad, striking it in the vicinity of Burkesville, or join the armies operating against Richmond, as might be deemed best. This plan he was directed to carry into execution, if he received no further directions in the meantime. I explained to him the movement I had ordered to commence on the 29th of March. That if it should not prove as entirely successful as I hoped, I would cut the cavalry loose to destroy the Danville and Southside Railroads, and thus deprive the enemy of further supplies, and also prevent the rapid concentration of Lee's and Johnston's armies."

Thus, as we have briefly narrated, Sherman's army traversed the country from Savannah to Goldsborough, with an average breadth of forty miles, consuming all the forage, cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, cured meats, corn meal, etc., and compelling the rebels to seek for food for the inhabitants from other quarters. "Of course," Sherman states, in his report, "the abandonment to us by the enemy of the whole sea-coast from Savannah to Newbern, North Carolina, with its forts, dock-yards, gun boats, etc., was a necessary incident to our occupation and destruction of the

inland routes of travel and supply. But the real object of this march was to place this army in a position easy of supply, whence it could take an appropriate part in the spring and summer campaign of 1865. This was completely accomplished on March 21st, by the junction of the three armies and the occupation of Goldsborough."

In closing his communication to Gen. Halleck, under date of April 4th, Sherman speaks in the highest terms of praise of his officers and men, and commends them all for the soldierly qualities of obedience to orders, and the utmost alacrity which was always manifested when danger summoned them to the front.

CHAPTER XX.

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FALL OF RICHMOND: SURRENDER OF LEE: THE REBELLION BROKEN IN PIECES.

Grant's anxiety as to Lee's movements — Sends Sheridan to cut off Lee's communications — Sheridan's successful raid, starting from Winchester — Position of military affairs — Grant's instructions — Lee's attack on Fort Steadman — How repulsed — Important success — Grant orders the army to move — Grant's note to Sheridan — Movement from Dinwiddie Court House — Further steps — Attack on Warren's corps — Battle of Five Forks — Attack on Petersburg, April 1st — Rebel defeat — Lee notifies Davis that Petersburg and Richmond must be given up — Both places occupied by our troops — Andrew Johnson's speech — Jeff. Davis's flight from Richmond — His style of talking — Lee's retreat and hopes — No supplies at Amelia Court House — Lee in haste to escape — Hotly pursued by Sheridan — The latter secures the position at Farmville — Battle at Sailor's Creek — Rebel loss heavy — Race nearly at an end — Grant's correspondence with Lee — Sheridan at Appomattox Station — The surrender of Lee — Terms liberal — How carried out — The "Confederacy" in ruins — Sherman and Johnston — Latter surrenders — Dick Taylor and K. Smith surrender.

Gen. Grant, well aware of the position of affairs in the "Confederacy," as well as in the loyal states, was desirous of carrying forward operations so as to bring the war to an effectual conclusion by the capture of Lee's army, and he took his measures accordingly. He was very anxious lest Lee, finding the case hopeless, should abandon his position, and before Grant could prevent it, form a junction with Johnston's force, and thus protract the contest still further elsewhere.* Hence, all Grant's efforts were devoted to the encircling and enclosing Lee in such-wise as that he could not escape, and must, of course, speedily surrender; and with his surrender, as every one knew, the rebellion would be crushed forever.

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* "At this time (March, 1865) the greatest source of uneasiness to me was the fear that the enemy would leave his strong lines about Petersburg and Richmond, for the purpose of uniting with Johnston, before he was driven from them by battle, or I was prepared to make an effectual pursuit. . . . . I had spent days of anxiety lest each morning should bring the report that the enemy had retreated the night before. I was firmly convinced that Sherman's crossing the Roanoke would be the signal for Lee to leave; with Johnston and him combined, a long, tedious, and expensive compaign, consuming most of the summer, might become necessary."—Grant's *"Report,"* pp. 61-64.

It was deemed of the utmost importance by Grant that, before a general movement of the armies operating against Richmond, all communications with the city, north of James River, should be cut off. The rebels had withdrawn the bulk of their force from the Shenandoah Valley and sent it south, or replaced troops sent from Richmond, and as Grant desired to reinforce Sherman, if practicable, whose cavalry was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, he determined to make a move from the Shenandoah, which, if successful, would accomplish the first at least, and very possibly the latter of these objects. Sheridan, accordingly, received orders, February 20th, to start on his great raid against Lee's communications, by way of Lynchburg, and thence to destroy the railroad and canal in every direction, so as to render them useless to the rebels.

Sheridan moved from Winchester on the 27th of February, with two divisions of cavalry, numbering about 5,000 each. On the 1st of March, he secured the bridge, which the rebels attempted to destroy, across the middle fork of the Shenandoah, at Mount Crawford, and entered Staunton on the 2d, the enemy having retreated on Waynesborough. Thence he pushed on to Waynesborough, where he found the enemy in force in an entrenched position, under Gen. Early. Without stopping even to make a reconnaissance, an immediate attack was begun, the position was carried, and 1,600 prisoners, eleven pieces of artillery, with horses and caissons complete, 200 wagons and teams loaded with subsistence, and seventeen battle-flags, were captured. The prisoners, under an escort of 1,500 men, were sent back to Winchester. Thence Sheridan marched on Charlottesville, destroying effectually the railroad and bridges as he went, which place he reached on the 3d of March. Here he remained two days, destroying the railroad toward Richmond and Lynchburg, including the large iron bridges over the north and south forks of the Rivanna River, and awaiting the arrival of his trains. This necessary delay caused him to abandon the idea of capturing Lynchburg. On the morning of the 6th of March, dividing his force into two columns, Sheridan sent one to Scottsville, whence it marched up the James River Canal to New Market, destroying every lock, and in many places the bank of the canal. From here a force was pushed out from this column to Duiguidsville, to obtain possession of the bridge across the James River at that place, but it failed. The enemy burned it on the approach of our troops. They also burned the bridge across the river at Hardwicksville. The other column moved down the railroad toward Lynchburg, destroying it as far as Amherst Court House, sixteen miles from Lynchburg; thence across the country, uniting with the column at New Market. The river being very high, Sheridan's pontoons would not reach across it; and the rebels having destroyed the bridges by which he had hoped to cross the river and get on the Southside Railroad about Farmville, and destroy it to Appomattox Court House, the only thing left for him was to return to Winchester,

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or strike a base at the White House. Fortunately, in Grant's opinion, he chose the latter.

From New Market Sheridan took up his line of march, following the canal toward Richmond, destroying every lock upon it, and cutting the banks wherever practicable, to a point eight miles east of Goochland, concentrating the whole force at Columbia on the 10th of March. Here he rested one day, and sent Grant information of his whereabouts, and a request for supplies to meet him at White House. The news reached Grant on the 12th of March, and he dispatched immediately an infantry force to get possession of White House, and ordered forward supplies. Moving from Columbia in a direction to threaten Richmond, to near Ashland Station, Sheridan crossed the North and South Anna Rivers, and after having destroyed all the bridges and many miles of the railroad, proceeded down the north bank of the Pamunkey to White House. This place was reached on the 19th of March, and as his cavalry had had long and fatiguing work before them, over winter roads, Sheridan found it necessary to rest and refit at White House. On the 24th of March, Sheridan moved again, crossed the James River at Jones's Landing, and formed a junction with the Army of the Potomac in front of Petersburg, on the 27th. During this move, Gen. Ord sent forces to cover the crossings of the Chickahominy.

Gen. Grant, in his report, states, "that in March, 1865, Gen. Canby was moving an adequate force against Mobile, and the army defending it under Gen. Dick Taylor;* Thomas was pushing out two large and well-appointed cavalry expeditions, one from Middle Tennessee, under Gen. Wilson, against the enemy's vital points in Alabama, the other from East Tennessee, under Gen. Stoneman toward Lynchburg,—and assembling the remainder of his available forces, preparatory to offensive operations, in East Tennessee;† Gen. Sheridan's cavalry was at White House; the armies of the Potomac and James were confronting the enemy, under Lee, in his defences of Richmond and Petersburg; Gen. Sherman with his armies, reinforced by that of Gen. Schofield, was at Goldsborough; Gen. Pope was making preparations for a spring campaign against the enemy under Kirby Smith and Price, west of the Mississippi; and Gen. Hancock was concentrating a force in the vicinity of Winchester, Virginia, to guard against invasion, or to operate offensively, as might prove necessary."

On the 24th of March, Grant issued his long and carefully prepared instructions for a general movement of the armies operating against Richmond. They were directed to Gens. Meade, Ord,

* The movement was made on the 20th of March, from Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan. Spanish Fort was invested on the 27th, was bombarded April 8th, and evacuated by the rebels the same night. Fort Blakely was carried by assault, April 9th, and the Alabama River was thus opened for approach on Mobile from the north. On the night of April 11th, the city was evacuated, and taken possession of by our forces the next day. For a more full account, and the part taken by the navy, see Duyckinck's "*War for the Union*," vol. iii., pp. 663–673.

† For Grant's brief notice of the expeditions under Gens. Wilson and Stoneman, see his "*Report*," pp. 74, 75.

and Sheridan, and are given in full in Grant's report (p. 61). They are also worth consulting by the reader as evidencing Grant's clearness of conception, fixedness of purpose, and the end which he expected speedily to attain.

Gen. Lee, having reached a point of great depression in regard to his prospects, and well aware that he must do something immediately, resolved upon making an attack on Grant's lines, which, if successful, would infuse some new life and energy into his troops, and prevent the continual desertions which were taking place almost every day. The assault was made, March 25th, in front of the 9th corps, which held from the Appomattox River towards Grant's left. At daybreak, two of the rebel divisions dashed suddenly in upon our entrenchments on Hare's Hill, and having carried Fort Steadman, and a part of the line to the right and left of it, established themselves there for a brief period, and turned the guns upon the adjacent batteries. These were at once abandoned by our men and occupied by the rebels. Checked by the activity of Fort Hascall, the next on the left of Fort Steadman, the enemy were unable to proceed further on either flank; and when Hartrauft's division came up, the rebels were pushed out of Steadman into the space over which they had come, and were gallantly repulsed, nearly 2,000 prisoners being taken. Our loss was sixty-eight killed, 337 wounded, and 506 missing. The rebel movement turned out to be a failure and a mortifying one too, and roused up our men to additional activity. Gen. Meade at once ordered the other corps to advance and feel the rebels in their respective fronts. Pushing forward, they captured and held the enemy's strongly entrenched picket line in front of the 2d and 6th corps, and 834 prisoners. The enemy made desperate attempts to retake this line, but without success. Our loss in front of these was fifty-two killed, 864 wounded, and 207 missing. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was much greater.

Grant, of whose anxiety respecting the possible escape of Lee, we have spoken above, (p. 526) was of opinion, that by moving out at this time without delay, he would put his army in better condition for pursuit, and would at least, by the destruction of the Danville Road, retard the concentration of Lee's and Johnston's forces, and cause the rebels to abandon much material that they might otherwise save. Accordingly, immediate steps were taken for this purpose. Gen. Ord was sent, on the night of the 27th of March, with two divisions under Gibbon and Birney, and McKenzie's cavalry, to Hatcher's Run, which was reached at dawn on the 29th. The day before, Sheridan received his instructions to move, which he did, with his splendid cavalry force of 9,000 men, to Dinwiddie Court House, on his way to cut the rebel communications. He reached this point on the afternoon of the 29th of March, and the infantry line extended, on the left, to the Quaker road, near its intersection with the Boydton plank road; after Sheridan, on the extreme left, the position of the forces was, under Warren, Humphreys, Ord, Wright, and Parke.

Everything now, in Grant's judgment, looked favorable to the defeat of the rebels and the capture of Petersburg and Richmond, if the proper effort were promptly made. On the 29th of March, he communicated with Sheridan, directing him not to cut loose for the contemplated raid just at present. "I now feel," he said, "like ending the matter, if it is possible to do so, before going back. I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning push around the enemy, if you can, and get on to his right rear. The movements of the enemy's cavalry may, of course, modify your action. We will act all together as one army here until it is seen what can be done with the enemy." From Wednesday night, the 29th, till Friday morning, March 31st, the rain fell in torrents, so as to render it almost impossible to move any wheeled vehicle, except by means of corduroy roads. Sheridan, however, during the 30th, advanced from Dinwiddie Court House toward Five Forks, where he found the enemy in force. Warren advanced and extended his line across the Boydton plank road to near the White Oak road, with a view of getting across the latter; but, finding the enemy strong in his front and extending beyond his left, was directed to hold on where he was and fortify. Humphreys drove the enemy from his front into his main line on the Hatcher, near Burgess's Mills. Ord, Wright and Parke made examinations in their fronts to determine the feasibility of an assault on the enemy's lines; and the two latter reported favorably. Grant determined not to extend his line any further, but to reinforce Sheridan with a corps of infantry, and thus enable him to cut loose and turn the rebel right flank; with the other corps an assault was to be made on Lee's lines. The result of the offensive effort of the enemy a week before, when they assaulted Fort Steadman, particularly favored this. Their entrenched picket line captured by our troops at that time threw the lines occupied by the belligerents so close together at some points, that it was but a moment's run from one to the other. Preparations were at once made to relieve Humphreys's corps, to report to Sheridan; but the condition of the roads prevented immediate movement.

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On the 31st of March, Warren was pressing his entire corps upon the rebel entrenched line on the White Oak road. Lee ordered an attack in force on Warren, which was made with great spirit, and division after division was driven back, until, on reaching Griffin's force, the troops were rallied and the assault repelled. A division of the 2d corps was immediately sent to Warren's support, the enemy driven back with heavy loss, and possession of the White Oak road gained. Sheridan advanced, and with a portion of his cavalry got possession of the Five Forks; but the enemy, after the affair with the 5th corps, reinforced the rebel cavalry, defending that point with infantry, and forced Sheridan back toward Dinwiddie Court House. Here, as Grant admiringly says, "Sheridan displayed great generalship. Instead of retreating with his whole command on the

main army, to tell the story of superior forces encountered, he deployed his cavalry on foot, leaving only mounted men enough to take charge of the horses. This compelled the enemy to deploy over a vast extent of wood and broken country, and made his progress slow."

Sheridan informed Grant of the position of affairs, and that he was falling back slowly on Dinwiddie Court House. McKenzie's cavalry and a division of the 5th corps were immediately ordered to Sheridan's assistance, and Meade having reported that Humphreys' could hold the position on the Boydton road, and that the other divisions of the 3d corps could go to Sheridan, they were so ordered at once. This was on the morning of the 1st of April, and Sheridan, now reinforced, assaulted the rebel troops and drove them back on Five Forks, which was held by them in force. This battle illustrated the superior strategy and tactics of Sheridan. By the skilful use of his cavalry, as a mask to cover the manœuvring of the infantry, he made his arrangements so as to assault the rebels with tremendous effect; and by nightfall, the routed enemy fled westward from Five Forks, pursued for many miles by our cavalry.* Between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners were taken, and a large number of colors and guns. Our loss was reported as comparatively small, viz., a few hundred cavalry, and 634 infantry killed and wounded.

Grant, somewhat apprehensive lest the rebels might desert their lines during the night, and by falling upon Sheridan before aid could reach him, drive him from his position and open the way for the retreat of Lee's army, sent Miles's division of the corps of Humphreys to reinforce Sheridan. A bombardment was also ordered of all the guns in the Petersburg lines, which, beginning at nightfall of the 1st of April, was kept up till four o'clock the next morning, Sunday, April 2d. An assault speedily followed, from the Appomattox to Hatcher's Run, by the troops of Parke, Wright, and Ord. Wright penetrated the rebel lines with his whole corps, sweeping everything before him, and capturing many guns and several thousand prisoners. He was closely followed by two divisions of Ord's command, until he met Ord's other divisions, which had succeeded in forcing the enemy's lines near Hatcher's Run. Wright and Ord immediately swung to the right and closed all of the enemy on that side of them in Petersburg, while Humphreys pushed forward with two divisions and joined Wright on the left. Parke succeeded in carrying the main line of the rebels, capturing guns and prisoners, but on reaching the inner cordon of works, was unable to force them. 1865.

On reaching the lines immediately around Petersburg, a portion of the corps of Ord, under Gen. Gibbon, be-

* Sheridan, for reasons given in his report, relieved Warren of command of the 5th corps at the close of the battle. Sheridan's statements are, that Warren was slow in his movements, not disposed to follow out the command promptly, etc. Warren, on the other hand, has defended himself in his published "Account of the Fifth Army Corps at the Battle of Five Forks." We need not enter into the merits of the question. Swinton is of opinion that Sheridan's "reasons are wholly inadequate to justify that officer's conduct."

gan an attack on the two strong, enclosed works, named Forts Gregg and Alexander. By a gallant and resolute charge, they carried these forts, the most salient and commanding south of the city, and thus materially shortened the line of investment necessary for taking it. The enemy south of Hatcher's Run retreated westward to Sutherland's Station, where they were overtaken by Miles's division. A severe engagement ensued, and lasted until both the right and left flanks of the rebels were threatened by the approach of Sheridan, who was moving from Ford's Station towards Petersburg, and a division sent by Gen. Meade from the front of Petersburg, when they broke in the utmost confusion, leaving in the hands of our troops their guns and a large number of prisoners. This portion of the rebel force retreated by the main road along the Appomattox River.

The rebel commander, well aware that he could no longer resist Grant's assaults, sent a message to Jeff. Davis, this Sunday morning, April 2d, while he was at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, stating that the time had come when Petersburg and Richmond must be evacuated. Silently, in the darkness of the night, the rebel troops, having left Petersburg, marched along the north bank of the Appomattox, northward to Chesterfield Court House, midway between Petersburg and the rebel capital. Here they were joined by the other troops from Bermuda Hundred and Richmond, and Lee's whole army, now not much more than 25,000 in number, pushed eagerly forward, and by the next morning succeeded in putting sixteen miles between them and Petersburg.*

Richmond was taken possession of by our forces, under Gen. Weitzel, early on Monday morning, April 3d. The rebels had blown up all they could, the vessels in the river, the bridges, etc.; they also set fire to the tobacco warehouses, and the flames spreading rapidly, notwithstanding the efforts of our men to extinguish them, laid the entire business portion of the city in ashes. President Lincoln visited Richmond the next day, in company with Admiral Porter; and throughout the country great rejoicings took place, and numerous patriotic addresses were made. In this connection, we may quote a paragraph or two from Vice-president Johnson's speech at Washington, on the receipt of the news, a speech which at the time was regarded as of no moment, but which, in view of the calamity that soon after fell upon the country, assumed an importance proportionate to the unlooked for elevation of Andrew Johnson to the presidency. After remarking that old Andrew Jackson would hang up as

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* "When in the gray dawn of Monday, April 3d, the skirmishers advanced from the lines before Petersburg, the city was found to be evacuated. At the same time the Union force on the lines confronting Richmond from the north side of the James was startled by a clamorous uproar, and the sky was seen to be lit up with a lurid glare. Surmising the meaning of this direful blazon, Gen. Weitzel threw forward a cavalry party that, entering the city without let, planted its guidons on the capitol. Thus Richmond fell! Marvellous as had been the one year's defence of the confederate capital, its fall was not less strange. Occupied, not captured, Richmond, to gain which such hecatombs of lives had been sacrificed, was at length given up by the civil authorities to a body of forty troopers!"—Swinton's "*Army of the Potomac*," p. 606.

high as Haman such traitors as these whose rebellion was now broken up, he went on to say: "Humble as I am, when you ask me what I would do, my reply is, I would arrest them; I would try them; I would convict them, and I would hang them. As humble as I am and have been, I have pursued but one undeviating course. All that I have—life, limb, and property—have been put at the disposal of the country in this great struggle. I have been in camp, I have been in the field, I have been everywhere where this great rebellion was; I have pursued it until I believe I can now see its termination. . . . I am in favor of leniency; but in my opinion, evil doers should be punished. Treason is the highest crime known in the catalogue of crimes; and for him that is guilty of it—for him that is willing to lift his impious hand against the authority of the nation—I would say death is too easy a punishment. My notion is that treason must be made odious, that traitors must be punished and impoverished, their social power broken; that they must be made to feel the penalty of their crimes."

Jeff. Davis, with such escort as he could obtain, took his departure from Richmond at the earliest possible hour after receiving Lee's message, on that eventful Sunday morning, and purposing, if we may believe his foolish boasting, (p. 504) to set up the rebel government in some safer place. He also carried with him all the money that could be got out of the Richmond banks, and whatever else his hasty flight would permit.

Davis, on reaching Danville, issued a proclamation, April 5th, in which he tried to put the best face he could on matters in the "Confederacy." Among other things he said—it was his last chance—"we have now entered upon a new phase of the struggle. Relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, our army will be free to move from point to point to strike the enemy in detail far from his base. *Let us but will it and we are free.* Animated by that confidence in spirit and fortitude which never yet failed me, I announce to you, fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the states of the Confederacy; that Virginia—noble state—whose ancient renown has been eclipsed by her still more glorious recent history; whose bosom has been bared to receive the main shock of this war; whose sons and daughters have exhibited heroism so sublime as to render her illustrious in all time to come; that Virginia, with the help of the people and by the blessing of Providence, shall be held and defended, and no peace ever be made with the infamous invaders of her territory. If, by the stress of numbers, we should ever be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits, or those of any other border state, again and again will we return, until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free."*

* The fugitive arch-rebel, we may here mention, attempted to escape by way of the sea-coast. A reward

As for Gen. Lee, he seems to have thought that there was yet a chance of escape for him, and so there might have been had not Grant, fully master of the situation, displayed such activity and energy as to reduce him, in a few days, to the necessity of surrender. Grant knew that Lee must retreat, or yield, and was prepared for immediate pursuit in the former case. Sheridan pushed for the Danville Road, keeping near the Appomattox, followed by Meade, with the 2d and 6th corps; while Ord moved for Burkesville, fifty-eight miles from Richmond, and the most important point for the enemy to secure, if he could, on the South Side or Lynchburg Road; the 9th corps stretched along that road behind him. On Tuesday, April 4th, Sheridan struck the Danville Road near Jettersville, where he learned that Lee had reached Amelia Court House, thirty-eight miles west of Richmond.* Sheridan entrenched himself, and awaited the arrival of Meade. Ord reached Burkesville on the evening of the 5th of April. On the same day, Grant sent word to Sherman that Lee would probably strive to reach Danville; he also said: "If you can possibly do so, push on from where you are, and let us see if we cannot finish the job with Lee's and Johnston's armies. Whether it will be better for you to strike for Greensborough, or nearer to Danville, you will be better able to judge when you receive this. Rebel armies now are the only strategic points to strike at."

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On the morning of Thursday, April 6th, it was discovered that Lee had left Amelia Court House, and was moving west of Jettersville, in the direction of Danville. It was his only hope now to enter upon a race of thirty-five miles west to Farmville, where, if he reached it in time, he could cross the Appomattox once more, and then, by destroying the bridges after him, escape into the mountains beyond Lynchburg. Sheridan moved with his cavalry to strike Lee's flank, followed by the 6th corps, while the 2d and 5th corps pressed hard after, forcing him to abandon several hundred wagons and several pieces of artillery. Ord advanced from Burkesville towards Farmville, sending two regiments of infantry, and a squadron of cavalry, under Gen. T. Read, to reach and destroy the bridges. This advance met the head of Lee's column near Farmville, and heroically attacked it in the effort to detain the rebel force until the main body should come up. Read lost his life on this occasion, and his command was overpowered; but the end had in view was attained; the movements of the enemy were delayed; and Ord had time to arrive with the Army of the James. Whereupon the

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of $100,000 was offered for his arrest, and the hunt was exceedingly active in consequence. He was finally caught by a portion of Wilson's cavalry, under Col. Pritchard, at Irwinsville, Wilkinson County, Ga., together with his family and a small number of attendants. This was on the morning of May 10th. Davis was brought prisoner to Fortress Monroe, and placed in close confinement.

* A dire anguish, as Swinton terms it, here befell Lee. He had ordered, it seems, supplies to meet him and his army at Amelia Court House; but they had been carried on to Richmond, and burned along with the other stores in that city. One might call this a sort of deserved retribution; at any rate, Lee lost heart, and with good reason, at the prospect of protracting the contest with a hungry, half-starved army, against the large and abundantly supplied force under Grant.

rebel troops immediately entrenched themselves.

Sheridan, with his cavalry, formed the van of the column that was marching on the southern parallel route. In the afternoon of this same day, April 6th, he struck the enemy just south of Sailor's Creek, a small tributary of the Appomattox, and destroyed 400 wagons and captured sixteen pieces of artillery. Sheridan ordered a charge upon Ewell's force behind the captured train, in order to detain it until the 6th corps could get up; which was successfully accomplished. A general attack of infantry and cavalry was then made, and though the rebels fought well, they were unable to resist the onset of our troops. Between 6,000 and 7,000 prisoners were captured, among whom were a large number of officers, including Gens. Ewell, Kershaw, Custis Lee, etc. The movements of the 2d corps and General Ord's command, according to Grant's statement, contributed greatly to the important success of the day.

On the morning of the 7th of April, the pursuit was renewed, the cavalry, except one division, and the 5th corps, moving by Prince Edward's Court House; the 6th corps, Gen. Ord's command, and one division of cavalry, on Farmville, and the 2d corps by the High Bridge road. It was soon found that Lee had crossed to the north side of the Appomattox, but so close was the pursuit, that the 2d corps got possession of the common bridge at High Bridge before the enemy could destroy it, and immediately crossed over. The 6th corps and a division of cavalry crossed at Farmville to its support.*

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The unavailing struggle was now near its end. Grant, fully persuaded that Lee's chance of escape was utterly hopeless, while he did not relax the pursuit, nevertheless addressed the rebel commander in the following terms, under date of April 7th, at Farmville:—"GENERAL: The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia."

Lee, though continuing his retreat, wrote a reply the same night, which reached Grant early the next morning:—"GENERAL: I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hope-

* Mr. Swinton, in speaking of this retreat and pursuit, says: "It would need other colors in which truly to paint that terrible race for life; and one would have to seek its like in what befell upon the snowy wastes of Muscovy in the winter of 1812. The Confederates began the retreat with but one ration, and when no supplies were met at Amelia Court House, they were reduced to such scant store as could be collected from the poor and almost exhausted region through which they passed. . . . . The misery of the famished troops during the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th of April, passes all experience of military anguish since the retreat from the banks of the Beresina. 'Towards evening of the 5th,' says an eye witness, 'and all day long upon the 6th, hundreds of men dropped from exhaustion, and thousands let fall their muskets from inability to carry them any further. The scenes of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, were of a nature which can be apprehended in its vivid reality only by men who are thoroughly familiar with the harrowing details of war.'"—"*Army of the Potomac*," p. 613.

lessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer, on condition of its surrender." To this Grant immediately replied:—

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"General: Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply I would say, that *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon, namely: That the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received."

As Lee had continued his retreat on the night of April 7th, Grant, early the next morning pushed forward after him. Meade advanced north of the Appomattox, and Sheridan, with all the cavalry, marched straight for Appomattox Station, followed by Ord's command and the 5th corps. During the day, there was considerable fighting with the rear guard of the enemy, but no general engagement. Late in the evening, Sheridan struck the railroad at Appomattox Station, drove the rebels from there, and captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital train, and four trains of cars loaded with supplies for Lee's starving army. About midnight, on the 8th of April, Grant received a communication from Lee, stating that he had not yet proposed to surrender, but that, as he was anxious for peace, he would like to meet Grant and see what could be done toward that important result. Grant, early the next morning, sent Lee word that he was not authorized to treat on the subject of peace; but that, in his opinion, it could readily be secured by the rebels laying down their arms, etc.

One more effort Lee felt called on to make. He ordered an attack on Sheridan, and a desperate attempt was entered upon to break through our cavalry, on the morning of the 9th of April. The 5th corps and Ord's command soon after arrived, when, just as a deadly and sweeping charge was about to be made by our troops, a white flag was held aloft, and a messenger came forth with a letter from Lee, asking a suspension of hostilities looking to a surrender, and requesting an interview with Grant. The interview was held between two and three o'clock that same afternoon, and the result is set forth in the following correspondence, given in Grant's official report:—

"*Appomattox Court House, Va.,*
April 9th, 1865.

"General: In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th inst., I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer

or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"General R. LEE."

"*Headquarters Army of Northern Virginia, April* 9, 1865.

"GENERAL: I received your letter of this date, containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same proposed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulation into effect.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT."

In accordance with the terms here agreed upon, terms which were thankfully accepted, as liberal and generous, and redounding greatly to Gen. Grant's credit, the necessary details for carrying them into effect were at once entered upon. The weary and hungry troops of Lee were supplied with food and comforts, and the terrible race for life, and the anguishing pains and distresses through which they had gone for the last two weeks were brought to an end forever. Three days after the surrender, the troops marched by divisions to a designated spot near Appomattox Court House, and there stacked their arms and deposited their accoutrements. Hardly 8,000 presented themselves with muskets in their hands; but with these were included about 18,000 unarmed, making in all over 27,000. Paroles were then distributed to the men, and they were allowed to go their way and seek again for a home.

The succeeding events of a military kind, consequent upon this crowning victory, may be briefly summed up. With the surrender of Lee, the "Confederacy" fell into utter and immediate ruin, and though Jeff. Davis and others like him (see p. 533), might talk of continuing opposition for a longer period, it was felt and acknowledged on all hands, that further resistance was equally mad and foolish. The insurgent states were powerless in this respect, and whether looked on as conquered, or subjugated, or in any other light, they were no longer capable of maintaining a hostile array, or of fighting against the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the land. Gen. Lee's example and judgment necessitated a course of action, similar to that which he adopted, on the part of those who were still in arms against the authority of the United States.

Gen. Sherman, to whom Grant wrote on the 5th of April (p. 534), moved directly against the rebel Gen. Joe

Johnston, who retreated rapidly on and through Raleigh. Sherman occupied the city on the morning of the 13th, having heard the day before the news of Lee's surrender. On the 14th of April, a correspondence was opened between Sherman and Johnston, the result of which was, on the 18th, an agreement for the suspension of hostilities, and a memorandum or basis for peace, subject to the approval of the president. It was held at Washington that Sherman had transcended his powers, and the agreement was disapproved by Andrew Johnson on the 21st of April. Grant went in person and communicated the disapproval to Sherman, who at once gave notice to Johnston of the termination of the truce that had been entered into. On the 26th of April, another meeting was held, the result of which was, the surrender and disbandment of Johnston's army on substantially the same terms as those which were accorded to Lee.

1865.

On the 4th of May, Gen. Dick Taylor surrendered to Gen. Canby all the remaining rebel forces east of the Mississippi; and on the 26th of May, Kirby Smith surrendered to the same general all the insurgent forces west of the great river.*

In bringing to a close this condensed narrative of military operations, we may properly conclude the present chapter with the last paragraph in Gen. Grant's report: "It has been my fortune to see the armies of both the West and the East fight battles, and from what I have seen I know there is no difference in their fighting qualities. All that it was possible for men to do in battle they have done. The western armies commenced their battles in the Mississippi Valley, and received the final surrender of the remnant of the principal army opposed to them in North Carolina. The armies of the East commenced their battles on the river from which the Army of the Potomac derived its name, and received the final surrender of their old antagonist at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies (of which we have unfortunately experienced too much), and the cause of crimination and recrimination that might have followed had either section failed in its duty. All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy, whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor."*

* As matters of interest, in this connection, it may here be briefly stated, that the number of men surrendered, in the different rebel armies, was as follows: Lee's army, 27,805; Johnston's, 31,243; Dick Taylor's, 42,293; K. Smith's, 17,686; smaller organizations, in all, 55,196; making a total of 174,223. There were also in our hands nearly 100,000 prisoners of war. About 2,000 enlisted in the army; 63,442 were released; 33,127 were delivered in exchange.

* On the 1st of May, the entire army force amounted to 1,000,516, officers and men. The aggregate available force present for duty on the 1st of March was: Army of the Potomac, 103,273; armies in the several departments, 499,325; total, 602,598. Steps were taken immediately for mustering out the troops, so that from the beginning of May to August 7th, there were mustered out 640,806 troops; from that date to November 15th, there were mustered out 160,157; total, 800,963.

CHAPTER XXI.

1865.

MURDER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: ACCESSION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

General state of feeling throughout the country now that the rebellion was at an end — Mr. Lincoln's personal gratification — His intention as to the future — Warnings as to danger to his life — Not heeded by him — His last public address — The fatal day, Friday, April 14th — Visit to Ford's theatre in the evening — Wilkes Booth the assassin — Narrative of the horrifying scene — Attempt to murder Mr. Seward also, in his bed, by Payne — Profound astonishment all through the land — Andrew Johnson becomes president, takes the oath of office, etc., April 15th — Close of the present work.

THE great and grievous rebellion was now, at length, crushed to the earth. Its military power was broken up; the arrest of Davis, Stephens, and others associated with them, put an end to even the pretence of a government of the "Confederacy;" and from one end of the land to the other, the national banner floated, freely and fully, as the emblem of the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the United States. Thank God! the war was over.

1865.

There was of course throughout the loyal states, as well as in various parts of the states which had been partakers, more or less willingly, in rebellion, a feeling of deep satisfaction at the contest being brought to its close. Bright hopes of the future were indulged in, and joyous expectations entertained of renewed and increasing prosperity under the benign reign of peace and concord. The people gave expression to their joyous hopes and wishes in many ways; and while there was exultation, and even pride, in the great victory which had been vouchsafed to the loyal cause, there was also a willingness to recognize, in what had taken place, the guiding hand and merciful goodness of Divine Providence. There was a spirit and disposition to exercise magnanimity, and such gentleness as was consistent with the preservation of truth and right, towards those who had gone astray, and, under the guidance of treasonable leaders, had madly endeavored to thrust a sword through the heart of the nation. While thoughtful and patriotic men looked with more or less of anxiety at the state of things, so novel in the history of the world, so utterly without precedent, and involving questions of so much difficulty and delicacy in efforts to settle them, there was still a strong and positive desire to deal with our difficulties as became an intelligent, high-minded, Christian people, and to act towards the vanquished insurgents in such wise as would result, not only in bringing them to see and acknowledge the error of their

ways, but also in re-uniting and strengthening the ruptured bonds of union and national concord.

President Lincoln shared in the common joy and rejoicing of the people, beside having reason for special thankfulness and joy on his own account. His had been no position to be envied for four years past, and he, if any man, in the whole country, was able to rejoice in seeing the end of a struggle which had been one of life or death to the Republic. We may well believe, from what we know of the man, that while he rejoiced unfeignedly in the overthrow of the rebellion, he rejoiced even more in the glad prospect of carrying forward work of another kind, consequent upon the state of things which resulted from crushing the traitorous designs of the ambitious and unscrupulous leaders in the revolt; we mean, the work of healing the wounds which war had made, and by a wise, manly, and conciliatory policy, bringing together again in harmony and good will the severed sections of our common country.

It was a noble desire, a magnaminous resolve, worthy of the chief magistrate of a great nation, which animated the bosom of Abraham Lincoln; and so far as human sagacity can venture to judge of results yet in the future, it seemed to be a special privilege belonging to the American people, that the man who had established, on the most solid foundation, a character for honesty, uprightness, unselfishness, candor, and gentleness of heart, should be the one into whose hands was committed for solution the most difficult of all problems under our republican form of government, viz., how to restore the rebellious states and people to the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges which they had insanely endeavored to destroy, and at the same time vindicate the majesty and dignity of the violated Constitution and laws of the land. So far as the foresight of man could reach, Mr. Lincoln seemed to be the one whose training and discipline, during the past four years, rendered him essential to the country's safety, in its present critical condition; and the people were full of hope, that, under his firm, judicious, common-sense management of national affairs, it would not be long ere light would emerge out of gloom and darkness, and order, peace, and concord resume their wonted reign.

But, alas for all human calculations! a mysterious Providence had otherwise ordered the course of events, and the sixteenth president of the United States was stricken down so suddenly, and in so horrible a manner, that, for the time, the national heart was paralyzed, and the ship of state, for the moment, appeared to be cut loose from her moorings, and, without chart or rudder, to be rushing swiftly to destruction. The narrative of the termination of Mr. Lincoln's life must now be given. It is a mournful task, but it forms a part of our history which cannot be overlooked, in its consequences and results, so far as they have, as yet, been developed.

The evil passions engendered by civil war, and the demon-like spite and hatred of many among the rebel sym-

pathizers and agents, had led more than one of the friends of the government to apprehend, that some attempt would be made upon the life of the president and other prominent men in our public affairs. Mr. Lincoln had been warned several times of threats and dangers from various quarters,* and he had been entreated to be more careful and watchful in respect to personal exposure; but he uniformly treated all apprehensions of the kind as unfounded, and seems never to have been troubled with any fears on the subject. He had passed unscathed through the four years of the war, and now, as there appeared to be no reason for an assault upon his life, nothing to be gained by the enemies of the government by such a course, he regarded the anxieties of his friends and supporters as needless and uncalled for, and he looked upon the future with bright expectations unmarred by any fears of personal harm or injury.

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Mr. Lincoln, after a brief visit to Richmond (p. 532) returned to Washington, April 9th, his return having been hastened by the serious accident to Mr. Seward, who, having been thrown from his carriage, had had his right arm and jaw broken. The news of Lee's surrender came directly after, and the president was waited on by a large company to congratulate him on this important event. The next evening, April 11th, Mr. Lincoln made some extended remarks, which, being the last of his public speeches, are worthy the reader's thoughtful consideration. They are given in full by Mr. Raymond, pp. 684–687.

On that last, fatal day, Friday, April 14th, a cabinet meeting was held at eleven o'clock, at which Gen. Grant was present; various matters of policy were discussed; and the president's views met with the approbation of all his constitutional advisers. As this was the day appointed for the raising the flag of the United States on Fort Sumter, it was generally expected that, besides the president, Gen. Grant and others would show themselves in public, and make meet recognition of so interesting an event. Mr. Lincoln, on invitation, consented to visit Ford's Theatre, in Tenth street, Washington, that evening, and it was thought that the lieutenant-general and other notabilities would also be present. About eight o'clock, in company with Mrs. Lincoln, Major Rathbone, and Miss Harris, the president proceeded to the theatre, and took his place in a box near and looking down upon the stage. Gen. Grant, having left the city during the day, did not attend the theatre this evening. The house was full on the occasion, and the box in which the president was, was decorated with an American flag draped in front.

The door of the box was directly behind where Mr. Lincoln was sitting,

* These warnings were so distinct and direct, Mr. Raymond assures us, that Mr. Seward consulted Secretary Stanton in regard to them, and it was agreed that he should lay the subject before the president the next day, and earnestly represent to him the expediency of avoiding, for a time, all public gatherings, and all needless exposure to possible assault. But the next day Mr. Seward was thrown from his carriage, and, his foot catching in the steps, he was dragged for some distance and so seriously injured that he was compelled to dismiss all thought of public matters from his mind. See "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 693.

not more than five feet distant, and was left open during the evening. At fifteen minutes past ten, John Wilkes Booth, an actor, made his way along the passage in the rear of the dress circle, and stealthily entering the vestibule of the president's box, closed the door behind him, and fastened it, so that it could not be opened from the outside. Booth then drew a small, silver-mounted Derringer pistol, which he carried in his right hand, holding a long double-edged dagger in his left, and stepping within the box, held the pistol just over the back of the chair in which Mr. Lincoln sat, and shot him through the back of the head. The murdered man's head fell slightly forward, and his eyes closed forever on this mortal scene.

Startled by the report of the pistol, and discovering through the slight smoke a man in the box, Major Rathbone sprang towards and seized him; but the assassin, wresting himself out of his grasp, and dropping his pistol, struck at the major with the dagger, and wounded him severely in the left arm near the shoulder. Booth then rushed to the front of the box, shouted "*sic semper tyrannis!*" and made a leap over the railing on to the stage below. A spur which he had on caught in the flag draped in front of the box, and Booth fell; but jumping up quickly, he brandished his dagger in face of the horrified assemblage, exclaiming, "*the South is avenged!*" He then rushed from the stage and made his exit from a door in the rear of the house. There he found a lad holding a horse all ready for him to mount, and the wretched parricide hastened away across the Potomac, and for a while found refuge among the rebel sympathizers in Lower Maryland.*

Immediate efforts were made to obtain medical assistance, and several surgeons examined the fatal wound in hope of being able to minister relief; but it was all in vain. The murdered president was never conscious after the assassin's ball struck him. The audience in the theatre broke up in confusion and inexpressible astonishment; and Mr. Lincoln, carried to the White House, and surrounded by the various officers of the government, was watched by them through the night. Gradually the remnant of life faded away, and at twenty-two minutes past seven, on the morning of April 15th, he breathed his last.

As if what has just been briefly narrated were not enough of horror and dismay, this same Friday evening was noted for a murderous and brutal assault upon the secretary of state. Mr. Seward (p. 541) was confined to his

* Immediate steps were taken to arrest Booth and his accomplices. A reward of $50,000 was offered by the war department, April 20th, for Booth's apprehension; the sum of $25,000 was offered for G. A. Atzerott's, and the same sum for D. C. Harold's apprehension. Booth and Harold were chased to Garret's Farm, near Port Royal, on the Rappahannock, by Col. Baker. Booth was shot by Sergeant Corbett in attempting to escape from the barn in which he and Harold were; Harold gave himself up. This was April 26th. Atzerott, Payne, Mary E. Suratt, O'Laughlin, Spangler, Arnold, and Mudd were soon after arrested as accomplices. They were tried by military commission, commencing May 13th, and lasting until the end of June. On the 5th of July, Harold, Atzerott, Payne, and Suratt were condemned, and the president approving, they were hung on the 7th of July. Of the others, O'Laughlin, Arnold, and Mudd were sentenced to hard labor for life, Spangler to hard labor for six years. They were sent to the Dry Tortugas in accordance with the president's direction.

bed, and reduced to great debility. One of the band of murderers, named Payne, made his way into Mr. Seward's house, at ten o'clock in the evening, under pretence of bringing medicines from the physician, and though hindered in his progress by Mr. Seward's son, who forbad his entering the room, he succeeded in getting to the third story and forcing his way into the presence of the utterly helpless invalid. Throwing himself upon the bed, Payne made three powerful stabs at Mr. Seward's throat, gashing him badly, but not fatally. An invalid soldier, named Robinson, acting as nurse, seized Payne about the body and tried to drag him away; and Mr. Seward crept quickly off the bed at the further side. The murderer, having broken away from Robinson, rushed to the door, and despite all obstacles, escaped into the street, mounted a horse he had there, and rode quickly away.

"When the news of this appalling tragedy," says Mr. Raymond, "spread through the city, it carried consternation to every heart. Treading close on the heels of the president's murder—perpetrated indeed at the same instant—it was instinctively felt to be the work of a conspiracy, secret, remorseless, and terrible. The secretary of war, Mr. Stanton, had left Mr. Seward's bedside not twenty minutes before the assault, and was in his private chamber, preparing to retire, when a messenger brought tidings of the tragedy, and summoned his instant attendance. On his way to Mr. Seward's house, Mr. Stanton heard of the simultaneous murder of the president, and instantly felt that the government was enveloped in the meshes of a conspiracy, whose agents were unknown, and which was all the more terrible for the darkness and mystery in which it moved. . . . . All these feelings, however, gradually subsided, and gave way to a feeling of intense anxiety for the life of the president. Crowds of people assembled in the neighborhood of the house where the dying martyr lay, eager for tidings of his condition, throughout the night; and when early in the morning it was announced that he was dead, a feeling of solemn awe filled every heart, and sat, a brooding grief, upon every face."*

We need not enlarge upon the feeling produced by what has just been narrated. The news, as carried by the telegraph over the country, on the morning of April 15th, excited everywhere profound astonishment and horror; and as the crime of assassination was one unknown in our annals, and utterly abhorrent to the spirit and genius of our people, it stirred to their very depths the indignation of Americans, and the sense of wrong and insult received at the hands of the shameless wretches who had taken this course in order to gratify the malignity and bitterness of their depraved souls. Quite possibly, Booth and his fellow conspirators and employers had some insane notion that Mr. Lincoln's death would involve dire confusion, perhaps revolution, in the government; and under such a state of things, they may

* "*Life of Abraham Lincoln*," p. 700. Of the funeral honors paid to Mr. Lincoln, in the several portions of the country through which his remains passed on their way to Illinois, Mr. Raymond gives a full and interesting account, pp. 702–712.

have thought that the rebels would gain some advantage to themselves or their cause; but they little knew or appreciated the strength of the Constitution, and the spirit of willing obedience which the people always render to its provisions. There was no political agitation or danger, no disturbance of the finances, no outbreaks, no doubt anywhere as to the stability of the government. The attorney-general, James Speed, in behalf of the cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, immediately and officially informed Andrew Johnson, vice-president, of the facts of the case, and that he was now, by the Constitution, president of the United States.* That same morning, April 15th, 1865, at ten o'clock, the chief-justice, Salmon P. Chase, administered the oath of office to Andrew Johnson, who made some appropriate remarks on the occasion, but declined to indicate any line of policy at present. The country was duly informed, by Secretary Stanton, of what had been done, and Mr. Johnson, retaining the same gentlemen in the cabinet, the regular routine of government affairs went on as quietly and regularly as if the deplorable murder of Abraham Lincoln had never been committed.

* For a brief sketch of Andrew Johnson's life, see p. 47 of the present volume.

Here we bring our present labors to a close. We do not attempt to give expression to sentiments which might naturally be uttered on such an occasion. We indulge in no words of eulogy; we venture upon no criticism; the day has not arrived for either. The narrative of the progress of affairs, subsequently to Andrew Johnson's accession to the presidency, must be deferred to a later occasion. Then, probably, it will be seen and understood, what peculiar trials, and testings of its strength and adaptedness to the needs of a free people, the Constitution was called upon to endure; and how the nation advanced in those onward steps towards its high destiny, and its rightful place among the controlling powers of the world. In due time, we believe, it will become evident, far more so than it is now, what are the permanent results of the fearful struggle of four years of civil war, and the succeeding years, hardly less fearful, of political, sectional strife and discord in the Republic. *Esto perpetua.*

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